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PINDAR AND THE CULT OF HEROES

Bruno Currie

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For my parents

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PREFACE

This book will argue for a new understanding of Pindar's epinician poetry and, in a significant respect, of the culture which produced it. The doctoral thesis from which the book grew was conceived initially under the title 'Hero Cult in Pindar'. The original project was to take the allusions to hero cult in Pindar's odes in conjunction with the other evidence for those cults; it was to be an integrative approach, one that would shed light on both the poetry and the religious practices. (To my knowledge, only one monograph has been devoted to hero cult in Pindar: a German dissertation in Latin of only 28 pages, written in 1865: C. Ohlert, *De heroologia Pindarica*, diss. Jena.) This integrative approach has been retained in this book, but any initial aspiration I had once had to give an exhaustive account of hero cults in Pindar was soon abandoned. Instead, one issue came to dominate: whether a literary motivation for the numerous allusions to hero cult in Pindar's odes was to be found in the prospect of heroic honours for the addressee. As I looked into the hero cults of historical persons, I found the existing scholarship unsatisfactory for my purposes. The scope of the work expanded: 'Hero Cult in Pindar' became 'Hero Cult and Pindar', and then *Pindar and the Cult of Heroes*. The importation of the conjunction 'and' into the title was meant to give me the latitude to address problems specific to hero cult or to Pindar, and not necessarily common to both of them—a latitude I have availed myself of in the book. From the outset the work was conceived as a study in both Pindar and Greek religion; I hope it will interest scholars and students in both areas. It has not been possible for me to take account of scholarship of which I became aware after January 2004, when the completed manuscript was delivered to the Press.

In the course of writing the book I have been extremely privileged to have had access to distinguished and generous scholars. Nicholas Richardson supervised the thesis with unflagging commitment, and applied a judicious blend of scepticism and encouragement. Jasper Griffin introduced me to Pindar as an undergraduate; he also suggested hero cult in Pindar as a subject for research and offered valuable criticisms of the completed thesis. Richard Rutherford found time in an exceptionally busy schedule to make instructive comments on

the whole thesis. The thesis was examined by Christopher Carey and Robert Parker, whose exacting standards of scholarship remained an inspiration and a challenge in writing this book. Gregory Hutchinson oversaw the conversion of the thesis into a monograph; to him I owe a wealth of penetrating comments and corrections on all levels. All these have enriched and improved this book; none bears any responsibility, however, for the book's general argument or its particular failings. I have also greatly valued comments made on individual chapters by John Bennett, Emily Kearns, Peter Parsons, and Ian Rutherford. While in Zurich for the academic year 1997–8 I had the opportunity of discussing my work with Walter Burkert and Eveline Krummen. I am very grateful to them, and to Christoph Riedweg, for showing an interest that was both academic and personal. I profited much, in that year and after, from countless discussions with Laura Gemelli, Michael Janda, and Christian Oesterheld. Closer to home, Matthew Robinson provided, along with friendship, invaluable computing assistance. Tom Braun, Ettore Cingano, Leslie Kurke, and Christian Mann kindly made available to me unpublished or inaccessible material. I regret that, despite strenuous efforts, I was unable to contact Klaus Hoffelner, author and copyright holder of the drawings reproduced here as Figures 4c and 4d. The luxury of research was made possible in the first place by an award from the British Academy. Research abroad would not have been possible without a Scatcherd European Scholarship from Oxford University, and I could not have converted the thesis into a monograph without holding the Christopher Tower Junior Research Fellowship in Greek Mythology at Christ Church. Heartfelt thanks are due to Christ Church, where the book was substantially written; also to several years of Oxford students for sharpening my thinking, on Pindar and Classical literature generally. Several debts of even longer standing also need to be acknowledged: to Peter Butler, my Greek teacher at Altrincham Grammar School for Boys; and to my tutors at Balliol College: Jonathan Barnes, Michael Comber, Stephen Everson, Jasper Griffin, and Oliver Lyne. All shaped my mind in numerous ways and provided lasting stimulation. Several friends have earned a stake in this book through their long-term interest and encouragement: Joy Dykers, Lucy Havard-Williams, Ranjit Hosangady, Michael Suarez, Bart van Es, and Nadja Wollschitt. Most of all, Katrin Stelter has offered support of every kind; to her very special thanks are due. The last word of thanks, with more sincerity than the formularity allows, is for my parents.

B.G.F.C.
Oxford, July 2005

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ABBREVIATIONS

Allen	T. W. Allen (ed.), *Homeri Opera*, v. *Hymni, Cyclus, etc.* (Oxford, 1912).
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, i– (Berlin and New York, 1972–).
ARV	J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1963).
BMC	*A Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum* i–xxix (London, 1873–1927).
CAH	*The Cambridge Ancient History*, iv–vi (2nd edn., Cambridge 1988, 1992, 1994).
Campbell	D. Campbell.(ed.), *Greek Lyric*, i–v, (Cambridge, Mass., 1982–93).
CEG	*Carmina Epigraphica Graeca Saeculorum viii–v a. Chr. n.*, ed. P. A. Hansen (Berlin and New York, 1983).
CGF	*Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kaibel (Berlin, 1899).
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, i–iv, eds. A. Boeckh et al. (Berlin, 1828–77).
CIS	*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, i– (Paris, 1881–).
CPG	*Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, i–ii, eds. E. L. Leutsch and F. G. Schneidewin (Göttingen, 1839–51).
Drachmann	A. B. Drachmann (ed.), *Scholia Vetera in Pindari Carmina*, i–iii (Leipzig, 1903–27).
EG	*Epigrammata Graeca*, ed. D. L. Page (Oxford, 1975).
EGF	*Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. M. Davies (Göttingen, 1988).
EGLC	*Epigrammata Graeca ex Lapidibus Conlecta*, ed. G. Kaibel (Berlin, 1878).
FGE	*Further Greek Epigrams*, ed. D. L. Page (Cambridge, 1981).
Gerber	D. E. Gerber (ed.), *Greek Iambic Poetry* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999).
GG	*Griechische Grabgedichte*, ed. W. Peek (Berlin, 1960).
GHI	*A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC*, eds. R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis (2nd edn., Oxford and New York, 1988).
Gigon	O. Gigon (ed.), *Aristotelis Opera*, iii. *Librorum Deperditorum Fragmenta* (Berlin and New York, 1987).
GV	*Griechische Vers-Inschriften*, i, ed. W. Peek (Berlin, 1958).

HE	*The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams*, eds. A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (Cambridge, 1965).
IC	*Inscriptiones Creticae*, i–iv, ed. M. Guarducci (Rome, 1935–50).
ICS	*Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, ed. O. Masson (Paris, 1983).
IEG	*Iambi et Elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum Cantati*, ed. M. L. West (2nd edn., Oxford, 1992).
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*: for details, see LSJ xlii, plus *IG* I.i–iii (3rd edn., Berlin and New York, 1981–98).
IGRR	*Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, i, iii, iv, eds. R. Cagnat, J. Toutain, and P. Jouget (Paris, 1906–27).
IGSK	*Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* (Bonn, 1972–).
IMM	*Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*, ed. O. Kern (Berlin, 1900).
Käppel	L. Käppel *Paian. Studien zur Geschichte einer Gattung* (Berlin and New York, 1992).
KP	*Der Kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike* i–v, eds. K. Ziegler, W. Sontheimer, and H. Gärtner (Munich, 1979).
LfgrE	*Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos* i–, eds. B. Snell et al. (Göttingen, 1955–).
LGPN	*A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*: i, eds. P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews (Oxford, 1987); ii, eds. M. J. Osborne and S. G. Byrne (Oxford, 1994); iii, eds. P. M. Fraser and E. Mattthews (Oxford, 1997).
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, i–viii (Zurich and Munich, 1981–99).
LSAG	L. H. Jeffery (ed.), *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford, 1961).
LSCG	*Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, ed. F. Sokolowski (Paris, 1969).
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. S. Jones, and R. Mackenzie (eds.), *A Greek–English Lexicon* (9th edn., Oxford, 1940).
LSS	*Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Supplément*, ed. F. Sokolowski (Paris, 1962).
Musurillo	H. Musurillo (ed.), *Acts of the Pagan Martyrs* (Oxford, 1954).
Nauck	A. Nauck (ed.), *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (2nd edn., Leipzig, 1889).
NCIG	*Nouveau choix d'inscriptions grecques*, L'Institut Fernand-Courby (Paris, 1971).
OCD	*Oxford Classical Dictionary*, eds. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (3rd edn., Oxford, 1996).
OED	*The Oxford English Dictionary*, eds. J. Simpson and E. Weiner (2nd edn., Oxford, 1989).
OF	*Orphicorum Fragmenta*, ed. O. Kern (Berlin, 1922).

OGIS	*Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* i–ii, ed. W. Dittenberger (Leipzig, 1903, 1905).
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1982).
PCG	*Poetae Comici Graeci*, eds. R. Kassel and C. Austin (Berlin, 1989).
PEG	*Poetae Epici Graeci* i, ed. A. Bernabé (Leipzig, 1987).
Pfeiffer	R. Pfeiffer (ed.), *Callimachus*, i–ii (Oxford, 1949–53).
PLF	*Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*, eds. E. Lobel and D. Page (Oxford, 1955).
PMG	*Poetae Melici Graeci*, ed. D. L. Page (Oxford, 1962).
Pugliese Carratelli	G. Pugliese Carratelli, *Le lamine d'oro orfiche. Istruzioni per il viaggio oltremondano degli iniziati greci* (2nd edn., Milan, 2001).
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, i– (Stuttgart, 1950–).
RE	*Paulys Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, i–, eds. G. Wissowa et al. (Stuttgart, 1893–1980).
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Leiden, 1923–).
SIG	*Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, i–iv, ed. W. Dittenberger (3rd edn., Leipzig, 1915–24).
SLG	D. L. Page (ed.), *Supplementum Lyricis Graecis* (Oxford, 1974).
TLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, i– (Leipzig, 1900–).
TrGF	*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, i–, eds. R. Kannicht, S. Radt, and B. Snell (Göttingen, 1971–).
VS	*Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, eds. H. Diels and W. Kranz (6th edn., Berlin, 1951).
Wehrli	F. Wehrli (ed.), *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, i–ii (2nd edn., Basle, 1967–9), Supplement (ed.), i–ii (1974–8).
West	M. L. West (ed.), *Homeric Hymns, Homeric Apocrypha, Lives of Homer* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003).

For journal titles, I have followed the abbreviations of *L'Année philologique*.

NOTE ON CONVENTIONS

The text of Pindar used, unless otherwise indicated, is that of Snell and Maehler 1987 and Maehler 1989 (whose numeration of the fragments has also been followed). However, *Isthmian* 3 and *Isthmian* 4 have been taken as separate poems, and the line numbers adjusted accordingly.

Classical works have been cited in the main body of the text by their English title, but in the footnotes by an abbreviated Latin title, where for clarity's sake capital letters are used only for proper nouns. Fragmentary authors are not necessarily referred to in the most recent edition, but according to the numeration which will permit the easiest access (e.g. *PMG*, not Hordern, for Timotheus; *VS*, not Inwood, for Empedocles).

The policy with Greek names has been to transliterate, except place names and authors' names, where the usual English version has been used: thus 'Lysandros', but 'Pindar' and 'Thebes'. There have been deviations even from this policy to avoid artificiality, e.g. 'Alexander the Great' (not 'Alexandros').

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1

Introduction

Pindar and the cult of heroes

The two themes of this book are stated in its title: it is a study in Greek poetry and religion. The simple conjunction of the two themes, 'Pindar *and* the cult of heroes', is meant to allow scope to pursue each, where appropriate, independently of the other, but the point of conjoining them is the hope that the one may illuminate the other. The kind of illumination hoped for may be indicated by an illustrative example, two verses from the opening of Pindar's first *Nemean* ode:

> ἀρχαὶ δὲ βέβληνται θεῶν
> κείνου σὺν ἀνδρὸς δαιμονίαις ἀρεταῖς.

Beginnings from the gods have been laid for my song in conjunction with that man's divine deeds of prowess. (*N.* 1.8–9)

All Pindar's victory odes celebrate a man who has achieved great things; for convenience we may call him the *laudandus*.[1] In *Nemean* 1 the 'deeds of prowess' (9 ἀρεταῖς) of the laudandus Chromios are qualified by a significant adjective, δαιμονίαις. This adjective can mean just 'marvellous'. But its proximity here to 'gods' (8 θεῶν) shows that the

[1] The currency of the term 'laudandus' is due to Bundy 1962. Alternative terms are 'encomiand', 'patron', and 'victor'. 'Patron' is not a fully satisfactory term: whereas patron-poet implies a relation outside the text, laudandus-laudator implies one within the text; 'patron' also implies a stable patronage, not a one-off commission (from this point of view, German 'Auftraggeber' and Italian 'committente' are less misleading). 'Victor' is also an unsatisfactory term: Thearion, as well as Sogenes, is the laudandus in *N.* 7, but he is not an athletic victor; and although Hieron is the laudandus of *P.* 1, *P.* 2, and *P.* 3, he is not praised in those odes in the first instance as an athletic victor. Corresponding to 'laudandus', the term 'laudator' is a convenient alternative to 'poet'. Whereas 'poet' implies the historical person Pindar, 'laudator' denotes simply the person who has the duty to praise in a particular ode. (Cf. the distinction between 'author' and 'narrator': de Jong 1987: 29–30, cf. 44.) The distinction is important, for the persona of the laudator may shift in the course of an ode, and it is controversial how far the identity of the historical Pindar imposes itself on the odes (see below).

literal sense 'divine' is appropriate.[2] The phrase 'divine deeds of prowess' is further qualified by the genitive 'of a man', producing the oxymoron *ἀνδρὸς δαιμονίαις*, 'of a man', 'divine'. Because of his deeds of prowess the laudandus is to be celebrated in a song which takes its 'beginnings' (8 *ἀρχαί*) from the gods. This is the language of hymns, which typically 'begin' with the god.[3] The fact that the laudandus is to be sung in the same breath as the gods raises questions about his status.[4] But above all it is the interplay of three words in two verses—*θεῶν*, *ἀνδρός*, and *δαιμονίαις*—that provokes reflection on the laudandus' standing in relation to the human and the divine. The mythical part of the ode, dealing with Herakles and occupying the entire second half of the ode, seems to fuel that reflection. Herakles is ultimately to be carried to Olympus (verses 69–72) as a consequence of his 'extraordinary will and power' (56–7 *ἐκνόμιον | λῆμά τε καὶ δύναμιν*).[5] The 'extraordinary will and power' of Herakles invite comparison with Chromios' own 'divine deeds of prowess'. There is an implied parallelism between Chromios and Herakles; one is left wondering about its exact extent, and about its implications for Chromios' future after his death.

Many of Pindar's odes raise similar questions; to attempt to answer them is to become embroiled in large questions about the workings of Pindar's epinician poetry and about the religious beliefs of Greeks in the fifth century BC. This book is thus necessarily engaged simultaneously in a literary-critical and a religious-historical enterprise. In general terms, the book can be compared with other studies of the interaction of fifth-century choral lyric poetry with its cultural context.[6] Specifically, though, this study is interested in confronting a feature of Pindar's

[2] For *δαιμόνιος* as 'marvellous', cf. *N.* 9.25. See Braswell 1988: 117. On the (broad) meaning of *δαίμων*, see e.g. Plat. *ap.* 27d, and Burkert 1985*a*: 180. The laudandus is characterized by the adjective *δαιμόνιος* also at *O.* 6.8–9 and *O.* 9.110. A person's *ἀρεταί* may be 'god-given': e.g. *I.* 3.4–5. With *δαιμονίαις ἀρεταῖς*, 'divine deeds of prowess', contrast *βροτέαις ἀρεταῖς*, 'human deeds of prowess' (*P.* 1.41).

[3] For *ἄρχεσθαι* in hymns, see *N.* 2.1–3, *N.* 5.25, *N.* 3.10; Hes. *th.* 1; cf. *Od.* 8.499. In the *'Homeric' Hymns*, *ἄρχομ' ἀείδειν*, with a god's name in the accusative, is formulaic, e.g. *h. Hom.* 2.1 *Δήμητρ' ἄρχομ' ἀείδειν*. For *ἀρχαὶ βέβληνται*, cf. 'Plat.' *epist.* 7 326e2. The verb *βάλλειν* is an architectural metaphor for the composition of song. For the architectural metaphor, cf. *P.* 7.3 *κρηπῖδ' ἀοιδᾶν βαλέσθαι*, *P.* 4.138 and (more generally) *O.* 6.1–4, *Σ N.* 2.1a Drachmann III.28.23–4. Cf. esp. *h. Hom.* 3.20 *νομὸς βέβληται ἀοιδῆς*, 'a pasturage of song has been laid'.

[4] Compare the collocation of god, hero, human at *O.* 2.2–6; fr. 333(a).4–6; Theocr. 17.1–3. In Rome, similar questions about the status of Augustus are raised by the inclusion of his name in the 'hymn of the Salii' (*res gestae Divi Augusti* 10; Beard et al. 1998: 207), or in Horace's *Ode* 1.12 (cf. Feeney 1998: 56).

[5] Cf. Braswell 1992: 30–1.

[6] Exemplary studies of this kind include Calame 1997; Krummen 1990; Kurke 1991.

epinician poetry (to wit, the prominence of heroes in the odes, and their use as a paradigm for the laudandus) with a feature of fifth-century Greek history (the practice of venerating illustrious contemporaries as heroes after their death: that is, their heroization).[7]

The first point needs no labouring. Heroes are ubiquitous in Pindar's odes: they feature everywhere, not only as the protagonists of myth, but also as recipients of cult; and parallels are frequently drawn between them, whether as objects of myth or of cult, and the laudandus of the ode. The second point requires more elaboration. Several fifth-century Greeks were heroized. More particularly, though, posthumous hero cults are attested for a number of the patrons of Pindar's odes. We hear of a cult of Hieron, who commissioned *Olympian* 1 and *Pythians* 1, 2, 3 (Diodorus 11.66.4; Strabo 6.2.3 268). We know too of a cult of Theron, who commissioned *Olympians* 2 and 3 (Diodorus 11.53.2). There is a hint of a cult of Diagoras, the laudandus of *Olympian* 7, who according to a Rhodian tradition was a son of Hermes (introductory scholion on *Olympian* 7). Pindar himself, moreover, seems to suggest that Battiad kings of Cyrene, such as Arkesilas the laudandus of *Pythians* 4 and 5, received a hero cult when they died (*Pythian* 5.96–7).

The confrontation of these two features generates interesting questions. In the first place, the encomiastic rhetoric of Pindar's odes is seen frequently to approximate the laudandus to the heroes. In the second place, the contemporary heroizations suggest a way in which that approximation can have been real, if indeed the laudandus could actually become a hero after his death. There seems to be support for such a view in a fragment of Pindar, which states that kings and athletes are after their death 'called evermore by men "holy heroes" ' (fr. 133.3–5). Kings and athletes were precisely the classes of people who commissioned odes from Pindar.

In the case of two patrons and two epinicians it seems extremely probable that there is a close link between the laudandus' equation with a hero in the ode and the historically attested heroizations.[8] First, Theron is known to have received a posthumous hero cult, and in *Olympian* 2 it is intimated that he may enjoy a blissful afterlife on the Isle of the Blessed, in the company of the heroes Peleus, Kadmos, and Achilleus (56–80).[9] Second, Hieron received posthumous hero cult,

[7] The words 'heroize' and 'heroization' will be used in this book in the sense of 'make someone a hero' (cf. *OED* s.v. 'heroize' 1). The Greek equivalents are, respectively, *ἀφηρωΐζειν* and *ἀφηρωϊσμός* (neither attested before the Hellenistic period).

[8] For comparable views, see Jurenka 1900; Richardson 1992: 243.

[9] See Lloyd-Jones 1990*c*: 102.

and in Bacchylides' third ode it is intimated that he may enjoy the same fate as Kroisos, who was rescued by Apollo from death on the pyre and translated to the land of the Hyperboreans (53–66).[10] These two cases are untypical both in that the intimations of heroic status for the laudandus are relatively explicit in the odes, and in that we have an extant notice in an ancient historian of the posthumous cults. Yet the fact that we have here two epinicians, two patrons, and two poets suggests that the phenomenon in question may not be just an isolated or an idiosyncratic one. This book sets itself the task of gauging how widespread it may have been.

Heroization

Something needs to be said at the outset about the practice of heroization. The Greeks had heroized deceased contemporaries from, at least, the early Archaic period.[11] Minimally, heroization required a person to receive cult and a community to perform it; here we may contemplate the process briefly from each of its two sides. The reasons why a person might be heroized are complex, but there was advantage for both parties.

First, for the community. By instituting a hero cult for a recently deceased person, a community may have had a means of rewarding a benefaction done by that person to itself, or of atoning for a wrong which it had perpetrated towards the person heroized.[12] Once the cult was established, the community stood to receive the same benefits from the new hero as from its existing gods and heroes.[13] The institution of hero cults could also be politically motivated: the concession of a hero cult enabled the city to recognize certain civic values. A city's founder, its war dead, and its lawgivers were among those dignified with hero cults. Alternatively, the establishment of a hero cult could signify a commitment to a particular policy in foreign or in domestic affairs: the institution by the Amphipolitans of a hero cult to Brasidas signalled the

[10] See Maehler 1982: 37; Burkert 1985*b*: 8–12. Compare also the comparisons in *O.* 1 between Hieron and the hero Pelops, who receives cult at Olympia (90–5): see Gerber 1982: p. xv; Slater 1989: 499.

[11] Early heroizations include Lykourgos (cf. Hdt. 1.66.1); the 'hero at the West Gate', Eretria (see Bérard 1970: 31, 69, 71); and city founders (see Malkin 1987: 261–6).

[12] Cf. Kurke 1993.

[13] In general for the benefits conferred by heroes on both individuals and communities, see Kearns 1989: 10–43, 44–63.

transfer of their allegiance from Athens to Sparta (Thucydides 5.11.1), and the hero cults of Gelon in Syracuse, Theron in Acragas, Hieron in Aitna, and the Battiad kings in Cyrene (see above) must all have bolstered the position of the ruling dynasties in those cities.

For his part, the person heroized stood to gain from his heroic transformation. His enhancement was partly physical: heroized persons could be imagined as larger than life.[14] A hero would also retain the power to intervene in the affairs of the living: crucially, to help his friends and harm his enemies.[15] Veneration by a whole community, rather than just the immediate family, ensured that the hero's commemoration and honours would be everlasting.[16] His posthumous existence was a privileged one: heroes inhabited the most desirable reaches of the underworld, where mystic initiates also resided.[17] Apart from this, he would leave honours for surviving family and hereditary privileges for even his distant descendants.[18]

It is useful to consider briefly the process by which heroization came about.[19] Frequently heroization was sanctioned by the Delphic or another oracle.[20] But we should not exaggerate the role of Delphi.[21] Cities could apparently also heroize through a decree of the assembly.[22] In the Hellenistic period we hear fairly frequently of heroization being effected by smaller citizen groups, *θίασοι* and *ὀργεῶνες*.[23] Yet we also hear in the Classical period of hero cult being established privately: reportedly Parmenides 'who was of an illustrious family and

[14] On heroic iconography, see Larson 1995: 44–56. For a hero's great size, cf. Hdt. 6.117. A heroized person became 'greater' (cf. Plut. *Cim.* 19.5 *κρείττονα*). A similar transformation seems assumed for *all* the dead by Aristot. fr. 65 Gigon (in Plut. *consol. ad Apoll.* 27 115c): *βελτιόνων καὶ κρειττόνων ἤδη γεγονότων* (*sc. τῶν τετελευτηκότων*).

[15] Cf. Blundell 1989: 253–4.

[16] Cf. Garland 1985: 106–7; Seaford 1994: 116.

[17] For heroes and initiates in the underworld, cf. the Orphic gold leaf 1A2.11 Pugliese Carratelli; *O.* 2.68–72. For heroized historical persons on the Isles of the Blessed, cf. 894 *PMG* (Harmodios); 'Dem.' 60.34, Hyp. 6.35 (the Athenian war dead).

[18] Cf. e.g. the descendants of Harmodios and Aristogeiton at Athens (*IG* I^3.131), or those of Themistokles at Lampsacus (*IGSK* VI.3.12–14; Malkin 1987: 226–8).

[19] Cf. Parker 1996: 136–7.

[20] e.g. Hdt. 1.167 (Phocaeans at Agylla), 5.114 (Onesilos at Salamis, Cyprus); Hdt. 7.117 (Artachaies at Acanthus); Plat. *resp.* 469a4–6, *leg.* 738b5-d4; *IG* XII.iii.863 (Thera, *c.*250 BC), 1349. See Rohde 1925: i.177–82 esp. 180; Nock 1930: 62; Richardson 1985*a*: 56.

[21] Farnell 1921: 370; Price 1984: 35 and n. 47.

[22] Sophocles in Athens: Ister *FGrH* 334 F38. Dion in Syracuse, 356 BC: Diod. 16.20.6. Agesilaos and the Thasians, end V BC: Plut. *apophth. Lac.* 25 210d. *SIG* 624.2–3 (Philopoimen). *IC* III.iv.38.11 (I BC). Note e.g. *IG* XII.iii.864–85 *ἁ βουλὰ καὶ ὁ δᾶμος τὸν δεῖνα ἀφηρώϊξε*, 'the council and the assembly heroized so-and-so'.

[23] Deneken 1884–90: 2530–4; Rohde 1925: ii.359; Fraser 1977: 76–7.

wealthy, set up a hero shrine for [his teacher Ameinias] after his death' (Sotion fr. 27 Wehrli, in Diogenes Laertius 9.21).[24] Plato suggests that, although a city could establish a cult for its citizens with or without oracular sanction, it was the oracle that determined the exact status of the recipient of the cult (*Republic* 540b7–c2).[25]

The two parties to heroization, the recipient and the performers of the cult, were not necessarily equal partners in the process. Scholars have tended to see heroization in the Archaic and Classical periods as serving the interests of the city which heroized, rather than of the person who was heroized.[26] A distinction has thus been made between so-called objective and subjective aspects of hero cult.[27] 'Objective aspect' conveys the perspective of the community: what it owed to the hero and what return it could expect from him. 'Subjective aspect' conveys the hero's perspective: whether the condition of a hero was something a living person might aspire to once he had died. The objective aspect has been regarded as much more important in the Classical period.[28] Consistently with this view, it is widely held that Classical Greeks had little interest in the afterlife, but were primarily concerned with the here and now.[29]

[24] For non-historical privately founded hero cult, cf. Theophr. *char.* 16.4: the superstitious man is the kind of person 'if he sees a sacred snake in his house, immediately to set up a hero shrine on the spot'.

[25] Cf. Ekroth 2002: 212.

[26] Boehringer 1996: 37 '[In archaischer und klassischer Zeit] heroisierten die Griechen historische Personen in Rollen, die eine politische Relevanz für die Gemeinschaft besaßen', 47 'Die besprochenen Heroenkulte dienten dem individuellen Identifikationsgefühl einer Gemeinschaft und waren Ausdruck ihrer Solidarität'. Cf. Bohringer 1979: 14–15.

[27] Kearns 1989: 5–6.

[28] Kearns 1989: 5–6 'The worship of former human beings can have two aspects: an essentially objective cultus in which they are approached like the gods, and a more subjective concentration on the fate of the dead, when the present state of the heroes is of interest as a possible reflexion of the worshipper's own future state. But while the afterlife was a question which had naturally preoccupied Greeks of all periods, this did not necessarily impinge on the cult of the hero . . . To the ordinary worshipper, the prospect of his own survival can have had little to do with the beings who conferred small benefits on him, or who were responsible for the terrors of the night. Who ever derived comfort from a belief in ghosts, imagining his own state as he haunted his former house? By and large, the hero was viewed objectively in the classical period . . . The important thing was the relation of the hero to the worshipper.' (Kearns, ibid., however, sensibly makes an exception for the 'aristocratic circles' for which Pindar was composing.) Cf. Nilsson 1925: 286 'For a living man it would offer little attraction to be worshipped under the forms of the cult of the heroes and the dead, and this was only done exceptionally.'

[29] Mikalson 1983: 75 'Athenian popular religion was focused almost exclusively on life in this world, not in the next', 82 'Clearly what mattered to the average Athenian was this life, and in the fourth century he took little interest in the bleak and uncertain prospect of the afterlife.'

The focus of this study on hero cult and Pindar will naturally bring the subjective aspect of hero cult to the fore. Despite claims to the contrary, there is evidence from both literature and life that Greeks of the early fifth century BC could take an active interest in their own posthumous heroization.[30] This interest is explicit in a statement like that of Diodorus that Hieron founded Aitna with a view to receiving posthumous heroic honours there (11.49.2 *τοῦτο δὲ ἔπραξε σπεύδων . . . τιμὰς ἔχειν ἡρωϊκάς*).[31] The careers of some fifth-century athletes also suggest a preoccupation with heroic honours, which in some cases issued in a posthumous cult or, exceptionally, even in a cult paid in the athlete's lifetime.[32] A compatible picture is suggested by Pindar's second *Olympian* and Bacchylides' third ode, discussed above. The coincidence between the intimation of heroic status for the laudandus in these odes and their posthumous heroizations in actual fact suggests that the epinician performed in the laudandus' lifetime anticipates the posthumous heroization. Or we could put it the other way round and say that the heroization which takes place after the laudandus' death appears as a culmination of designs that were already in evidence in the laudandus' lifetime. Such inferences would have significant repercussions for our view of hero cult.

From living person to dead hero

There has been a tendency among scholars to assume that in the Archaic and Classical periods the only form of cult possible for a human was hero cult, and that death was a precondition of receiving hero cult. On this view, even when a living person's heroization must have been a foregone conclusion, as it was with city founders, the most the person enjoyed in his lifetime was an 'expectation' that a hero cult would be performed after his death.[33] The impression is

[30] Contrast Versnel 1989: 172.

[31] A fifth-century desire to become a founder is attested elsewhere. Of Hieron, again: Σ *N.* 1 Inscr. a *οἰκιστὴς ἀντὶ τυράννου βουλόμενος εἶναι*; and of Xenophon: Xen. *ana.* 5.6.17 *Σιλανὸς . . . ἐκφέρει εἰς τὸ στράτευμα λόγον ὅτι Ξενοφῶν βούλεται . . . πόλιν οἰκίσαι καὶ ἑαυτῷ ὄνομα καὶ δύναμιν περιποιήσασθαι*. Cf. Malkin 1987: 238. However, here the desire is not expressly a desire for heroic honours.

[32] See Currie 2002: 37 and below, pp. 166–7. The exception is Euthymos of Locri, if the source (Call. fr. 99 Pfeiffer) is to be believed.

[33] Taeger 1957: 259 'Anwartschaft auf einen posthumen Heroenkult', cf. 258 'einen festen Anspruch auf die posthume Heroisierung'; Habicht 1970: 205–6 n. 51 'nur eine Anwartschaft auf kultische Ehren für die Zeit nach seinem Tode'.

of a categorical difference, in the Classical period, between the honours received in a person's lifetime (which were necessarily secular) and those received after a person's death (which might be religious, if a hero cult was instituted). The result is to drive a wedge between lifetime and posthumous honours, so that it becomes impossible to find anticipations of the latter in the former.[34] The cumulative effect of these views, combined with the emphasis on the city's perspective and on the objective aspect of hero cult, is to alienate the living person from his alter ego after heroization. Heroization has been said to involve 'a de-personalization of the deceased', whereby 'the heroized dead were released from the attachments of their actual life'.[35]

The subjective aspect of Classical hero cult is marginalized on such views. The rehabilitation of the subjective aspect entailed by this study will require a revision of such views, or at least their recasting in less stringent form. Thus, it may prove possible to see the transition from the state of a living person to a dead hero as a more extended process than often supposed, and to entertain the possibility that the process of heroization might begin this side of the grave, rather than assuming that death was a necessary condition of heroization. There are chiefly three pointers to such a view, which are to be developed extensively in this book, and may be anticipated briefly here.

First, living persons of the fifth century seem sometimes to have taken initiatives to promote their own posthumous hero cults. In these cases, the posthumous cults seem to have been anticipated, and even promoted, by the persons who went on to receive them. Such cases argue for a readjustment in the relative importance of the objective and subjective aspects of hero cult. A major category of persons to be considered here are the fifth-century athletes.

Second, communities in the fifth century sometimes extended a treatment to living persons (who frequently went on to receive a posthumous hero cult) which fell short of cult, but which may nevertheless be allowed a religious character. In these cases the posthumous hero cult seems to have been anticipated by the community, whereas in the previous cases the posthumous cult was anticipated by the person who was subsequently heroized. This encourages a revision of the view that in the Classical period all honours paid to a person in

[34] Cf. Nilsson 1967–74: ii.136.

[35] Boehringer 1996: 48 '[Es kann] von einer Entpersönlichung der Verstorbenen gesprochen werden . . . Die heroisierten Toten wurden aus den Verflechtungen ihres realen Lebens gelöst.'

his lifetime were necessarily secular. An important form of treatment to be considered here is the ceremonial reception of an individual by an assembled community, attested in the Classical period, and much earlier.

Third, communities in the fifth and fourth centuries apparently did, in rare cases, go so far as to extend a full-blown hero cult to living persons. The performance of a full-blown hero cult to living persons is an extreme form of the possibility just considered, on which a community extended religious treatment to individuals in their lifetime. This possibility amounts to denial that hero cult is necessarily the cult of a dead person, and that a hero cult of a living person is a contradiction in terms.[36] The cases of Euthymos, Hagnon, and Dion (considered below) urge us to take this possibility seriously.

The themes of this book thus promise to involve us in a major rethinking of the workings of heroization in the Classical period. This rethinking will be driven not so much by the acquisition of new evidence or the application of a new methodology as by the examination of the existing evidence in the light of modified paradigms, concerning the hero and religious honours.

From hero cult to ruler cult

The argument just adumbrated, against there being a clear-cut transition in the Classical period from a living person to a dead hero, has implications for our view of an important development in the history of Greek religion: the origin of ruler cult. From the third century BC, it became common practice for the Hellenistic kings of the Antigonid, Attalid, Ptolemaic, and Seleukid dynasties to receive cult in their lifetime as gods, not heroes; and the divine cult offered to the Roman emperor in the Greek provinces is a further extension of this practice. The attempt has often been made to derive the Hellenistic ruler cult from the hero cults which were practised for historical persons in the Archaic and Classical periods.[37] That attempt has been problematic as long as hero cult has been assumed incompatible with a cult of the living.[38] It is difficult to demonstrate a link between the

[36] Cf. Bosworth 1996: 127 'For a living man the hero cult was a contradiction in terms.'

[37] See Habicht 1970: 200–5; Shipley 2000: 158–9. Against, Taeger 1957: 49, 259–60; Price 1984: 32–6.

[38] Nilsson 1967–74: ii.135–6 '[Die Herleitung des Herrscherkults aus dem Heroenkult]

practice of the Archaic and Classical periods of performing *hero cult* for *dead* contemporaries and the Hellenistic practice of performing *divine cult* for *living* rulers: the when, how, and why of such a development are hard to fathom. The beginning of the Greek cult of the living has traditionally been located at the end of the fifth century, and specifically the end of the Peloponnesian war. The explanation proffered for the development is the erosion of traditional values and religious categories in the fifth century.[39] It has already been suggested, however, that Archaic and Classical hero cult was always linked with a possibility of a religious treatment of a person in his lifetime.[40] That treatment could apparently range from formal cult to informal and sporadic recognition of a person's superhuman nature. It would follow that religious attitudes to living persons were not something new in the Hellenistic period, but were ingrained in the earlier period, and had long coexisted with the practice of posthumous heroization.

The relation between the Classical and the Hellenistic periods will be a recurrent theme of this book. Here, the accent will be on continuities rather than discontinuities between the pre-Hellenistic and Hellenistic worlds.[41] Not that there were not profound differences between the Hellenistic and the pre-Hellenistic world. But often it seems that it was changed circumstances in the Hellenistic world that enabled existing tendencies to come to the fore.[42] In this book, fifth-century precedents of various religious practices regarded as typically Hellenistic will be pointed out; these include the concept of the saviour and the benefactor, the imitation by living persons of heroes or gods, the association in cult of humans with gods or heroes, and the sharing of humans in a god's festival or sanctuary.

scheint . . . einer . . . unüberwindbaren Schwierigkeit zu begegnen, der Trennung nämlich der Welt der Lebenden von der Welt der Toten. Hätte man wirklich daran denken können, einen lebenden Menschen in der Form eines Kultes zu verehren, der den Verstorbenen vorbehalten war?' Taeger 1957: 259 '[Heroenkult und Herrscherkult] unterscheiden . . . sich so wesenhaft, daß eine Vermischung der beiden Kreise völlig ausgeschlossen ist.'

[39] e.g. Fears 1988: 1010 'The transition from the posthumous honoring of a *heros* to the worship of a living mortal as *theos* was fostered by intellectual developments as well as by currents of popular thought in the fifth century.'

[40] Cf. Dover 1974: 81 'Deification of rulers in the Hellenistic period had very long and deep roots in the practices, concepts and language of earlier times.'

[41] Diachronic accounts of a culture tend to emphasize elements of change or of constancy; in fact both are likely to be complementary aspects of the whole picture. Cf. Dodds cited in Lloyd-Jones 1983: p. xi.

[42] Cf., in general, Hornblower 1983: 'Index' s.v. 'Hellenistic age . . . foreshadowed'. Specifically in religion, cf. Ekroth 2002: 18 and n. 17.

The evidence of Pindar's odes will not, in the first instance, be used to establish conclusions about contemporary religious practices. Yet Pindar's odes constitute a crucial part of this picture.[43] Some ninety years ago the implications of the victory ode for hero cult were intuited though not developed by Friedrich Pfister. His comments are worth quoting in full:

> In an encomium those qualities are celebrated which surpass other men; they are the same qualities for which a dead person is praised and revered, indeed heroized. The power by virtue of which a heroized dead person is able to have an effect on the upper world is the same power as that which manifests itself in a person's lifetime and calls for honour, for encomium. Above all, it is the victors in the great games who are sung of in epinician . . . There is no doubt that in this celebration of living persons we can see the beginnings of the cult of the Roman emperors in their lifetime.[44]

> It is no coincidence that, on the one hand, we hear so often of the heroization of victors in the great games and that, on the other hand, hymns, epinicians, were sung to these victors in their lifetime. This is, up to a point, an ideal cult that was being offered to the laudandus and it is not so great a step if a real cult of the living soon accrued to it.[45]

Having indicated some of the implications of this study for hero cult, we may turn to its implications for Pindar.

Pindaric criticism and history

The approach taken to Pindar in this book, a broadly historicist one, needs to be related to the currents of contemporary Pindaric criticism. In particular, this book's concern to relate Pindar's odes to an external reality seems to fly in the face of influential principles formulated by Elroy Bundy in 1962, which shaped the agenda of Pindaric criticism for subsequent decades. Bundy's project may be illustrated by three quotations:

> It is . . . to [the] question of [rhetorical] convention . . . that scholarship must now address itself if it is to add in any significant way to our knowledge of Greek choral poetry.

[43] For Pindar's position in a history of the cult of the living, cf. Stewart 1977: 566; Bosworth 1988: 279; id. 1994: 871; Richardson 1992: 228.

[44] Pfister 1909–12: 555–6 (translated from the German).

[45] Pfister 1909–12: 586–7 (translated).

> What is required . . . is a thorough study of conventional themes, motives and sequences in choral poetry—in short, a grammar of choral style.
>
> [T]he methods employed in studying the odes have been wrong and we must start anew, seeking through careful analysis of individual odes the thematic and motivational grammar of choral composition. The study of Pindar must become a study of genre.[46]

Following closely in Bundy's footsteps, Erich Thummer gave the enterprise the following formulation:

> [we want] to free Pindar's poems from the biographical and historical frame which has been deduced, not to say invented, by ancient and modern interpreters from the poems for the exegesis of those very poems, and to try to understand them from themselves, through the comparison of analogous elements and motifs.[47]

These principles have been influential and beneficial.[48] Their value has been abundantly demonstrated in critical practice, for exposing numerous historical and biographical fallacies.[49] This book, though committed to the 'historical frame', recognizes the necessity of elucidating passages of the *Epinicia* 'through the comparison of analogous elements and motifs'. On the vexed question of the relevance of Pindar's personal circumstances to *Nemean* 7, a poem which more than others has polarized scholars into Bundyists and those who believe in a historical and biographical dimension to the odes, this book sides more closely with the former.[50] The inconsistency here is only apparent. In redefining Pindaric criticism as the search for a 'grammar' of choral style, Bundy was, implicitly, embracing a structuralist approach.[51] Although structuralism in literary criticism has often tended to turn its back on historical and social context, it does not inevitably do so.[52] The structuralist impulse in literary criticism is often a corrective one;

[46] Bundy 1962: 1, 33, 92.

[47] Thummer 1968–9: i.13 (translated from the German).

[48] According to Rose 1992: 154, 'it would be all but impossible to overestimate the impact of Bundy's work on the way we all read Pindar'.

[49] e.g. Young 1971*a*: 3–14. Before Bundy, the same method was being put similarly to salutary effect by Schadewaldt 1928 (e.g. 9–10). See Young 1970*a*: 86.

[50] For *N.* 7 as an ideological battleground for Pindarists, cf. Lloyd-Jones 1973; Lee 1978: 68–70; Pelliccia 1995: 13–14 and n. 4.

[51] Bundy had been significantly anticipated by Schadewaldt 1928 (note, e.g. 32 'Hinter Pindars Gedichten erkennen wir einen Typus'). Kirkwood 1981: 13, 22 n. 4 connects Schadewaldt's approach with Russian Formalism and the New Criticism.

[52] Cf. Hawthorn 1991: 175.

certainly Bundy found Pindaric criticism in the grip of an excessive historicism, whose greatest exponent was Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.[53] It is not surprising if Bundy's corrective should seem extreme in retrospect. One of the main tasks recognized by Pindaric scholars in the subsequent decades has been to reintegrate historical context into the odes.[54] The swing of the pendulum may be illustrated by a specific example. Earlier 'historicist' critics such as Wilamowitz identified the Theban Asopodoros of *Isthmian* 1 (verse 34) with the Theban cavalry commander of that name mentioned by Herodotus (9.69.2).[55] To this, Bundy countered that 'The identification . . . poses several problems and solves none', and Thummer went as far as to say 'It is not *allowed* [italics added] to equate Asopodoros with the Asopodoros named by Herodotus.'[56] More recent scholarship, however, has reinstated the identification.[57]

Bundy's approach, it should be emphasized, is not intrinsically inimical to the social contextualization of Pindar's odes: this important point has repeatedly been made.[58] It is interesting to note that recent work which has related the odes to external circumstances has invoked the same consideration to justify its approach as Bundy himself invoked to justify the rejection of biographical and historical references in the odes: the *public* aspect of choral poetry. Bundy wrote:

> We forget that this is an oral, public, epideictic literature dedicated to the single purpose of eulogizing men and communities; . . . that the environment thus created is hostile to an allusiveness that would strain the powers of a listening audience, hostile to personal, religious, political, philosophical, and historical references that might interest the poet but do nothing to enhance the glory of a given patron.[59]

[53] For structuralist literary criticism in general as offering a corrective, see Hawthorn 1991: 176 'Genette sees the concern of structuralism with form at the expense of content as a *corrective* one . . . He explains the need for such a corrective shift of focus by characterizing structuralism as a reaction to "positivism", "historicizing history" and the "biographical illusion" ' (referring to Genette 1982: 11). In connection with Bundy, Kirkwood 1981: 22 n. 4 speaks of a 'rebellion'. For pre-Bundy 'historicizing' Pindaric criticism, see Wilamowitz 1922; Bowra 1964 (in the same mould, though it appeared after Bundy 1962). For evaluation of this 'naive historicism', see Bundy 1962: 35; Thummer 1968–9: i.8; Young 1970*a*: 39; Lloyd-Jones 1973: 115–16; Krummen 1990: 14–15; Kurke 1991: 9.

[54] See e.g. Lloyd-Jones 1973: 117; Carey 1981: 6.

[55] Wilamowitz 1922: 331 and n. 3, following Gaspar 1900: 150–5.

[56] Bundy 1962: 48 n. 39; Thummer 1968–9: ii.8 (translated from the German).

[57] See Most 1985*a*: 54 and n. 46; Instone 1996: 170–2.

[58] Slater 1977: 193; Lee 1978; Hubbard 1986: 53; Kurke 1992: 91; Rose 1992: 155.

[59] Bundy 1962: 35, cf. 2. Cf. Rose 1992: 156.

But precisely the public, performative aspect of Pindar's encomiastic poetry provided for Eveline Krummen one reason why that poetry cannot be divorced from its historical circumstances:

> The present study starts from the assumption that Pindar's poems are to be understood in a historical context, that they were composed for specific social conditions, and that as encomiastic, commissioned poetry they must be oriented towards communication.[60]

Similarly, Leslie Kurke wrote, at nearly the same time:

> [W]e must correlate genre with performance: if we define genre as the set of audience expectations which shapes and constrains each individual composition, we must take into account the nature of the audience *and* the occasion that informed their expectations. This reorientation implicates genre in a whole set of social, political, and religious issues . . . Just as genre depends upon performance, poetics depends upon the broader social context.[61]

In the past decade or so, scholars have not been shy of adopting historicizing approaches to Pindar.[62]

This book is interested in broadening the structuralist linguistic paradigm which informs Bundy's approach so as to commit the interpreter to consideration of the odes' cultural context. Bundy proceeded by culling individual passages from the odes in order to construct the underlying grammar of the victory ode as a self-contained genre; on the structuralist linguistic model of Ferdinand de Saussure, these may be taken as roughly equivalent to *paroles* and *langue* respectively.[63] However, the structuralist analogy between language and literature is versatile and lends itself to various interpretations. In particular, what on the analogy corresponds to *langue*: the literary work, or the literary genre, or quite generally 'literariness'?[64] The objection to Bundy's approach is the arbitrariness of where it draws its boundaries. Whereas Bundy and Thummer tended to treat the victory ode as if it were a closed system, structuralist social anthropologists have applied the linguistic model

[60] Krummen 1990: 27 (translated from the German), cf. 5, 7, 9.

[61] Kurke 1991: 1, cf. 3.

[62] e.g. Cole 1992; Rose 1992: 141–84; Carnes 1995a; Pfeijffer 1999*a*. Cf. too Hornblower 2004 (which regrettably appeared too late to be utilized in this book).

[63] On *langue* and *parole*, see Saussure 1960: 37, cf. 30–1. For Bundy's 'themes' and 'motives', see Bundy 1962 'Subject Index' under 'cap', 'climax', 'foil', 'priamel', 'transition'. Compare Thummer's 'Lobesthemen': Thummer 1968–9: i.11, 19–158. These are the 'building blocks' of this 'grammar' of Pindar: cf. the morphemes, phonemes, etc. of language. Note Bundy 1962: 3 'I have observed and catalogued a host of these conventions.' Rose 1992: 157 sees Bundy's critical principles as arising out of a particular intellectual and political climate in America in the 1950s.

[64] Cf. Hawthorn 1998: 123.

to whole cultures. In the words of Edmund Leach, 'Structuralist social anthropologists start off with the hypothesis that [the clothes we wear, the food we eat, the houses we live in, and so on] are "languages" in the same sense (or very nearly the same sense) as spoken languages.'[65] That is, 'In every cultural system there is a "grammar" of food behaviour'; there is also a grammar of dress behaviour, of sexual behaviour, and so on.[66] An analysis of these separate 'grammars' would resemble the musical scores for individual instruments in an orchestra. The structuralist social anthropologist, however, is concerned to reconstruct the *conductor's* score, in which the scores of all the instruments are combined.[67] Leach again: 'what is being communicated by the orchestra as a whole is a unity. The individual messages of the separate instruments only "make sense" when they are combined as a whole.'[68] We may, if we like, recognize the victory ode as a system. But we should also recognize that it is part of a social system.[69] It is a basic assumption of this book that the 'grammar' of the epinician can only properly be understood when it is set alongside parallel manifestations of its culture. Failure to make these comparisons entails a misinterpretation of epinicians, as surely as the failure to make the intrageneric comparisons urged by Bundy, Thummer, and before them Schadewaldt means embracing biographical and historical fallacies. Thus broadened, the structuralist perspective coincides in its objectives with the 'cultural poetics' which Leslie Kurke has fruitfully brought to bear on the study of Pindar.[70] It is characteristic of this method that it 'rejects the privileging or bracketing of a self-contained realm of art within society' and '[views] all acts of representation together and [reads] them against one another'.[71] In this book the poetic strategies pursued within the victory ode will be set alongside those pursued in other domains, linguistic and non-linguistic: the funeral oration, publicly performed elegy, public art, and athletes' emulation of heroes.

The interpretation of Pindar's odes is inevitably affected by a number of assumptions about the nature of epinician poetry. This introductory chapter will also be a convenient place to bring some of these out into the open.

[65] Leach 1973: 39.
[66] Leach 1973: 46.
[67] Leach 1973: 44–5.
[68] Leach 1973: 44.
[69] On 'social systems', cf. too Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 21, 31.
[70] See Kurke 1991, 1992, 1993.
[71] Dougherty and Kurke 1993: 5.

The performance of Pindar's odes

From antiquity on it was assumed that Pindar's odes were performed by a chorus; the assumption has recently become controversial, with several scholars making a case for solo performance.[72] In this book it is assumed that choral performance was the rule for epinician poetry, although the possibility of occasional solo performance is not excluded, especially (but not necessarily) for secondary performances.[73] The odes abound with references to groups of performers, and it is reasonable to suppose that these were the performers of Pindar's own odes. It does not seem significant that the preferred designation for these performers in both Pindar and Bacchylides is *κῶμος*, not *χορός*.[74] The chorus seems regularly to have been composed of young men.[75]

It is unclear whether the chorus both sang and danced a victory ode, but this seems quite likely.[76] In *Nemean* 8 the speaking first person says, 'I stand with my light feet' (19 *ἵσταμαι . . . ποσσὶ κούφοις*). References to dancers' feet are common in early Greek poetry, so it is reasonable to see the 'light feet' here as engaged in dancing.[77] The verse runs: 'I stand with light feet, drawing breath before saying something (*ἀμπνέων . . . πρίν τι φάμεν*).' The implication is that one and the same person is dancing and singing, in which case we would have evidence, in this ode at least, for a singing and dancing chorus.

In choral performances one figure typically took the lead, often playing the lyre while he (or she) orchestrated the dance: this figure was the *ἔξαρχος* (*ἐξάρχων*) or *χορηγός* (*χοροστάτις* when female).[78] In Pindar's odes this role was ideally played by Pindar himself.[79] In practice, however, a deputy seems sometimes to have stood in: this seems to be the role of Aineias at *O.* 6.87–92 and Nikasippos at *I.* 2.47–8.

[72] Choral performance advocated by: Burnett 1989; Carey 1989; id. 1991. Solo performance advocated by: Davies 1988; Heath 1988; Lefkowitz 1991*b*; Heath and Lefkowitz 1991.

[73] Cf. Robbins 1997: 257; Clay 1999: 33. On the question of reperformance, see Currie 2004.

[74] See esp. Carey 1989: 549 n. 9; id. 1991: 192–4; Bremer 1990: 50–7. Differently, Heath 1988; cf. id. 2002: 103–5, 136 n. 7; Heath and Lefkowitz 1991: 175–6; Lefkowitz 1991*a*: 191–206.

[75] e.g. *P.* 5.22, 103; *N.* 3.5, 66; *I.* 8.1, etc.; Bacch. 6.9, 11.11, 13.190, etc.

[76] Differently, Hutchinson 2001: 367; cf. Instone 1996: 15.

[77] For dancers' (light) feet, see esp. Ar. *thesm.* 953–6 *ὅρμα, χώρει | κοῦφα ποσίν κτλ.*; *Il.* 18.599; *Od.* 8.264–5, 23.146; Hes. *th.* 3, 8; Alcm. 3.10 *PMG*; Pin. *pae.* 6.18; Bacch. 17.108. Cf. Hor. *carm.* 1.4.7.

[78] Mullen 1982: 12–13; Calame 1997: 43–73.

[79] Mullen 1982: 21.

An important related issue is the occasion of epinician performance. Some shorter odes seem to have been performed at the site of the games in the (more or less immediate) aftermath of the victory. This seems to have been the case with, for instance, *Olympian* 11 and *Pythian* 7, as well as Bacchylides 2 and 4.[80] Other odes could follow the victory at intervals of varying length and were performed in the victor's hometown. It seems that these odes were performed either at the victor's house or in a public space, such as a god or hero's sanctuary.[81] When performed at the victor's house, we may think of a sympotic setting: various odes draw their imagery from the symposium (*O.* 7.1–6, *P.* 4.294–6, *N.* 9.48–52, *I.* 6.1). When performed in a sanctuary the ode might be performed in the context of a public festival.[82] For our reconstruction of the performance context we depend almost entirely on the internal evidence of the odes.[83] Thus it appears that *Nemean* 10 was performed at the Argive Heraia or Hekatombaia (22–3), *Pythian* 5 at the Cyrenean Karneia (77–81), *Isthmian* 4 at the Theban Herakleia (61–6), *Olympian* 3 at an Acragantine Theoxenia (39–41), *Pythian* 11 at the Theban Daphnephoria (1–8), *Nemean* 4 at an Aeginetan festival at the new moon (35).[84] The examples may be multiplied, but the interpretation is nearly always controversial. A rare occasion, however, when ancient scholarship seems to supply external evidence for the performance of epinicians at a festival deserves mention. By way of elucidation of the phrase 'in honour of Zeus Aitnaios' (*N.* 1.6), an ancient commentator writes: 'Hieron's associates used to sing the epinicians which had been composed for [victories in] the crown-bearing games at the contest and festival of Zeus Aitnaios. Hence Didymos says it is credible that the epinician for Chromios' Nemean victory was composed for the reason that it was meant to be sung by the gathering at the festival'.[85] It

[80] See Gelzer 1985; Willcock 1995: 55. Cf. Aristarchus in Σ*N.* 3.1c on an 'improvised song' performed at the site of the victory.

[81] At the victor's house: cf. e.g. *O.* 1.10, *N.* 1.19–20, *I.* 8.2; cf. Bacch. 6.14. In a sanctuary: e.g. *O.* 14.1–4, *P.* 5.24, *P.* 11.1–8, *N.* 5.53, *N.* 11.1–3.

[82] For victory odes performed at public festivals, cf. Krummen 1990: *passim*, esp. 275–6; Slater 1984: 244–5; Gelzer 1985: 96 and n. 5; Bernardini 1992: 969 n. 16.

[83] Cf. Herington 1985: 27, 231 n. 68; Robbins 1997: 255.

[84] *N.* 10: Cannatà Fera 2001: 159. *P.* 5: Krummen 1990: 114–16. *I.* 4: Krummen 1990: 93. *O.* 3: Krummen 1990: 235–6. *P.* 11: Bernardini in Gentili et al. 1995: 286. *N.* 4: Willcock 1995: 100.

[85] Σ*N.* 1.7b *Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου χάριν· ἢ εἰς χάριν τοῦ Διός, ἢ ἕνεκεν τοῦ Διός, παρόσον ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τοῦ Αἰτναίου Διὸς ᾖδον οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἱέρωνα τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς στεφανίταις ἀγῶσι πεποιημένους ἐπινίκους [καὶ ᾖδον]. πιθανὸν οὖν φησιν ὁ Δίδυμος καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Χρομίου Νεμεακῆς νίκης ἐπίνικον ἕνεκα τούτου συντετάχθαι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλειν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς πανηγύρεως ᾀσθήσεσθαι.*

is possible that this festival of Zeus Aitnaios provided the occasion not just for *Nemean* 1, but for *Pythian* 1.[86] Especially when a festival featured an athletic contest it may have been an appropriate occasion for the performance of epinicians.[87]

Assumptions about the mode of performance (whether choral or solo) and about performance contexts (whether at a sanctuary in the context of a festival or at the victor's house in the context of a symposium) feed into assumptions about whether epinician poetry was public or private, and whether it was destined for an inclusive citizen audience or an exclusive aristocratic one. This distinction has become increasingly suspect. Often in the Archaic and Classical periods 'private' aristocratic occasions had an important 'public' aspect.[88] Even odes performed in a sympotic context at the laudandus' house cannot be viewed as straightforwardly 'private'.[89] The public aspect of epinicians is frequently emphasized in the odes. In *I.* 8.8, for instance, we find the significant phrase *γλυκύ τι δαμωσόμεθα*, 'let us sing something sweet before the people'; Stesichorus, traditionally regarded as a choral poet, had earlier used the noun *δαμώματα* for 'songs sung in public' (212 *PMG*). In victory odes we frequently find an emphasis on the participation of the *δᾶμος*, 'people', the *πόλις*, 'city', the *πολῖται*, 'citizens', the *ἄστυ*, 'city'—either as performers or as the audience of the ode.[90] The overriding impression is thus that this is public poetry. This sits well, of course, with the assumption of choral performance of the odes, and of festivals as an occasion for their performance. Another dichotomy which, like public and private, needs to be treated with suspicion is that between religious and secular poetry. Gods, heroes, and festivals are of fundamental importance in the odes, and one should hesitate to classify epinician as a 'secular' genre.[91]

[86] For the Aitnaia festival, cf. Σ *O.* 6.162a. For this festival as the occasion for *N.* 1, see Braswell 1992: 37. A 'solemn public ceremony' is assumed to be the occasion of *P.* 1 by Cingano in Gentili et al. 1995: 10; cf. Wilamowitz 1922: 298.

[87] As, e.g., *I.* 4 performed at the Herakleia, *N.* 10 at the Heraia, *O.* 9 at the Aianteia.

[88] See Schmitt Pantel 1990: 14–33; Clay 1999; Vetta 1992; Hutchinson 2001: 361, 364.

[89] Cf. Clay 1999.

[90] See *N.* 10.22–3; *O.* 7.93–4; *N.* 2.24; Bacch. 11.10–12. Cf. *N.* 9.31.

[91] See Hutchinson 2001: 364–5 on the role of gods in the odes.

The first person in Pindar

Another major controversy in Pindaric criticism, affecting the interpretation of numerous passages, is the reference of first-person statements in the odes.[92] At one end of the spectrum it has been argued (a) that the first person never excludes the poet, but may exclude a chorus.[93] At the other end, it has been held (b) that the first person never excludes the chorus, but may exclude the poet.[94] Between these is the intermediate position (c) that the first person is capable sometimes of referring to the poet to the exclusion of the chorus, sometimes of referring to the chorus to the exclusion of the poet, and that this variation may be possible even within a single ode.[95]

Position (a) necessarily follows from the view that Pindar's epinicians were performed solo rather than by a chorus (see above); but it can also be held by those who believe that the odes were chorally performed. This position, though, seems to have difficulty accounting for a handful of first-person statements, which it seems necessary to refer to the chorus to the exclusion of the poet.[96] Such statements are *P.* 5.76, *N.* 7.85 (discussed below in Chapters 11 and 13 respectively), *P.* 8.98, and Bacchylides 2.7–9. If these are admitted as choral first persons, then it follows that at least these odes were chorally performed.

Position (b) also runs into difficulties. There are a number of first-person statements in the odes which seem to refer to the poet to the exclusion of the chorus. One such is *P.* 3.77–8 (discussed in Chapter 14). Another awkward passage is *O.* 6.84–5, which it does not seem possible to refer to a local Stymphalian chorus.[97] There the first-person speaker evidently intends: my grandmother is Stymphalian, because my mother is Thebe, whose mother in turn was the Stymphalian nymph Metope. It makes good sense for the Theban Pindar to claim Thebe as his mother (compare *I.* 1.1), but that claim cannot be made by a Stymphalian chorus. The presence of first persons referring to the poet does not undermine the view that the odes were chorally performed. The possibility of such first-person reference would make sense, assuming

[92] See Bremer 1990; d'Alessio 1994; Lefkowitz 1995; Gerber 1997: 6–8.

[93] See Lefkowitz 1991a: *passim*; Fogelmark 1972: 119; Kirkwood 1982: 16–17; Robbins 1997: 269–70; Hutchinson 2001: 365.

[94] See Stehle 1997: 16–17 and n. 48, cf. 160–9.

[95] See Carey 1981: 16–17; Bremer 1990: 45–50; d'Alessio 1994: 123–4; Slater 1969*b*: 89–90; Lardinois 1995: 254–7.

[96] See Bremer 1990: 49 n. 20.

[97] Differently, Stehle 1997: 164–5.

choral performance, if there were a convention (real or ideal) for the poet himself to lead the chorus as ἔξαρχος (see above). A similar convention has sometimes been invoked to account for the presence in Old Comedy of first persons referring to the poet.[98]

These arguments, for choral first persons which exclude the poet and for first persons which refer to the poet to the exclusion of the chorus, together bolster the case for position (c). The vast majority of first persons in the odes, however, refer neither to the chorus to the exclusion of the poet nor to the poet to the exclusion of the chorus. On one estimate, at least 90 per cent of first persons delineate the speaker no more precisely than as someone with a duty to praise (in other words, as laudator), or as someone engaged in the act of singing and music-making. This type of first person has been called the 'bardic' or 'professional I'.[99] Another important use of the first person is a generalizing one, sometimes called a representative I or 'first person indefinite'. Here the first person is used to articulate values which a typical member of the society could be expected to share.[100]

A further, controversial, possibility is that some first persons in epinicians are to be referred to the laudandus.[101] The main candidates for such a usage are *P.* 8.58–60, *P.* 9.88–92, *N.* 7.64–8, and *I.* 7.49–51. In some of these it may be enough to suppose that the poet or chorus simply identifies himself with the laudandus' concerns; but in others it seems that the statement only makes sense if it comes from the laudandus. This possibility presupposes choral performance, and the flexibility in first-person reference that that scenario implies. Pindar's ancient commentators maintain that a number of first-person statements in the odes are made by the chorus 'in the persona of the victor'.[102] Modern scholars are divided as to whether this should be accepted as an epinician licence.[103] This strange-seeming convention might be more natural if it had once been the custom for the victor himself to play the role of chorus leader (ἔξαρχος) in the performance of an epinician.

[98] MacDowell 1995: 42–3; Pelling 2000: 46–7, 284–5 n. 20; cf. Pickard-Cambridge 1988: 93 and nn. 2–4. Cf. d'Alessio 1994: 135.

[99] Lefkowitz 1991*b*: 3 and *passim*; Bremer 1990: 45–7; Lardinois 1995: 255–6 and n. 7.

[100] 'Representative I': Slings 1990: 1–3 (after Fränkel). 'First person indefinite': Young 1968: 12, 58; id. 1971: 10–11, 30; Bremer 1990: 47–8.

[101] See Carey 1981: 159–61; Bremer 1990: 48–9; d'Alessio 1994: 130–4.

[102] Cf. Σ *P.* 8.78a, Σ *P.* 9.161, Σ *N.* 10.73b, Σ *I.* 7.55b.

[103] Accepted by Bundy 1962: 69–70 and n. 84; Young 1971*a*: 30; Carey 1981: 160–1; Fränkel 1975: 475 n. 12; Slater 1971: 141; Bremer 1990: 48–9; Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: 237–8. Cf. d'Alessio 1994: 130–1. Denied by e.g. Robbins 1997: 268–73; Pfeijffer 1999*a*: 540–2.

Aelius Aristides, writing in the second century AD, seems to envisage just this possibility when he speaks of victorious athletes as 'summoning the poets and giving them money, and finally, after receiving the victory ode, singing their own praises to the accompaniment of oboe and chorus'.[104] What authority Aristides could have for this statement is quite unclear. But we may note that Pindar's *Olympian* 9 opens with the picture of the victor leading off a chorus in a performance of Archilochus' rudimentary victory song (324 *IEG* *τήνελλα καλλίνικε κτλ.*) immediately after winning at Olympia. It is important to remember too that aristocrats in the early Classical period were probably typically expected to have competence in song and dance.[105]

Questions of genre

The concept of epinician (*ἐπινίκιον*) as a poetic genre is problematic.[106] Pindar did not have a single designation for his victory odes, but calls them variously *ὕμνος*, *ἐγκώμιος*, *ἐπίνικος*, *μέλος*, and *ἀοιδά*. On the formal level it is hard to identify features which are unique to the victory odes. They are not metrically distinct from other genres: Aeolic, dactylo-epitrite, and iambic rhythms are used in epinician and non-epinician genres alike, and epinicians may be either triadic or monostrophic. Such typical epinician elements as myth and *gnomai* are found also in other genres.[107] The range of possible performance occasions for victory odes (above) renders impossible the attempt to define the genre with reference to its circumstances of performance. Even the first person does not seem to be a reliable generic marker: the alleged distinction between epinicians and paeans in this respect has also been called into question.[108]

If it is difficult to define the epinician genre formally, it is apparently easy to define it in terms of function. An epinician is a poem composed to celebrate an athletic victory: it is a poem whose occasion is athletic victory or, rather, a specific athletic victory. But we must admit complications even to this modest claim. This definition may

[104] Aristid. *or.* 28K (49D) 62 = *περὶ τοῦ παραφθέγματος* p. 379 Jebb (*sc.* *οἱ ἀθληταί*) *παρακαλοῦντές τε τοὺς ποιητὰς καὶ διδόντες ἀργύριον, καὶ τελευτῶντες παραλαβόντες τὸν ἐπίνικον, ᾄδοντες ἑαυτοὺς ὑπ' αὐλοῦ καὶ χοροῦ.*

[105] Cf. Plut. *Them.* 2.4. See Stehle 1997: 25–7; Rutherford 2001: 3.

[106] In general on the problems of genre, see esp. Käppel 1992: 3–22; Rutherford 2001: 3–10.

[107] Rossi 1971: 71; Calame 1974: 123; Hutchinson 2001: 367–8.

[108] Cf. d'Alessio 1994. Differently, Lefkowitz 1991*b*. Cf. Hutchinson 2001: 326, 365.

be comfortably satisfied by those short odes which were envisaged for immediate performance at the site of the games. But some odes followed the athletic victory after a considerable interval (*N.* 3, *O.* 10, and *I.* 2: see below); other odes seem to celebrate several victories, not one in particular. When victories are simply ranked in descending order of the importance of the games (Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean), we are not in a position to know which victory, or indeed whether any single victory, provided the immediate occasion for the ode. This is the situation with *Olympian* 7 (verses 10, 15–17, 81–6), *Olympian* 12 (verses 17–18), and *Nemean* 10 (verses 25–6).[109] Some odes may have more than one laudandus (e.g. *O.* 8.15–18, 54–9; *I.* 5.17–22).[110] Even with odes which celebrate a specific athletic victory (or victories), it is not always easy to determine whether the celebration of that victory (or victories) was the occasion for the ode. Certainly not every ode which mentions an athletic victory is an epinician: Pindar's fragment 94b mentions athletic victories of the family of Agasikles (41–9), but the poem is a *daphnephorikon*, to be performed at Thebes' Daphnephoria festival. Likewise, *Nemean* 11.19–32 and Bacchylides fragment 20c.2–11 refer to athletic victories which were not the occasion for the ode; neither of these was classed as an epinician. While it is evident that athletic victory (in general, or a specific victory) was a theme for song, it is sometimes harder to settle whether a particular song is generically 'epinician': that is, whether an athletic victory provided the occasion for the song. This, however, was not necessarily a question which always exercised Pindar.

Inevitably we see Pindar's poems through the perceptual filter of the Alexandrian scholars (especially Aristophanes of Byzantium) who collected, classified, and edited Pindar's poems in the third century BC.[111] Yet the perspective of these third-century scholars differed significantly from that of the Archaic and Classical poets themselves.[112] Pindar's Alexandrian editors organized the texts of his poems into

[109] Cf. Σ *N.* 10.1a 'some scholars say that the ode was composed for several victories; for he won the Isthmian and Pythian and Nemean games'. Scholars tend tacitly to assume that Diagoras' Olympic victory of 464 BC was the occasion for *O.* 7, Ergoteles' Pythian victory of 466 BC was the occasion for *O.* 12, and Theaios' (second) victory in the Heraia was the occasion for *N.* 10. This relies on the unspoken presupposition that an epinician must have its occasion in a specific athletic victory. See, against this assumption, Hamilton 1974: 104–6.

[110] Cf. Σ *O.* 8 Inscr. a 'he wrote the ode, Didymus says, for all three of them [Alkimedon, Timosthenes, Melesias]'.

[111] See Irigoin 1952: 30–50; Pfeiffer 1968: 181–8. 'Hellenistic filter': Rutherford 2001: 5–6.

[112] See Harvey 1955; Rossi 1971; Calame 1974; Rutherford 2001: 4–6, 90–1.

nine distinct genres (εἴδη): *Hymns*, *Paeans*, *Dithyrambs*, *Processional Songs*, *Maiden-songs*, *Dance Songs* (*Hyporchemata*), *Encomia*, *Dirges*, and *Epinicians*. Several genres contained more than one book; there were four of *Epinicians*: *For Olympian Victors*, *For Pythian Victors*, *For Isthmian Victors*, and *For Nemean Victors* (the order of the last two books was reversed in later transmission).[113] In assigning poems to a particular genre or to a particular book within a given genre, the Alexandrian editors faced difficult choices. The last three *Nemeans* do not celebrate victories at the Nemean games: *Nemean* 9 celebrates a victory in the Sicyonian Pythia, *Nemean* 10 (if a specific victory at all) a victory in the Argive Heraia, and *Nemean* 11 the election of the laudandus to the office of πρυτανεύς, 'councillor'. These poems represent an editorial compromise: collected together at the end of the last book of *Epinicians*, they formed a kind of appendix or residue. It is not that they were judged to be *Nemeans*, there was simply no better place in Pindar's oeuvre to accommodate them.[114] In other places the classificatory decisions of Pindar's Alexandrian editors have more alarming consequences. It was a misunderstanding of *O.* 12.17–18 ('*now* in Olympia . . .') that led to that ode being placed among the *Olympians* although an Olympian victory cannot have been the immediate occasion for the ode (a Pythian victory was more recent than the Olympian one).[115] *Pythian* 1 mentions Hieron's victory in the chariot race at Delphi (30–3), but that athletic victory was less the occasion of the ode than Hieron's founding of Aitna (30–2) and his military success in the battle of Cumae (72–5). *Pythian* 2 does not seem to have been composed primarily to celebrate a chariot victory of Hieron's, despite verses 3–12 (see Chapter 12); the ode's classification was controversial already in antiquity.[116] *Pythian* 3 mentions victories in the single-horse race at Delphi (73–4); but that ode too seems not to be an epinician (see Chapter 14).

The point here is not the trivial one that the Alexandrian editors may have erred in particular cases of classification: much more serious is the possibility that their generic assumptions may actually falsify Pindar's mode of operation. The rigid application of generic concepts to Archaic poetry is a preoccupation peculiar to Alexandrian editors, scholars, and librarians, whose business was with *texts*; it was much less a concern

[113] Irigoin 1952: 100.

[114] Σ *N.* 9 Inscr. *αὗται δὲ αἱ ᾠδαὶ οὐκέτι Νεμεονίκαις εἰσὶ γεγραμμέναι· διὸ κεχωρισμέναι φέρονται*, 'these odes are no longer written for Nemean victors; therefore they are transmitted as "[odes] separated [from the *Nemeans*]" '. Cf. Σ *P.* 3.139a *τοῖς κεχωρισμένοις τῶν Παρθενείων*: an 'Appendix' to the *Maiden-songs*.

[115] See Barrett 1973.

[116] Σ *P.* 2 Inscr.

of Archaic and Classical poets, whose business was with *performances*, for a stipulated audience on a stipulated occasion. By contrast with the unitary classificatory decisions faced by an Alexandrian editor, Archaic poetry can be found to show 'generic indeterminacy'.[117] That means that 'the Hellenistic strategy of assigning every song to one of a series of wholly distinct genres is to some extent out of step with the generic economy of song of the fifth century BC, in which such categories, though conceptually distinct, are frequently found to overlap in their application to individual songs, in such a way that a single song could instantiate more than one type'.[118] Modern scholars have argued for an admixture of epinicians with hymns (*O.* 14), paeans (*P.* 5), dirges (*O.* 2, *I.* 2, *I.* 8.59–65), and didactic-gnomic poetry (*P.* 6).[119] A further basic division assumed by Pindar's Alexandrian editors is also fundamental to this study: the division of his songs into those supposedly for gods (hymns, paeans, etc.) and those supposedly for men (dirges, epinicians, etc.).[120] This division removes any ambiguity in the status of the epinician laudandus. Yet (this study contends) precisely this ambiguity may be a crucial factor in the understanding of this poetry. The instability of the dichotomy of religious and secular poetry in this connection is suggested by, among other things, the fact of generic indeterminacy (an epinician might perhaps simultaneously be hymnic or paeanic), and the fact that victory odes could be performed in a religious setting and at a religious occasion (in sanctuaries and at festivals: see above).

Dating Pindar's odes

A historically-minded approach to Pindar such as the one pursued in this book is naturally interested in the possibility of dating Pindar's odes.[121] Here too there are problems which need to be signalled.

[117] See Harvey 1955; Calame 1974: 123; Most 1985*a*: 96–7 n. 5; Bernardini 1992: 967; Dougherty 1993: 27 n. 1; Carey 1995: 97 and n. 21. [118] Rutherford 2001: 91.

[119] *O.* 14: Harvey 1955: 167. *P.* 5: Krummen 1990: 139–40. *O.* 2: Nagy 1979: 171 and n. 4. *I.* 2: See Diodorus *apud* Σ *I.* 2.54a; Cannatà Fera 1990: 29. *I.* 8: Day 1989: 23–4, 28. *P.* 6: Kurke 1990: esp. 98, 103. The possibility of mixed genres may be implied by the Alexandrian title of *Σύμμικτα* (*Compound Works* or *Miscellaneous Works*?) for a book of Simonides: 540 *PMG*.

[120] This division, which seems to go back to Aristophanes of Byzantium, is explicitly formulated by Proclus in Phot. *bibl.* 319b32–320a6. The distinction is, however, as early as Plato: *resp.* 607a4 (distinguishing *ὕμνους θεοῖς καὶ ἐγκώμια τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς*), *legg.* 700a9-b5. See Harvey 1955: 165; Pfeiffer 1968: 184.

[121] On the dating of Pindar's odes, see Gaspar 1900: *passim*; Rose 1992: 153–4.

Scholars, ancient and modern, have generally assumed that the performance of victory odes followed very soon after the athletic victory which they celebrate; therefore the date of the victory gives the date of the ode.[122] This assumption is not invariably sound. *Olympian* 10 was composed some time after Hagesidamos' victory: it speaks of itself as 'songs that have appeared at last (χρόνῳ) by famous Dirke' (85).[123] Similarly, *Nemean* 3 refers to itself as coming 'late' (80 ὄψε). *Isthmian* 2 was clearly composed after the death of the victor Xenokrates, who is spoken of in past tenses (37 ἔσχεν, ἦν). We will perhaps do better to regard the victory as supplying a *terminus post quem*, not the actual date of the ode, even if most of the time the athletic victory will be the best chronological anchor for an ode.

The athletic victories may often be dated by the ancient commentators preserved in the Pindar scholia. For Olympian victories, these commentators drew on published victor lists, such as that compiled by Hippias of Elis (*FGrH* 6 F2). For Pythian victories, they could draw on the list made by Aristotle and Callisthenes (*FGrH* 124 T23); we know for a fact that they consulted this work (see Σ *O.* 2.87e, Σ *I.* 2 Inscr. a, Σ *P.* 11.21c). Apparently they did not use any such lists for Isthmian and Nemean victors, and consequently there are no external dating criteria for *Nemean* and *Isthmian* odes, as for the *Olympians* and *Pythians*.[124] The ancient commentators typically present the dates in the form: 'so-and-so won in the *n*th Olympian (Pythian) festival'. This may be converted into a Julian date provided we know when the commentators (following Hippias and Aristotle–Callisthenes) took the Olympian and Pythian festivals to have been celebrated first. The date reckoned for the first Olympian festival (776 BC) is not controversial, but that for the first Pythian festival is. At Delphi, a 'contest for material prizes' (ἀγὼν χρηματίτης) was first held in 586 BC, while the first 'contest for a wreath' (ἀγὼν στεφανίτης) was in 582 BC.[125] It is not clear which of these was taken as the beginning of the Pythian era. The majority of modern opinion (since the publication in 1900 of Camille Gaspar's *Essai de chronologie pindarique*, which exploited the recently discovered

[122] Cf. e.g. Fränkel 1975: 428 'Since all Pindar's poems were occasional pieces, many of them can be dated to a particular year.'

[123] Cf. *O.* 10.1–8 and 102.

[124] See Gaspar 1900: 12.

[125] On the establishment of the Pythian games, see *Marmor Parium*, *FGrH* 239.52–4; Paus. 10.7.2–5; Σ Pind. *hypothesis Pythiorum* a–d.

Oxyrhynchus victor list) has favoured the latter date.[126] However, many earlier scholars, and a minority of recent ones, have maintained the earlier date.[127] This date at least has the unambiguous support of Pausanias (10.7.4–5, 10.7.7), while the support for the later date is more ambiguous. The issue cannot yet be said to have been finally resolved, and so in this book a four-year margin of error will be allowed when converting scholiasts' Pythian era dates into a date BC.

Apart from these external dating criteria the internal evidence of the odes can sometimes yield a date. The safest ground is when a clear historical reference in the ode provides a *terminus post quem* for the ode, less reliable is the use of an argument from silence as a *terminus ante quem*. Little faith can be placed in the dating by means of stylistic criteria: these tend to be highly subjective.

[126] See Gaspar 1900: 2–13 (the list of Olympic victors is P. Oxy. 222). See recently Mosshammer 1982; Braswell 1988: 1 n. 1; Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: pp. xxiii–viii esp. p. xxv; Richardson 1992: 224.

[127] This is the reason (obscure to Rose 1992: 165 n. 33) why Gildersleeve 1890: 348 dates the 22nd Pythian festival to 502, not 498 BC. Among recent scholars, 586 BC is defended as the beginning of the Pythian era by Bennett 1957; Miller 1978*b*; Brodersen 1990.

PART I

Some Themes in Hero Cult; Homer and Pindar

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Some Themes in Hero Cult; Homer and Pindar

The first part of the book will serve as an introduction to various issues in hero cult, and to Pindar's treatment of them. A useful approach will be to compare Pindar with Homer ('Homer' is used to mean here, according to the conventional shorthand, 'the poet(s) of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*'[1]). The comparison with Homer recommends itself for two reasons. First, in view of the considerable influence Homer has had (or has been held to have had) on the religious conceptions of the Greeks, both in general and as concerns heroes in particular.[2] It is barely even possible to define the concept of the hero without reference to Homer.[3] Homeric epic, moreover, has been seen as providing the inspiration not only for the practice of a cult of heroes, but also for the linguistic development of the word ἥρως to mean 'hero' in a cultic sense. Homer also gave apparently authoritative expression to the concept of the afterlife and of the relationship between mortals and immortals.[4] But it would be mistaken to see the Homeric picture of the hero as the standard one, either in its own time or for later Greeks; in the first part of the book, we will explore especially various ways in which Homer's conception of the hero may be unrepresentative.

Second, from a literary-critical point of view, it is crucial to attempt to understand the relationship of Pindar to Homer.[5] Pindar's debt, linguistic and mythological, to 'Homer' is considerable, but complex. (Evidently for Pindar 'Homer' also has a wider application than that implied by the conventional modern shorthand.)[6] We can in fact easily

[1] For this shorthand, cf. Burkert 1985*a*: 121; Garvie 1994: 3; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 13.

[2] Famously, Hdt. 2.53 (but see e.g. Kirk 1990: 2). Cf. Burkert 1985*a*: 119–25 ('The Spell of Homer'), 194–9 ('Afterlife Mythology').

[3] Boehringer 2001: 25 'Jede Untersuchung des Begriffs "Heros" muß . . . bei Homer beginnen.'

[4] See esp. Griffin 1980.

[5] Cf. Nisetich 1988: 17 'Pindar's attitude toward Homer is crucial.' On the relationship between Pindar and Homer, cf. Nisetich 1989; Nagy 1990*a*; Sotiriou 1998.

[6] On Pindar's mythological debt to 'Homer', cf. Fitch 1924; Bowra 1964: 283; Mann 1994.

be led astray by exaggerating the pull which Homer had on Pindar. This is a problem which, as will presently be seen, surfaces in various issues pertaining to hero cult, perhaps the most pressing being the question of immortality in 'renown', κλέος (below, Chapter 6).

2

Views of Death

The Homeric view of death

In Homer death is final.[1] Death, or rather cremation, marks the end of the dead person's involvement in the world of the living (*Iliad* 23.75–6).[2] The Homeric dead are devoid of vital energy (*μένος*): they are, in the words of an apparently traditional locution, the 'feeble heads of the dead' (*νεκύων ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα*, e.g. *Odyssey* 10.521). They lack *φρένες*, corporeality and consciousness.[3] All that survives death is a 'soul and image' (*Iliad* 23.104 *ψυχὴ καὶ εἴδωλον*). The dead man's soul is distinct from 'the man himself' (*αὐτός*), so there can be no real continuity of being after death.[4] The Homeric dead have, finally, no means either of harming or of helping the living.[5]

The Pindaric view of death

Before speaking of the Pindaric view of death, we must clarify whether the religious beliefs in Pindar's poems are to be ascribed to Pindar, to the patron, or to the audience.[6] The safest policy is to assume that the views espoused must have been ones to which patron and public, at

[1] This discussion of the Homeric view of death must necessarily be summary; for fuller treatments, cf. Rohde 1925: i. 1–68; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 10–107; Johnston 1999: 7–16; Clarke 1999; Albinus 2000: 21–97.

[2] See Richardson 1985*a*: 50–1; Johnston 1999: 7–9.

[3] Burkert 1985*a*: 196. For the link between *φρένες* and corporeality, see *Il.* 23.99–104. For the link between *φρένες* and consciousness, see *Od.* 10.493–5 (Teiresias is the exception who proves the rule). To regain consciousness, the dead had to drink blood, regaining corporeality: *Od.* 11.153. If consciousness depends on corporeality, then the decision whether *φρένες* means 'wits' or 'midriff' (see Richardson 1993: 178) may not be critical.

[4] *Il.* 1.3–4; 23.65–6, cf. 106–7. Rohde 1925: i. 5; Clarke 1999: *passim*, esp. 157–60; Albinus 2000: 43–4.

[5] See Tsagarakis 1980: 237; Garland 1984–6: 8–9. Qualified by Johnston 1999: 10–11 (cf. *Od.* 11.279–80).

[6] Pindar's personal religion: cf. Farnell 1930–2: ii. 459–76; Rossi 1952: 30–1; Bowra 1964: 42–98; Pòrtulas 1985: 226–7. The patron's beliefs: cf. Wilamowitz 1922: 252; Thummer 1957: 7, 20–1, 43, 50–1, 53–4; Davison 1960: 204; Willcock 1995: 139. In general see Lloyd-Jones 1990*c*: 102–3.

least, were sympathetic.[7] A comparison may be made with the political views of the odes. Different odes may present contrasting, even conflicting, political perspectives: *Pythian* 1 proffers staunch support to the rule of the Deinomenidai (see especially verses 61–70), but *Olympian* 12 celebrates the installation of a democracy in Himera apparently after the fall of that same tyranny (verses 1–2).[8] This suggests that it is above all popular belief, the beliefs of the audience and patron, that are at issue in an investigation into the Pindaric view of death.[9] It follows that the beliefs represented throughout the corpus need not be consistent or uniform.[10] To the extent that they are so, this may be due to the shared interests and common outlook of the patrons of the odes.

In *Olympian* 2 it seems to be denied that death is final: 'truly, for mortals an end in death has in no way been fixed' (30–2 *ἤτοι βροτῶν γε κέκριται | πεῖρας οὔ τι θανάτου*).[11] The sentence can, it is true, be taken differently, to mean 'truly, in the case of mortals, death's end has in no way been determined', in other words, that men cannot know in advance when death will come.[12] However, the former interpretation is supported by the mythical examples of Semele and Ino in the verses immediately preceding: 'Semele lives on . . . after she died . . .' (25–6 *ζώει . . . ἀποθανοῖσα . . . Σεμέλα*), '[they say that] an immortal life has been allotted to Ino' (29–30 *βίον ἄφθιτον | Ἰνοῖ τετάχθαι*). The particle *ἤτοι* (30) should probably 'introduce an explanation by reference to a known aphorism which expands the particular case of Semele and Ino'.[13] The notion that 'death is not the end' recurs at *O.* 2.57–70, and in fragment 137.2–3, if there the 'end of life' (*βίου τελευτάν*) is simultaneously the 'god-given beginning' (*διόσδοτον ἀρχάν*).[14]

[7] Cf. Bundy 1962: 35. Lloyd-Jones 1990b: 65 speaks of 'the Romantic error of taking Pindar's religion for a personal construction of his own'.

[8] On the implications of the opening of *O.* 12, cf. Σ *O.* 12.1a, with Diod. 11.72.2. See Barrett 1973. Cf. Bremer 1991: 50.

[9] Similarly, scholarship on tragedy has moved away from the attempt to reconstruct the views of the playwright in favour of those of the audience: see Pelling 1997: p. v.

[10] Young 1970*a*: 83, warning against treating Pindar's oeuvre as a 'continuum'.

[11] For this translation, cf. Köhnken in Lloyd-Jones 1990*b*: 104, followed by Hummel 1993: §520. Differently, Willcock 1995: 147.

[12] So Σ *O.* 2.55a; Race 1997: i. 67; and most commentators. For this idea, cf. Sem. 1.3–5 *IEG*; 'Theogn.' 903–9.

[13] Hummel 1993: §520, after Köhnken in Lloyd-Jones 1990*b*: 104.

[14] Compare too the Orphic verse *νῦν ἔθανες καὶ νῦν ἐγένου*, 'now you died and now you were born' (11B3.1, 11B4.1 Pugliese Carratelli). Also, the Orphic graffito from Olbia: *βίος θάνατος βίος*, 'life-death-life' (Dubois 1996: no. 94). Compare, too, the phrasing of Emped. 31 B8.2 *VS* *οὐδέ τις οὐλομένου θανάτοιο τελευτή* (*sc.* *ἁπάντων θνητῶν*), 'there is no end in destructive death [for all mortal things]'.

At *O.* 2.61–7 we encounter the doctrine of rebirth. This occurs also in fragment 133, commonly assigned to the *Dirges*.[15] In another fragment of a dirge the soul is said to be immortal (131b.1–3).[16] All these beliefs presuppose the existence of 'an ego that preserves its identity . . . independent of the body which passes away'.[17] In the *Epinicia*, the dead are frequently said to retain their perception of and interest in the affairs of the living, especially of their relatives (*O.* 8.77–80, *O.* 14.20–1, *P.* 5.98–103, *N.* 4.85–6).[18] The dead may also retain power to harm the living, at least in the case of a dead mythical hero (*P.* 4.158–63). In the same passage, *μâνιν χθονίων* (*P.* 4.159) could mean either 'the wrath of the infernal gods' or 'the wrath of the deceased': both meanings can be paralleled.[19] But as Phrixos is the subject of 'bids' (159 *κέλεται*), it seems reasonable to infer that the wrath is also his. The same passage also presupposes that the dead (at least mythical heroic dead) may send dreams to the living (*P.* 4.163).[20] In some other odes we find differentiation in the status of the dead. *O.* 2.61–80 describes the different posthumous fates of the virtuous and the wicked, with the virtuous going to the Isle of the Blessed. A similar picture arises out of the (single) dirge constituted by fragments 129, 131a, and 130. Fragment 137.1 celebrates the blessed state of the Eleusinian initiate in death. In fragment 133.5 it is asserted that kings, athletes, and poets become heroes after their death.[21]

[15] For the doctrine of rebirth, cf. Pythagoras in Xenoph. 21 B7 *VS*; Parm. 28 B13 *VS* [= Simplic., *in phys.* 39.20–1]; Emped. 31 B115, 117 *VS*. See Richardson 1985*a*: 61–4; Burkert 1985*a*: 298–310; id. 1987: 87; Bremmer 2002: 11–15; Riedweg 2002: 87–8.

[16] For the immortality of the soul, cf. Hdt. 2.123.2; Paus. 4.32.4; D.L. 1.24 (Thales); Plat. *Meno* 81a10–b3 (priests and priestesses, Pindar and many other poets); Cic. *Tusc.* 1.16.38 (Pherecydes). Guthrie 1950: 116 'To believe in the immortality of the soul was the same as saying "Man is a kind of god".'

[17] Burkert 1985*a*: 300.

[18] See Pòrtulas 1985: 216. Cf. *Od.* 11.542 (but only after the souls have drunk the blood sacrifice), 11.492–4.

[19] For the interpretation 'wrath of the infernal gods', see Σ *P.* 4.281a; Giannini 1995: 471. Cf. *Od.* 11.72–3. Mikalson 1983: 50–2. For the interpretation 'wrath of the deceased', see Braswell 1988: 240–1. Cf. Hdt. 7.134.1 *μῆνις . . . Ταλθυβίου*, 7.137.1; Plat. *Hipp. mai.* 282a7–8 *μῆνιν τῶν τετελευτηκότων*, *leg.* 865d6-e6; Aesch. *Cho.* 40–1, 293–4, cf. 278 (*μηνίματα* Lobeck), 326; Soph. *Tr.* 1201–2 (cf. 1239–40); Paus. 6.6.8, 6.20.17; Plut. *Cim.* 6.5. See Johnston 1999: 21, 155.

[20] Cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 32–41, 523–39; Paus. 9.29.8; Plut. *Cim.* 6.5.

[21] See Ch. 8 for further discussion of this fragment.

Dirges versus *Epinicians*

It has been claimed that a positive view of death is found in Pindar's *Dirges*, but a negative one in the *Epinicians*.[22] However, we should be careful that a strong contrast between *Dirges* and *Epinicians* is not maintained at the cost of circularity, fragments being assigned to the *Dirges* simply because they offer a positive view of death. Of the relevant fragments, only 129–131a (probably a single poem) and 131b are positively known to derive from the book of *Dirges*: here, we have 'Plutarch' to thank for an explicit assignation (*Letter of Consolation to Apollonios* 35 120c–d).[23] Fragments 133 and 137 are cited by Plato and Clement respectively without any assignation; they may be assigned to the book of *Dirges* only on grounds of content.[24] The former has not been classed as a dirge by many editors of Pindar.[25] The latter is concerned with the blessedness of an initiate in the Eleusinian mysteries, as Clement tells us (*Miscellanies* 3.3.17), and scholars have therefore often inferred that it is a dirge composed for a deceased Eleusinian initiate, tentatively identifying him with the Athenian Hippokrates for whom Pindar is known to have composed a dirge (Σ *P.* 7.18a). However, we need not assume that the recipient of the *makarismos* formula of fragment 137.1 must be dead.[26] Further, if fragment 137 was composed for an Eleusinian initiate, there is no need to assume he was an Athenian.[27] Finally, although we are informed that Pindar composed a dirge for the Athenian Hippokrates on his death, we do not know that Hippokrates was an initiate at Eleusis. A cautious editor would probably suspend judgement on the genre of fragments 133 and 137. Another difficulty with pressing a sharp distinction between *Epinicians* and *Dirges* is the phenomenon of generic indeterminacy (above, Chapter 1). Three epinicians, in fact, exhibit features characteristic of dirges: *Olympian* 2, *Isthmian* 2, and *Isthmian* 8 (verses 59–65).

Rather than pressing a strong distinction between epinician and

[22] Cannatà Fera 1990: 31, 167.

[23] See Cannatà Fera 1990: 163, 183–5.

[24] See Cannatà Fera 1990: 220 and n. 1 (on fr. 133) and 204 (on fr. 137). Turyn 1948, Maehler 1989, Cannatà Fera 1990, and Race 1997: ii all locate both fragments among the *Dirges*.

[25] Farnell 1930–2: ii. 436; Bowra 1947 (= his fr. 127); Puech 1949–52: iv. 209. Cf. Wilamowitz 1922: 252; Lloyd-Jones 1990*c*: 94.

[26] Cf. *h. Hom.* 2.480–2; *O.* 2.56; Soph. fr. 837 *TrGF*; Eur. *Ba.* 73–82.

[27] For non-Athenians and Eleusis, cf. Hdt. 8.65.4; Andoc. 1.32.

dirge we might maintain quite generally that the occasion and circumstances of a poem (two major determinants of what we call genre) are likely to have determined the view of death taken in the poem. A positive view of death will, typically, be appropriate in a consolation, a lament for a dead person. But it was also judged appropriate in *Olympian* 2, an epinician composed for Theron within four years of his death.[28] It is possible that Acragas, Theron's city, had a special attachment to the doctrine of metempsychosis.[29]

One of the questions posed by this book is precisely whether the view taken of death in the *Epinicians*, as opposed to the *Dirges*, is an unrelentingly bleak one, and that the only form of immortality countenanced for the laudandus in the *Epinicians* is a metaphorical one, residing in the poet's song.[30] The view that the *Dirges* present a more positive view of death than the *Epinicians* apparently relies also on another implicit assumption: that the laudandus of a dirge is a dead person, that of an epinician a living one, and that, in the Classical period, hero cult was not an issue for a living person (see above, Chapter 1). This, too, is an assumption that will be questioned in this book.

Pindar and Homer compared

There are conspicuous differences between the views of death presented by Homer and Pindar.[31] These need to be put in a broader context: 'The Homeric-Greek picture of the afterlife . . . does not have universal validity, and indeed the ritual invokes quite different ideas. Even in Homer there are contradictory motifs.'[32] We find hints in Homer of the view that the dead are sentient (*Iliad* 24.592–5). Posthumous punishment of perjurers (*Iliad* 3.278–80, 19.259–60) presupposes some

[28] Theron's chariot victory was won in 476 BC (P. Oxy. 222 i.18, correcting Σ *O.* 2 Inscr.). Theron died in 472 BC (Diod. 11.53.1).

[29] Empedokles (*c.*483/2–423 BC) was a citizen of Acragas: 31 A7, B112.1 *VS*. For his adherence to metempsychosis, see 31 B115, 117, 127, 146 *VS*. For his adherence to Pythagoras, see 31 B129 *VS*. Cf. Demand 1975. Magna Graecia shows considerable interest in Pythagorean and Bacchic beliefs in the Classical period; apart from Pythagoras at Croton and Empedokles at Acragas, Bacchic gold leaves have been found at Hipponion, Thurii, and west Sicily (Frel 1994). See Solmsen 1982: 19 and n. 3; Parker 1995: 501; Riedweg 1995: 36.

[30] For these views, cf. Cannatà Fera 1990: 31.

[31] So Pòrtulas 1985: 216–17.

[32] Burkert 1985*a*: 197. Cf. id. 1992*a*: 65; Farnell 1921: 371; Lesky 1966: 33–6; Clairmont 1970: 64; Segal 1985: 202; Burnett 1985: 79–80; Richardson 1985*a*: 57, 64; Garvie 1986: 137–8; Janko 1994: 1–2. Contrast Mikalson 1991: 118–21.

consciousness after death.[33] Further, the emphatic manner of the denial of *φρένες* to the dead at *Iliad* 23.103–4 may suggest that this was not a universally acknowledged view: '*indeed* there is *some* (*ἦ ῥά τίς ἐστι*) soul and an image even in the house of Hades, but there are no wits in them *at all* (*φρένες οὐκ ἔνι πάμπαν*)'.[34] One may get the impression of an enduring dialectic when one compares *Iliad* 23.104 **φρένες** *οὐκ ἔνι πάμπαν*, 'there is no sense at all [in a dead person]', with *P.* 5.101 *ἀκούοντί ποι χθονίᾳ* **φρενί**, '[the dead Battiad kings] hear (I suppose) with a subterranean sense',[35] and Aeschylus, *Libation Bearers* 324–6 **φρόνημα** *τοῦ θανόντος οὐ δαμά-* | *ζει πυρὸς μαλερὰ γνάθος*, 'the ravaging jaw of the fire does not subdue the sense of the dead man'. The passage from *Libation Bearers* also seems to contradict *Odyssey* 11.218–22, addressed by Antikleia's soul to Odysseus: 'this is the way of mortals when someone has died: no longer do the sinews contain the flesh and the bones, but the mighty force of the burning fire subdues them (*πυρὸς κρατερὸν μένος αἰθομένοιο* | *δαμνᾷ*) as soon as the spirit has left the white bones, while the soul flits around, flying away like a dream.' The Pindaric and Aeschylean passages testify to a quite different conception of the dead from the Homeric passages; although this conception of the dead is to be found only in post-Homeric authors, the appearance of polemic in the Homeric passages gives some credence to the view that it may be pre-Homeric.[36]

Herodotus presents Melissa, wife of the Corinthian tyrant Periandros, as shivering from cold in the underworld and in need of clothing (5.92.*η*.2).[37] This was evidently a popular belief, open to ridicule from Lucian still in the second century AD (*De Luctu* [*On Mourning*] 11). When at *Iliad* 22.509–13 Andromache is made to say that the dead Hektor derives no 'benefit' (*ὄφελος*) from the garments which are burned after his death, a polemical point is perhaps being made: by contrast, Herodotus' Melissa *can* derive 'benefit' (*ὄφελος*) from clothes offered to her,

[33] Burkert 1985a: 198. For the punishment of the dead, cf. further *h. Hom.* 2.367–9; *O.* 2.58–60; Aesch. *suppl.* 230–1, *Ag.* 466–8, *Cho.* 61–5, *Eum.* 175, 339–40. See Richardson 1974: 270–5.

[34] Cf. Richardson 1993: 177 'suggests debate . . . already in Homer's time'.

[35] Cf. *O.* 2.57–8 *θανόντων μὲν ἐνθάδ' αὐτίκ' ἀπάλαμνοι* **φρένες** *ποινὰς ἔτεισαν*, 'when people die their helpless senses have immediately paid the penalty here'.

[36] A qualification should be borne in mind: the Pindaric and Aeschylean passages speak respectively of the Cyrenean kings and of Agamemnon, neither of whom are ordinary dead persons. It was, perhaps, only exceptional persons who were thought to retain their *φρένες* in death (as *Od.* 10.493 makes exception only for Teiresias).

[37] Clothes could be offered to heroes: cf. Thuc. 3.58; and perhaps Ar. *av.* 712 (cf. 1490–3), if Orestes there is the hero (cf. Kearns 1989: 190), not a contemporary Athenian.

so long as they are burned (5.92.η.2).[38] Notwithstanding the sceptical currents detectable in Homer and Lucian, belief in the sentience of the dead must have long retained its popular appeal. In the third century BC, Epicurus found it worthwhile to inculcate in his pupils the belief that 'death is nothing to us'.[39]

Plato alludes to the belief that the souls of the dead 'have a faculty by which they can exercise care in the affairs of men', a belief he calls 'widespread and ancient' (*Laws* 926e9–927a8). Belief in the ability of the dead to affect the living is implied in Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers*: '[the dead man] shows his anger later; the deceased is lamented, the harmer is revealed' (326–8). We may compare verse 886 of the same play, 'I say the dead are killing the living' (*τὸν ζῶντα καίνειν τοὺς τεθνηκότας λέγω*), where 'the dead' may refer to Orestes, to Agamemnon, or may be deliberately ambiguous.[40] Plato cites again as 'ancient' the belief that a murdered person haunts his murderer (*Laws* 865d6-e6).[41] Direct interaction between the world of the living and that of the dead is assumed in the practices of *psychagogia* (a temporary raising of souls) and necromancy (consultation of the dead for prophecy).[42] An important sacred law from mid-fifth century Selinous in Sicily details provisions for purification from a 'vengeful spirit' (*ἐλάστερος*), testifying to a popular fifth-century belief in ghosts.[43] Xenophon in the *Cyropaedia*

[38] Griffin 1980: 3 '[Homer] deftly . . . makes a point . . ., anxious . . . to underline the absolute separation of the world of the dead from that of the living.' Differently, Richardson 1993: 162 'the point is not that Homer ignores the belief that a dead man could profit from such things . . . The clothes are of no use because they cannot serve their purpose of wrapping his body for burial.' But in assuming that the only gratification for the deceased is in the one-off burial rites (*γέρας θανόντων*), Homer's Andromache perhaps implicitly excludes the possibility that the dead Hektor can 'benefit' from any grave gifts which might be subsequently incinerated for him; not so Herodotus' Melissa, who 'benefits' from incinerated goods long after her funeral (Hdt. 5.92.η.2–3). Homer's polemic would then be in his insistence that cremation is the end of all sensibility (cf. *Il.* 23.75–6, *Od.* 11.218–22).

[39] *Epist. ad Menoec.* = D.L. 10.124; *kyriai doxai* 2 = D.L. 10.139.

[40] Cf. *Cho.* 40–1, 293–4. Cf. also Eur. *Or.* 1225–42.

[41] Cf. Aristot. *poet.* 1452a7–10, *mir. ausc.* 846a; Plut. *de ser. num. vind.* 8 553d. Cf. Burkert 1992*a*: 72–3.

[42] For *psychagogia*, see already *Od.* 11.23–37. It was apparently common in tragedy: Aesch. *Pers.* 607–93, cf. *Cho.* 306–513, and Aesch.'s fragmentary play *Psychagogoi*: T78, F273–8 *TrGF*. Athenian vases attest scenes of *psychagogia* in Athenian drama of the early V BC: Green 1994: 17–18. On *psychagogia*, cf. Emped. 31 B111.9 *VS*; Ar. *av.* 1553–64; Plut. *de ser. num. vind.* 17 560e–f, *mor.* fr. 126. See Johnston 1999: 84–123; Bremmer 2002: 71–6. Differently, Pelling 1997: 14–15 and n. 63. Necromancy: Hdt. 5.92.η.2–4; Plut. *Cim.* 6.6. See Ogden 2001.

[43] Jameson et al. 1993: 16 (col. B), 118–19. Compare the *ἱκέσιοι* of a late IV-BC inscription from Cyrene: *LSS* 115 (= Rhodes and Osborne 2003: no. 97) B29–59. See Burkert 1992*a*: 68–73. Compare too the *παλαμναῖοι* of Xen., *Cyr.* 8.7.18. On 'ghosts', see e.g. Nilsson 1967–74: I.182–4; Johnston 1999: esp. 156–9.

has Kyros the Great on his deathbed advance various arguments for the continued posthumous existence of the soul (*ψυχή*); significantly, though, these are couched in phrases of epistemological uncertainty.[44] In Plato's *Phaedo* we also encounter popular uncertainty about the posthumous fate of the soul (69e7–b4, 77b1–5, 80d10–e1).[45]

The Attic orators were able to exploit agnosticism or uncertainty in their audience in order to suggest that the dead might or might not have awareness of proceedings. Lysias can say in his speech *Against Eratosthenes* [12] 100 'I think that [the dead] hear us, and will know that you are bearing the vote.' The phrase 'if [the dead] have perception . . .' is practically formulaic in the orators.[46] It has been argued that the use of the conditional here shows that this area was 'riddled with doubt'.[47] However, *εἰ* may also convey the nuance 'if, as is the case'.[48] Hyperides in his *Funeral Oration* [6] explicitly commits himself (and his audience) to the belief in question: 'if there is perception in Hades . . . *as we suppose*' (43 *εἰ δ' ἔστιν αἴσθησις ἐν Ἅιδου . . ., ὥσπερ ὑπολαμβάνομεν*).[49] Equally, though, it was possible for authors to deny that the dead perceive events of the upper world: Aeschines, *Against Timarchos* [1] 'after his death, when he no longer perceives the good things that are done to him' (14 *τελευτήσαντα δὲ αὐτόν, ἡνίκα ὁ μὲν εὐεργετούμενος οὐκέτι αἰσθάνεται ὧν εὖ πάσχει κτλ.*).[50] Rather than concluding that a general agnosticism ruled, we might infer that belief seems to oscillate, so that either of two opposite stances could be adopted according to the needs of the speaker.

Differentiation in the status of the dead appears especially in mystic

[44] Xen. *Cyr.* 8.7.17–22 (note 17 *οὐ γὰρ δήπου τοῦτό γε σαφῶς δοκεῖτε εἰδέναι, ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐγὼ ἔσομαι, ἐπειδὰν τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου τελευτήσω*, but more confidently at 22 *εἰ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχει ταῦτα, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ οἶμαι*).

[45] On uncertainty regarding one's fate after death, see Rudhardt 1958: 122.

[46] Dem. 19.66 *εἰ λάβοιεν αἴσθησιν*; 20.87 *εἴ τινες τούτων τῶν τετελευτηκότων λάβοιεν τρόπῳ τινὶ τοῦ νυνὶ γιγνομένου πράγματος αἴσθησιν*. Isoc. 9.2 *εἴ τίς ἐστιν αἴσθησις τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν περὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε γιγνομένων*; 14.61 *εἴ τις ἄρα τοῖς ἐκεῖ φρόνησίς ἐστιν περὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε γιγνομένων*; 19.42 *Θράσυλλος ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ταύτης ἡγοῖτ' ἂν δεινὰ πάσχειν, εἴ τίς ἐστιν αἴσθησις τοῖς τεθνεῶσιν περὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε γιγνομένων*. Plat. *Menex.* 248b7–8 *εἴ τίς ἐστι τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν αἴσθησις τῶν ζώντων*. Hyp. 6.43 *εἰ δ' ἔστιν αἴσθησις ἐν Ἅιδου . . ., ὥσπερ ὑπολαμβάνομεν*. Lycurg. *in Leoc.* 136 *εἴ τις ἄρ' ἐστὶν αἴσθησις τοῖς ἐκεῖ περὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε γιγνομένων*. Cf. Eur. *Or.* 1231–2 *ὦ πάτερ, ἱκοῦ δῆτ', εἰ κλύεις ἐσὼ χθονός | τέκνων καλούντων*, 1241–2 *εἴπερ γὰρ εἶσω γῆς ἀκοντίζουσ' ἀραί, | κλύει*; *Il.* 24.592–3 *αἴ κε πύθηαι | εἰν Ἅϊδός περ ἐών*.

[47] Mikalson 1983: 79.

[48] See LSJ s.v. B.VI.

[49] Cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 8.7.22 (cited above); 'Plut.' *consol. ad Apoll.* 120b *εἰ δ' ὁ τῶν παλαιῶν ποιητῶν τε καὶ φιλοσόφων λόγος ἐστὶν ἀληθὴς ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἔχειν*. Cf. too *P.* 5.101 *ἀκούοντί ποι*, 'they hear, I suppose'.

[50] Cf. Aristot. *EN* 1100a18–21.

contexts.[51] However, we find it elsewhere too.[52] An example from a non-mystical context occurs in Euripides' *Alkestis*, where the chorus console the death-bound Alkestis with the words, 'farewell; may chthonian Hermes and Hades receive you kindly. If the good have a greater share there too, may you partake of these things and take your seat next to Hades' wife' (743–6 *χαῖρε· πρόφρων σε χθόνιός θ' Ἑρμῆς | Ἄιδης τε δέχοιτ'. εἰ δέ τι κἀκεῖ | πλέον ἔστ' ἀγαθοῖς, τούτων μετέχουσ' | Ἄιδου νύμφηι παρεδρεύοις*). These motifs were perhaps already traditional; at any rate, they recur in a verse epitaph of perhaps the third century BC: 'I know that for you first of all, nurse, if the good have any reward, honours are in store even under the earth, by the side of Persephone and Plouton' (*GV* 747.5–6 *οἶδα δὲ σοὶ ὅτι καὶ κατὰ γῆς, εἴπερ χρηστοῖς γέρας ἐστίν,| πρώτῃ σοὶ τιμαί, τίτθη, παρὰ Φερσεφόνῃ Πλούτωνί τε κεῖνται*).

People's beliefs about death typically contain contradictory elements.[53] More and less credulous conceptions can exist side by side. We should be prepared to admit a plurality of belief, not just across a whole community, but also within individuals.[54] Authors are able to emphasize one or the other to suit their purposes.[55] The Homeric view of death is austere and minimalist; the dead are removed from the world of the living and lose their frightening aspect.[56] The world of Homer's dead is a bleak one, the prospect of death is made tragic and pathetic. It is an important question whether we should infer from the absence of certain eschatological beliefs from Homer that those beliefs had not yet developed at the time when the poems took shape.[57] The suggestions of polemic in various Homeric passages argue rather

[51] *H. Hom.* 2.481–2; Ar. *ran.* 155–8, 371–5; D.L. 6.39; Orphic gold leaf, 1A2.11 Pugliese Carratelli. Plat. *Gorg.* 523a5–b4, 527c4–6, *Phaedo* 69c5–7, 81a8–9, *resp.* 363c3–e2. Ion of Chios 30 *IEG* (on Pherecydes of Syros). Aristophon 12.1–5 *PCG*.

[52] Heracl. 22 B25 *VS*; Ion 30 *IEG*; Hyp 6.35, 43; 'Plut.' *consol. ad Apoll.* 34 120b–c. Men. Rhet. (iii AD) 414.16–20 (it is a theme of the speech of consolation that the dead person has gone to the Elysian plain, or is living with the gods). *GV* 970.7 (I AD). Lucian *de luct.* 7–9. Dover 1974: 262–6; Garland 1985: 60–6, 74; Mikalson 1991: 119–20.

[53] Lattimore 1962: 49 n. 199; Vermeule 1979: 1, 118; Richardson 1985*a*: 50, 64; Morris 1989: 298 and n. 7; Kearns 1989: 129 and n. 13. Analogously in ancient Israelite religion: Niditch 1997: 31–2, 46–7, 63–7.

[54] Veyne 1988: 41–57, 84, 87; Buxton 1994: 156.

[55] Mikalson 1983: 78–9 'the orators could, as their argument required, either claim or deny that the dead had perception'. Cf. Richardson 1985: 65 'a shift of emphasis rather than . . . a radical contradiction'; Johnston 1999: 14–15.

[56] Garland 1984–6: 7–8.

[57] So Johnston 1999: 31–5. Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 10–107 (esp. 13–14, 54–5, 78, 89–90, 107) explains the existence of contradictory strands of eschatological belief in Homer as reflecting traditions of differing antiquity.

against such a developmental explanation: an alternative is to suppose that the Homeric poems chose to emphasize one strand of belief, while pointedly suppressing others.[58] The popular beliefs, reflected in Pindar and elsewhere, reveal a more full-bodied conception of the afterlife. In Pindar, the dead are capable of interacting with the living, and contemplation of one's own prospects in the afterlife is capable of inducing either hope or anxiety. The confidence that the joy of athletic victory can be communicated (by a victory ode) to the dead ancestors of the victor, and the insistence that death is not final, bleak, or egalitarian, particularly suit an aristocratic milieu.[59] The doctrines of rebirth and of the immortality of the soul are probably extrinsic additions to the substratum of popular belief. But they should be regarded as a development of the general picture, not a wild deviation from it.[60]

[58] So Rohde 1925: i. 12.

[59] On the aristocratic milieu of Pindar's odes, see e.g. Rose 1974: 151–5; id. 1992: 160–4.

[60] Hampe 1952: 64; Richardson 1985*a*: 64–5; Burkert 1985*a*: 300–1; Pòrtulas 1985: 224–5. See, in general, Parker 1995: 502–4.

3
Mortality and Immortality

Mortality and immortality in the *Iliad*

In this chapter we will consider the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* separately, rather than speaking of both as 'Homer'; the *Iliad* provides an instructively starker contrast with Pindar than the *Odyssey*. In the *Iliad*, it is insisted that mortals remain mortal, and immortals immortal (12.326–7, 21.106–10). We learn that Sarpedon might have been spared from death (16.435–7, 443), and that Ares 'might have died' (5.388); but such possibilities remain just that in the *Iliad*.[1] The rule is not even broken for sons of gods and goddesses (16.444–9, 18.117–18, 21.109–10). Particularly striking is the insistence on mortality with figures such as the Dioskouroi and Herakles, which has an air of polemic (3.243–4; 18.117–9).[2] There are only occasional deviations from the rule: Ganymedes has been transported to Olympus (20.233–5), and Tithonos is mentioned as consort of Eos, but without reference to his immortality (11.1). The *Iliad* is adamant that gods and men are different races (5.441–2). The gods have 'ichor', not blood, in their veins (5.339–40, 416), but differences between the races are not such that they cannot interbreed.

Mortality and immortality in Pindar

Pindar acknowledges several cases where mortals became immortal. Herakles is immortalized and is the recipient of cult songs (*N.* 1.69–72, *I.* 4.55–60, *P.* 9.87–8). The Dioskouroi are immortal on alternate days and enjoy cult at Therapne (*N.* 10.55–9, 83–8, *P.* 11.61–4). Achilleus resides on the Isle of the Blessed and has a cultic association with the White Island (*O.* 2.79, *N.* 4.49–50).[3] Peleus is also on the Isle of the Blessed, and is perhaps mentioned as the subject of cult songs (*O.*

[1] See Edwards 1987: 138–42; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 17–18.

[2] Note the emphatic phrasing of *Il.* 18.117 *οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ*. See Farnell 1921: 11; Kullmann 1992: 257.

[3] Cf. 894 *PMG*; Plat. *symp.* 179e1–180a3. See Solmsen 1982; Edwards 1985.

2.78, *I.* 6.24–5). Kadmos too inhabits the Isle of the Blessed (*O.* 2.78).[4] Semele is immortal and lives on Olympus; she is a figure of Theban cult (*O.* 2.25–7, *P.* 11.1). Ino-Leukothea is immortal and lives in the sea; she too is a figure of Theban cult (*O.* 2.28–30, *P.* 11.2). Amphiaraos evades death through being swallowed by the earth (*N.* 9.24–7, *O.* 6.14, *N.* 10.8–9).[5] Diomedes is made immortal by Athena (*N.* 10.7).[6] Aristaios is made immortal by the Horai and Gaia (*P.* 9.62–5). Tantalos was made immortal by the gods (*O.* 1.63–4). However, Tantalos was severely punished for giving his drinking-fellows nectar and ambrosia (*O.* 1.59–63), Asklepios was punished for raising someone from the dead (*P.* 3.56–7), and Bellerophon's attempt to join the company of the gods ended in ruin (*I.* 7.44–7): such passages seem to reiterate that to make a mortal immortal was strictly a god's prerogative. Finally, Pindar asserts that men and gods have a common origin and an intrinsic affinity (*N.* 6.1–5). This controversial passage seems to mean: 'there is one race of men and gods, and we both draw breath from the same mother' (not 'there is one race of men, another of gods; but we both draw breath from the same mother').[7]

Pindar and Homer compared

The uncompromising conception of mortality and immortality is an 'absolutely central characteristic' of the *Iliad*, but uncharacteristic of Greek feeling as a whole.[8] The *Odyssey* and the various epics of the Cycle were ready to admit several exceptions to the *Iliad*'s 'rule' of strict mortality.[9] There is no warrant for regarding these as post-Iliadic changes to the tradition.[10]

In the *Odyssey*, the Dioskouroi are 'held by the earth', as in the *Iliad*, but spend alternate days living and dead and 'receive honours like the gods' (11.301–4). Herakles' condition is a similar compromise between mortality and immortality: his *εἴδωλον* is in Hades, he

[4] Cf. Eur. *Ba.* 1338–9.

[5] Contrast *Od.* 15.247 and 253, where Amphiaraos simply dies.

[6] Cf. 894 *PMG*.

[7] For discussion, see Gerber 1999: 43–5. The anaphora of *ἕν* should amount to *ἓν ἀνδρῶν καὶ θεῶν γένος* (not *ἕτερον ἀνδρῶν, ἕτερον θεῶν γένος*).

[8] Griffin 1980: 167. Cf. Janko 1994: 1–2; Richardson 1985*a*: 65.

[9] See Griffin 1977: 42; id. 1980: 166; Schein 1984: 69; Edwards 1985: 217, 223; Morris 1989: 310; R. Rutherford 1996: 47, 56 n. 71.

[10] Burgess 2001*a*: 167–9.

himself on Olympus (11.601–4).[11] Achilleus is dead and in Hades, but nevertheless resides 'in the asphodel meadow', perhaps suggesting a special status; characteristically, though, he is disgruntled even there (11.467–91, 11.539, 24.15–97).[12] Some characters enjoy an unambiguous immortality. Menelaos reports hearing from Proteus that he will evade death outright and be escorted to the Elysian plain 'because he is Zeus' son-in-law' (4.561–9). Ino-Leukothea has accomplished the transition from mortal to immortal (5.333–5). Kleitos consorts with the immortals (15.250–1). Kalypso offers to make Odysseus immortal, but he declines (5.135–6, 209).[13]

In the *Cypria*, Zeus assigns immortality to the Dioskouroi on alternate days (*EGF* p. 31 = *PEG* p. 40). There too Artemis makes Iphigeneia immortal (*EGF* p. 32 = *PEG* p. 41). In the *Aethiopis*, Eos secures from Zeus immortality for her son Memnon (*EGF* p. 47 = *PEG* pp. 68–9). This seems to have been a traditional episode, which predates the *Iliad*.[14] In the same epic Thetis snatches Achilleus from the funeral pyre and brings him to the White Island (*EGF* p. 47 = *PEG* p. 69). In the *Thebais*, Athena confers immortality on Diomedes, after denying it first to Tydeus (*Thebais* F5 *EGF* = 9 *PEG*). In the *Telegony*, Kirke makes Telemachos and Penelope immortal (*EGF* p. 73 = *PEG* pp. 102–3). The examples can be multiplied from other early hexameter poetry. In the *Hymn to Demeter*, Demeter purposes to make Demophon immortal (259–62).[15] The *Hymn to Aphrodite* tells how Zeus made Ganymedes and Tithonos immortal (202–38). Hesiod has the heroes of the Theban and Trojan wars go, not to Hades, but to the Isles of the Blessed (*Works and Days* 167–73).[16] Hesiod knows of the immortalization of Herakles (*Theogony* 950–5; *Catalogue of Women* fr. 25.26–33; compare fr. 229), Semele (*Theogony* 942), and Ariadne (*Theogony* 949).[17] It may have been possible not only for mortal beings to become immortal, but also for immortal beings to become mortal. In a tradition at least as old as

[11] On the authenticity of this passage, see Lyons 1997: 9 n. 9; Dräger 1997: 9–12.

[12] Farnell 1921: 11.

[13] Both the role of Kalypso and her 'speaking' name ('Concealer') suggest a traditional story of a nymph who immortalizes a mortal. See Rohde 1925: ii. 374 n. 2; cf. Larson 2001: 28, 66. Further, Hainsworth 1988: 253.

[14] See Edwards 1985: 225–6; Kullmann 1992: 256 n. 30; Janko 1994: 313, and below Ch. 4. Differently, West 2003*b*; but for a critique see Currie (forthcoming).

[15] On the implications of her failure to do so, see below Ch. 14.

[16] Their fate is thus comparable to the favour shown Menelaos at *Od.* 4.561–9, and in pointed contrast both to the men of Hesiod's Third Generation (*op.* 152–3) and to Homer's heroes (*Il.* 1.3–4). Solmsen 1982: 21–4.

[17] On the authenticity of this part of Hesiod's *Theogony*, cf. Dräger 1997: 1–26.

the fifth century BC, the centaur Cheiron exchanged immortality for mortality ('Aeschylus', *Prometheus Bound* 1026–9; compare Apollodorus, *Library* 2.5.4, 11). Thus we cannot be sure that the suggestion that 'Ares would have died' (*Iliad* 5.388) was, outside the *Iliad*, a 'theological absurdity'.[18]

Certain of the heroes mentioned (Menelaos, the Dioskouroi) enjoyed cult at an early date.[19] It seems that the Dioskouroi would have been gods by virtue of their Indo-European heritage.[20] 'Immortal and ageless' (*ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήρως*) is both an epic and an Indo-European formula, which may suggest that the theme of transition from mortal to immortal was a traditional one.[21]

The view of mortality presented in Pindar's odes is strikingly at odds with that of the *Iliad*. In his treatment of such heroes as Achilleus, Diomedes, and Amphiaraos, Pindar follows rather the Cyclical epics, which probably reflect popular belief more closely than the *Iliad* does.[22] In the case of Herakles, the Dioskouroi, and Ino-Leukothea, Pindar sides with the *Odyssey*. The presence of Peleus and Kadmos on the Isle of the Blessed may be justified by the fact that, like Menelaos at *Odyssey* 4.569, they are *γαμβροὶ θεῶν*.[23] Such traditions in Pindar and elsewhere indicate a general willingness to accept a transition from mortal to immortal, which is anathema to the *Iliad*.[24]

The claim of *N.* 6.1–5, 'there is one race (*γένος*) of men and gods, and we both draw breath from one mother', contrasts with *Iliad* 5.441–2 'never is the tribe (*φῦλον*) alike of immortal gods and of men who walk the earth'.[25] The common ancestry of gods and men lies in the Titans, the progeny of Ge and Ouranos.[26] This 'anthropogony' was important

[18] See Kirk 1990: 101.

[19] Menelaos: Alcm. 7 *PMG*; for the archaeological record, cf. Antonaccio 1995: 155–66. Dioskouroi: Alcm. 2, 7 *PMG*; Alcae. 34 *PLF*.

[20] Kullmann 1992: 257. Cf. Mallory and Adams 1997: 161–5 s.v. 'Divine Twins'.

[21] Janko 1994: 10. An epic formula: cf. *Il.* 8.538–40 (Hektor; cf. 13.825–7); *Od.* 5.136 (= 7.257 = 23.336: Kalypso and Odysseus); Hes. *th.* 949 (Ariadne), cf. 277; *h. Hom.* 5.214 (Ganymedes).

[22] See Davies 1989: 28. Cf. Snodgrass 1998: 164. In general on Pindar's debt to the Epic Cycle, cf. Fitch 1924; Mann 1994.

[23] *I.* 6.25, cf. Bacch. 1.8; *P.* 3.91–2. Cf. *I.* 4.60 (Herakles).

[24] Cf. Rohde 1925: ii. 206.

[25] On the affinity of men and gods in Pindar, see Thummer 1957: 65–90 (esp. 65–7), 103, 132–3; Lévêque 1973: 47; Bowra 1964: 189. On the bearing of *P.* 8.95–6 on this issue, see Thummer 1957: 39, 103–4; Young 1993: 126.

[26] Σ *N.* 6.1, citing Hes. *th.* 126 for Ge's parentage of gods, and *op.* 60–1 for her parentage of men. Cf. Hes. *op.* 108, *th.* 535; *h. Hom.* 3.335–6; Plat. *leg.* 701c2. For the Titans as progeny of Ge and Ouranos, see Hes. *th.* 131–8, 207–8. For the 'kinship' of men and gods, cf. Plat. *Prot.* 322a3–4.

in Orphism.[27] This tradition of the common origin of men and gods shows not only the affinity of men to gods, but can also be used to underpin a claim to immortality, as in the Orphic gold leaves.[28]

In contradistinction to the *Iliad*, in Pindar's odes 'mortal' and 'immortal' are not diametrically opposed or impermeable categories. Crucially, men may attain to immortality. Yet here we must recognize a distinction. The transition from mortal to immortal is realized in the odes only by the heroes of myth, and in Greek literature the mythical heroes, although men, are regularly opposed to the men of the present. In Homer this opposition is underlined by the formula 'such as men are now' (*Iliad* 5.304 *οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσι*, etc.), in Hesiod by their qualification as 'the previous race' (*Works and Days* 160 *προτέρη γενεή*), and in Herodotus by an (implied) antithesis of 'the so-called human race' (3.122.2 *τῆς δὲ ἀνθρωπηίης λεγομένης γενεῆς*) with the race of heroes. Given this pervasive sense of the heroes' distinctness from contemporary men, the ability of heroes in Pindar's odes to cross the boundary between mortal and immortal does not necessarily have any implications for the laudandus. Pausanias, for instance, in the second century AD, states his view that, while men became gods in the heroic age, they did not do so in his own day (8.2.4–5). It has similarly been supposed that Pindar '[refused] to allow that men can become gods'.[29] At issue here is whether in Pindar's odes the men of the heroic age provide chiefly a point of contrast or of comparison with the laudandus: in other words, whether the immortality the laudandus can aspire to is like or unlike that of the heroes. This question coincides partly with one to be considered later: whether the laudandus has a prospect of literal immortality or only of metaphorical immortality in the poet's song (below, Chapter 6). It should be noted, too, that the frequent *gnomai* in the odes of the type 'remember you are mortal' or 'don't seek to become a god' do not serve to quash all hopes of literal immortality any more than to confirm the existence of those hopes (see further on these *gnomai* below, Chapter 6).[30] An additional question concerns the

[27] Burkert 1985*a*: 297–8, 463 n. 15; Lloyd-Jones 1990*c*: 97–8.

[28] Common origin of men and gods on Orphic gold leaves: IA2.6–7, cf. IA3.11–12; IIB1.3, cf. IIA1.3, IIA2.3; IA1.10; IA4.13; IB1–6.4; IB7.4–5 Pugliese Carratelli. Claim to immortality on Orphic gold leaves: IIB1.9 Pugliese Carratelli *θεὸς ἔσῃ ἀντὶ βροτοῖο*, IIB2.4 Pugliese Carratelli *θεὸς ἐγένου ἐξ ἀνθρώπου*; cf. IA2.11 Pugliese Carratelli *ἄλλοισι μεθ' ἡρώεσσιν ἀνάξεις*. Plat. *Phaedo* 69b5–7. Cf. the path to paradise taken by initiates: IIB2.5–6, IIA1–2.7, IA1.15–16 Pugliese Carratelli. Cf. Men. Rhet. 414.21–3 *συγγενὴς γὰρ οὖσα τοῦ θείου ἡ ψυχὴ κἀκεῖθεν κατιοῦσα σπεύδει πάλιν ἄνω πρὸς τὸ συγγενές*.

[29] Bowra 1964: 189.

[30] Griffin 1980: 168 '"Remember that you are not a god" was the most regular and most typical of all expressions of Greek wisdom; it would not have been, if Greeks had not been

appropriate model of literal immortality for the laudandus. 'Becoming a god' constitutes a particularly forbidding model of literal immortality; a more encouraging one is offered by the hero of cult who shares, in significant ways, the literal immortality of the gods, although he has, typically, already suffered death.[31] The cult hero thus represents a compromise between the extreme poles of mortality and immortality. His compromise condition is often conveyed by oxymoron; the ritual of hero cult, too, often exhibits contradictory elements, evoking both the cult of the dead and that of the gods.[32] This compromise condition of the hero is one which is generally overlooked in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, for reasons we will explore in the next chapter.

tempted to forget it, and to think that they were, or could be, gods'; cf. Stewart 1977: 564–5. (For the Delphic maxim 'know thyself', see Plat. *Phileb.* 48c, etc.) Philippos II of Macedon presented himself as a 'thirteenth' Olympian god (Diod. 16.92.5, 16.95.1), and probably enjoyed cult in his lifetime (Bosworth 1988: 281); yet, reputedly, he had a slave call out to him three times in the morning to remind him that he was a man (Ael. *v.h.* 8.15). The Roman triumph, which approximated the human *triumphator* to the gods, simultaneously had him instructed by a slave, 'look behind you; remember that you are a man' (Epictetus *diss.* 3.24.85; Tertull. *apol.* 33.4); see Versnel 1970: 57, 70, 380.

[31] 'Typically', though not necessarily: see Ch. 9, for an argument that the connection between the hero and death is a contingent, if a frequent one.

[32] The condition of the hero conveyed by oxymoron: cf. Hes. *op.* 141 (of the Silver Race) *μάκαρες θνητοί*; *Od.* 11.303–4 (the Dioskouroi) *ἄλλοτε μὲν ζώουσ' ἑτερήμεροι, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε | τεθνᾶσιν*; *O.* 2.25 (Semele) *ζώει . . . ἀποθανοῖσα*; cf. Sim. 9.3 *FGE* (Spartan dead of Plataea?) *οὐδὲ τεθνᾶσι θανόντες*. Cf. Kearns 1989: 128–9; Ekroth 2002: 330–4. The contradictory aspect of the ritual in (some) hero cults is noted by literary sources, e.g. Aristot. *rhet.* 1400b5–8; Plut. *apophth. Lac.: Lycurgi* 26 228e; cf. *de superst.* 13 171e, *de Is. et Or.* 70 379b–c, *amat. narr.* 18 763c–d. Ekroth 2002 argues that the rituals of hero cults were not for the most part distinguished from those for the gods; but see Currie 2003.

4
Hero Cult

Homer and hero cult

There is near total silence on hero cult in Homer.[1] A significant exception are the sacrifices to Erechtheus (*Iliad* 2.547–51, *Odyssey* 7.80–1).[2] Aipytos' tomb may be a heroic one, in view of its role in defining the Arcadian national identity (*Iliad* 2.604).[3] It is interesting that these two Iliadic allusions to hero cult come from the Catalogue of Ships; a further possible allusion comes between the Achaean and Trojan catalogues in the second book, with the tomb of Aisyetes (*Iliad* 2.786–7). The tomb of Ilos is also possibly a heroic one (*Iliad* 10.414–15, 11.166–8).[4] Finally, familiarity with a cult of the dead is implied by *Odyssey* 10.516–37.[5]

Pindar and hero cult

Pindar on several occasions refers to hero cult. Pelops at Olympia has blood sacrifices, a tomb, altar, and athletic contests (*O.* 1.90–6). The Dioskouroi receive a *theoxenia* at Acragas (*O.* 3.39–41, compare *I.* 2.39–40).[6] Tlepolemos on Rhodes has a sacrificial procession of sheep and an athletic contest 'like a god' (*O.* 7.77–80). Aias (O)iliades has in Opous a festival and altar (*O.* 9.112). Aristoteles (Battos) is buried within the agora in Cyrene as a 'hero worshipped by the people' (*P.* 5.93–5). Alkmaion on Aegina (or Amphiaraos at Thebes?) has a sanctuary and is capable of epiphany and prophecy (*P.* 8.58–60). Aias (Telamonios) has a cult association with Salamis, Achilleus with Leuke, Thetis with Phthia, and Neoptolemos with Molossia (*N.* 4.47–53). Aiakos on Aegina has a sanctuary which receives dedications of wreaths (*N.* 5.53–

[1] See Dietrich 1965: 33, cf. 38–9; Edwards 1985: 216; Lyons 1997: 7–9.
[2] See Kearns 1989: 133.
[3] Cf. Hadzisteliou-Price 1973: 140; Kearns 1989: 9; Seaford 1994: 111–12.
[4] See Hadzisteliou-Price 1973: 137–40; Crielaard 1995b: 271–2.
[5] See Hadzisteliou-Price 1973: 135; Tsagarakis 1980: 232–5; Garland 1985: 112 and 168 n.
[6] See, in general for this ritual, Ekroth 2002: 136–40, 280–6.

4). Neoptolemos at Delphi is buried near the god's temple and enjoys 'many sacrificial processions fit for a hero' (*N.* 7.34–47). Protesilaos in Phylake has a sanctuary and athletic contests (*I.* 1.58–9). The sons of Herakles in Thebes receive nocturnal burnt offerings and have athletic contests (*I.* 4.65–6). The Oineidai enjoy sacrifices and songs in Aetolia, as do Iolaos at Thebes, Perseus at Argos, Kastor and Polydeukes at Sparta, and the Aiakidai on Aegina (*I.* 5.30–5).

Reflections on Homer and hero cult

The near absence of hero cult in Homeric epic, coupled with the absence of a religious usage of the word ἥρως (the subject of the next chapter), has sometimes been taken to imply that hero cult was virtually unknown to the poet(s) of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Hero cult and tomb cult became widespread from the last quarter of the eighth century BC.[7] This is also the date at which many scholars have seen the Homeric epics as achieving their final form.[8] Of course, there is no consensus on the dating of the epics. Other scholars have seen them as a product of the seventh century; others again have argued that their creation was an evolving process extending into the sixth century and beyond.[9] Yet the traditional dating of the poems to the late eighth century permits a tidy explanation for the absence of hero cult: one can argue that tomb cult and hero cult largely postdate Homeric epic and were actually inspired by it.[10] A modification of this theory is also open to those who maintain a seventh-century date: it can have been pre-Homeric epic poetry that inspired the hero cults of the eighth century BC.[11] However,

[7] Burkert 1985*a*: 203; id. 1992*b*: 536 'a new development of the late Geometric period'; Hägg 1987; Osborne 1996: 103. On the origins of hero cult, see Kearns 1989: 129–34; Parker 1996: 36–9; and the book-length treatments of Antonaccio 1995; Deoudi 1999; Boehringer 2001.

[8] See, e.g., Janko 1982; Kirk 1985: 1–10; Garvie 1994: 15–17; Rutherford 1996: 17–18; Latacz 1996: 59–65; Haslam 1997: 80–1; Morris 2001: 64–8. A date in the first half of viii BC is argued for by Powell 1991: 219–20.

[9] For the seventh-century dating, see Burkert 1976: 20; id. 1992*a*: 204 n. 32; Taplin 1992: 33; West 1995; Crielaard 1995*b*: 274 and n. 285. For the evolutionary model, see e.g. Nagy 1996: 41–2; Seaford 1994: 144–54.

[10] Farnell 1921: 340; Coldstream 1976; id. 1977: 346–7; Burkert 1985*a*: 204. Note, though, that neither Farnell nor Coldstream proposed the influence of epic as a blanket explanation of hero cult (cf. Kearns 1989: 129–31).

[11] See Kullmann 1992: 256 n. 33; Burkert 1985*a*: 204 (speaking of 'epic poetry', not Homer); id. 1992*b*: 548.

the theory that the Homeric poems themselves gave the impulse to hero cult gives rise to some serious problems.[12]

First, it is questionable in general whether features which are absent from Homer but are attested later should be regarded as post-Homeric.[13] Second, there are specific difficulties in regarding Homeric epic as the catalyst of hero cult and tomb cult in the eighth–seventh centuries BC.[14] The Homeric poems do not seem to have had a demonstrable influence on Greek poetry, art, or culture before *c.*600 BC.[15] To make them the catalyst of eighth–seventh century hero cult requires them to have had an immediate and profound effect on religious practices. On the other hand, there is reason to see the direction of influence as the contrary one. The discovery in 1980 of a lavish tenth-century BC warrior burial at Toumba, Lefkandi, which showed striking and detailed similarities to the account of Patroklos' burial in *Iliad* 23, suggests that Homer may reflect burial practices, rather than influencing them, as had been the natural assumption when 'heroic' burials of only the late eighth and early seventh centuries were known.[16] One may still postulate epic poetry of the Early Iron Age (!) as the inspiration for the Lefkandi burial.[17] But it is questionable whether we should strive to maintain so much influence for epic poetry, whether that of Homer or of a predecessor.[18] For one thing, epic poetry is unlikely to have been the sole repository of traditions about the Bronze Age; we should not discount the role of other poetic genres, of informal oral narratives, and of artistic representations.[19] It seems more plausible to regard hero cult and Homeric epic as contemporaneous (that is, independent but related) reflexes of the heightened interest in the Bronze Age during

[12] This is not to doubt that some individual hero cults were inspired by the epics; the present concern is with the question whether the Homeric epics can have inspired the phenomenon of hero cult as a whole.

[13] Cf. e.g. Davies 1989: 4 (criticizing Aristarchus' procedure whereby 'a mythical tradition not mentioned by Homer is deemed to have been unknown to Homer'); Garvie 1986: pp. x–xii; Dowden 1989: 11–12; id. 1996: 52–3. Differently, Johnston 1999: 7 n. 3.

[14] See Rohde 1925: i. 156; Nagy 1979: 114; Snodgrass 1987: 160–1 and n. 30; id. 1988; Whitle 1988: 174–5, 181; Calligas 1988: 233; Morris 1988: 754–5; Kearns 1989: 129–31; Crielaard 1995*b*: 266–73 esp. 268–70; de Polignac 1995: 138–9; Antonaccio 1995: 5–6, 243, 247; Osborne 1996: 103–4; Lyons 1997: 8.

[15] Seaford 1994: 145–6, 148; Snodgrass 1998; Taplin 2000: 34; Burkert 2001*a*: 97–100.

[16] See Crielaard 1995*b*: 270; Antonaccio 1995: 243; Stampolidis 1995: 306. Differently, Coldstream 1976: 15; de Polignac 1995: 129.

[17] Cf. Mazarakis Ainian 1999: 33. Compare Malkin 1998: 117 on the tripod dedications at Polis Bay, Ithaca (see below).

[18] Snodgrass 1988: 26; Nagy 1979: 114.

[19] Burgess 2001*a*: 4.

the late eighth and early seventh centuries BC.[20] Homeric epic interestingly exhibits the same kind of 'archaeological' interest in the material remains of the Bronze Age that is presupposed in the practices of tomb cult and hero cult.[21] Another quite different problem for the view that hero cult was inspired by Homeric epic is posed by the likelihood that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, rather than being ignorant of hero cults, suppress or presuppose them.[22] This is suggested by the epics' treatment of three figures in particular.

First, Sarpedon in Lycia (*Iliad* 16.431–61, 666–83).[23] Sarpedon is an anomalous figure in the context of the Trojan war: non-Homeric tradition evidently placed him a generation earlier, and gave him a different parentage and a different death than Homer does.[24] It is likely that he was a figure of cult in Lycia before the composition of the *Iliad*.[25] The fact that in the *Iliad* Sarpedon dies at Troy but is buried in Lycia is most easily explained on the assumption that Sarpedon already had a strong cultic association with Lycia.[26] In that case, Sarpedon's hero cult at Xanthos in Lycia must antedate the *Iliad* even if the attestations of the cult are later.[27] It is instructive then to consider what the *Iliad* has made of Sarpedon. In outline *Iliad* 16 seems to be a reworking of an earlier tradition concerning the Ethiopian hero Memnon, a tradition that may be more conservatively preserved in the Cyclical epic *Aethiopis*.[28] The parts played by Sarpedon and Patroklos in *Iliad* 16 correspond to

[20] Nagy 1979: 116; Antonaccio 1995: 226 and n. 128; Crielaard 1995*b*: 267–8, 272; Latacz 1996: 59; Morris 1997: 539 'material culture and poetic culture were two ways in which people in eighth-century Greece constructed the social world within which they moved . . . Reducing either to a passive reflection of the other is simplistic', cf. 558–9. Cf. Snodgrass 1980: 68–9.

[21] Note *Il.* 4.51–6, 12.3–33, 21.405, 23.331–2; *Od.* 13.347–50, 363–5. See Seaford 1994: 181; Crielaard 1995b: 270.

[22] On Homer's awareness of hero cults, see esp. Hadzisteliou-Price 1973; Burgess 2001*a*: 168. Differently, Bowden 1993: 55–60.

[23] See Schein 1984: 48; Nagy 1990*b*: 138–42; Janko 1994: 312, 372, 375, 396; Keen 1996: esp. 240–1. Cf. Kullmann 1992: 256 n. 30.

[24] See Janko 1994: 313, 371; Keen 1996: 229.

[25] So Janko 1994: 372.

[26] Janko 1994: 373 and 312 sees Homer's treatment as having been shaped by 'the needs of local cult'. Cf. March in *OCD* s.v. 'Sarpedon' p. 1357.

[27] For Sarpedon's Lycian cult, cf. Σ *Il.* 16.673b 'a hero-shrine of Sarpedon is shown in Lycia' (for this sense of *φαίνεται*, cf. Paus. 1.30.4). Appian *bell. civ.* 4.78 refers to 'the Sarpedoneion' (*τὸ Σαρπηδόνειον*) in the context of an incident which occurred in 42 BC. Keen 1996: 234–5 would identify a building of *c.*460 on the 'Lycian acropolis' of Xanthos as the Sarpedoneion, supposing this to be a rebuilding of a much earlier structure.

[28] See Edwards 1991: 18; Kullmann 1992: 256 and n. 30; Janko 1994: 312–13, 372. Differently, however, West 2003*b* (arguing that the figure of Memnon does not antedate the *Iliad*); but see Currie (forthcoming).

those played by Memnon and Achilleus respectively in the Memnon tradition. In particular Patroklos' killing of Sarpedon in *Iliad* 16 corresponds to Achilleus' killing of Memnon in that tradition. Yet while in the tradition concerning Memnon, Memnon's mother Eos pleaded for immortality for the dead Memnon from Zeus and obtained it (*Aethiopis* pp. 68–9 *PEG* Ἠὼς παρὰ Διὸς αἰτησαμένη ἀθανασίαν δίδωσι), in *Iliad* 16 Zeus and Hera debate whether to rescue Sarpedon from his impending death, and decide not to do so (*Iliad* 16.431–61). Nonetheless, Zeus and Hera arrange for divine escorts, Hypnos and Thanatos, to take the dead Sarpedon back to Lycia (454–5): this too may be indebted to the Memnon tradition, in which the goddess Eos (possibly with Hypnos and Thanatos) transported the dead Memnon back to Ethiopia.[29] The translation of mortals by deities in Greek myth usually signifies immortalization, and perhaps especially when Hypnos and Thanatos are involved.[30] No less an apparent immortalization motif is the anointing of Sarpedon's corpse with 'ambrosia', and its clothing in 'immortal clothes' (*Iliad* 16.670 χρῖσόν τ' ἀμβροσίῃ, περὶ δ' ἄμβροτα εἵματα ἕσσον).[31] Suggestive, too, is the use of verb ταρχύειν in connection with Sarpedon's funeral (*Iliad* 16.456, 674), if that verb etymologically ought to mean something like 'deify, immortalize' (it is used by Homer to mean no more than 'bury').[32] In fact, the *Iliad* seems to preclude that Sarpedon's funerary honours exceed the ordinary: they are glossed – in the verse that immediately follows ταρχύσουσι – by the formula, 'for that is the honour paid to the dead' (16.457, 675 τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων). It might thus be argued that two traditional features lie behind the story of Sarpedon in *Iliad* 16: first, a hero cult of Sarpedon, known to be practised in Lycia; second, a traditional epic narrative which told of the immortalization of Memnon. Homer seems to have retained the shape of this tradition, but changed its content in negating the cult or immortalization of Sarpedon.[33] If so, *Iliad* 16.431–61 and 666–83 were composed in the knowledge of

[29] Reconstruction of this episode depends on Aeschylus' lost play *Memnon* or *Psychostasia*, *TGF* III p. 375, and extant iconography (see Clark and Coulson 1978: 71–3). Differently, *LIMC* VI.i.456 and no. 69.

[30] On the possible significance of Hypnos and Thanatos, see Albinus 2000: 92; cf. Pestalozzi 1945: 13–14.

[31] Nagy 1990*b*: 141 and n. 81.

[32] For the etymology of ταρχύειν as 'deify', cf. Chantraine 1968–80 s.v.; Nagy 1990*b*: 131–3, 138–9. But this etymology is very uncertain: see Janko 1994: 377; Janda 1996. The only other Homeric occurrence is *Il.* 7.85. Hsch. s.v. glosses ταρχύειν simply as θάπτειν, ἐνταφιάζειν.

[33] Differently, Janko 1994: 2, supposing that the version of *Il.* does imply that Sarpedon gets 'a lasting hero cult'.

a tradition of immortalization in cult (relating to Sarpedon in Lycia) and a tradition of poetic immortalization (relating to Memnon); but those traditions will have been transformed in the *Iliad*.

A second case where Homeric epic may show awareness of an existing hero cult concerns Odysseus on Ithaca (*Odyssey* 13.96–112, 345–71). On his arrival in Ithaca, Odysseus at Athena's bidding stows the gifts of the Phaeacians in a cave which is sacred to the nymphs; Athena then seals the entrance with a stone (13.366–71). The Phaeacians' gifts, which include tripods (13.13–14, 19), are never recovered from the cave within the narrative of the *Odyssey* (though they are mentioned again at 16.230–3, 23.341). The cave of the nymphs has been identified by archaeologists with a cave excavated at Polis Bay on Ithaca.[34] This cave was in continuous use from the Early Bronze Age to Roman times. Our interest is sparked particularly by a sequence of bronze tripods from the ninth to eighth centuries BC, and a terracotta mask from approximately the second century BC declaring itself a votive to Odysseus (*εὐχὴν Ὀδυσσεῖ*). Opinions have differed as to whether Odysseus' cultic association with the cave goes back to the ninth century, or dates just from the Hellenistic period.[35] The close correspondence between Homer's text and the archaeological data certainly demands interpretation, even if we attach no weight to the apparent coincidence between the number of tripods discovered in the cave and the number of Phaeacian kings who gave Odysseus a tripod (apparently thirteen: *Odyssey* 8.390–1, with 13.7–14).[36] Once again, we must decide on the likely direction of influence: from the epic to real-life practices, or vice versa. It can only be the former, if it was a ninth-century precursor of our *Odyssey* that inspired the practice of dedicating tripods in the cave.[37] *Odyssey* 13.96–112, 345–71 do not appear to be a traditional story; and it is hard to see how a pre-Homeric, ninth-century BC, version would have had sufficient influence to inspire what was evidently a major cult at Polis Bay. It seems more likely that *Odyssey* 13.96–112, 345–71 are the work of an eighth- or seventh-century poet, who knew of a cult practised in his own day in the cave at Polis Bay and which had its

[34] See Benton 1934–5; Coldstream 1976: 16–17; Antonaccio 1995: 152–5; Malkin 1998: 94–119; Deoudi 1999: 119; Larson 2001: 231–2.

[35] Ninth century: Coldstream 1976: 17; Malkin 1998: 106–7. Hellenistic: Antonaccio 1995: 154.

[36] For some legitimate objections to the value of this coincidence, see Malkin 1998: 97–8 (98 'The number thirteen is a red herring washed into the seaside cave by a wave of modern scholarship').

[37] So Malkin 1998: 110, 117; cf. Mazarakis Ainian 1999: 15 and n. 41.

roots in the distant past. (An involvement of Odysseus in the cult of the nymphs of Ithaca is also evoked in the *Telegony*—Odysseus sacrificed to them before sailing to Elis—and one may wonder whether the *Odyssey* passage alone was sufficient to prompt this circumstantial detail: *EGF* p. 72 = *PEG* pp. 101–2.) It seems possible that the poet of the *Odyssey* meant to identify the ancient tripods in the cave as the property of Odysseus, the heroic proprietor who left them there for safe keeping (and never returned to claim them?). The concealment of the treasure in the cave of the nymphs would then have a twofold motivation in the narrative of *Odyssey* 13. On one level, it is motivated by the plot: the success of Odysseus' homecoming depends on his returning to Ithaca with abundant treasure (e.g. *Odyssey* 5.38–40), and that treasure had to be kept out of sight to enable Odysseus to move incognito among the Ithacans (*Odyssey* 13.303–10). On the other hand, the concealment of the treasure could be an *aition* explaining the actual presence of ancient tripods along with other Bronze Age treasures in the cave at the time when the poem was composed.[38] The poet's interest in the cave as a sanctuary in his own time may be suggested by the present tense used in the description at 13.96–112: 'in it there are (*ἔασι*) mixing bowls and two-handled jars of stone . . . and outsize looms of stone' (105–7).[39] Possibly the treasures, including tripods, which Odysseus and Athena placed in the cave 'in order that they might remain safe for [him]' (364), are being signalled by the poet as remaining in the poet's day the property of Odysseus. In that case the passage might imply a conception of Odysseus as proprietor of the objects in the cave which is not very different from the conception implied by the Hellenistic votive, *εὐχὴν Ὀδυσσεῖ*.[40]

A third case is Phrontis at Sounion (*Odyssey* 3.278–85).[41] When Agamemnon and Menelaos rounded the cape of Sounion on their return from Troy, Apollo killed Menelaos' helmsman Phrontis and he was buried by Menelaos with honour on the promontory. The archaeological findings may suggest a hero cult of Phrontis at Sounion going back to about 700 BC.[42] The strongest argument for a cultic association

[38] Aetiological significance for the passage is also argued for by Benton 1934–5: 53; Hoekstra 1989: 177 (on *Od.* 13.217–18). Differently, Malkin 1998: 96–8.

[39] See further on this description Larson 2001: 24–5.

[40] This need not entail that the cave at Polis Bay was the only Ithacan shrine of Odysseus. The 'Odysseion' mentioned in an inscription from Magnesia on the Maeander of 206 BC (*IMM* no. 36.29 *τῶι* [*Ὀδ*]*υσσείωι*) is presumably different.

[41] See Kearns 1989: 41–2.

[42] See esp. Abramson 1979, modifying Picard 1940; Mazarakis Ainian 1999: 13 and n. 23. Differently, Antonaccio 1995: 166–9.

of Phrontis with the site is a votive plaque depicting hoplites on a ship and a helmsman (Phrontis?).[43] Again, we have the familiar problem of establishing chronological priority and direction of influence.[44] The excursus on Phrontis at *Odyssey* 3.278–85 has on the one hand the narrative function of separating Menelaos from Agamemnon so that the latter can be killed by Aigisthеus (compare *Odyssey* 3.248–9). On the other hand, it seems to have the function of providing an *aition* for an existing cult of Phrontis. It is not apparent why '[Homer should] narrate the death and burial of a relatively unimportant character, if his tomb were not a well-known landmark'.[45] The name 'Phrontis son of Onetor' (*Odyssey* 3.282) may already imply a 'patron saint' of sailors: *φροντίς* means 'care', and *ὀνήτωρ* 'bearer of help' (compare Hesychius *ὀνήτωρ· ὄνησιν φέρων*).[46] Finally, *Odyssey* 3.278–85 can reasonably be seen as an instance of a type of aetiological myth which tells how a helmsman once died at a promontory, was buried there, and now receives cult: Virgil's Palinurus is another famous instance (*Aeneid* 6.355–83).[47]

We may round off this discussion with a brief consideration of the case of Nausithoos. The founding of Scheria by the Phaeacian Nausithoos described at *Odyssey* 6.3–12 closely replicates the historical Greek colonization which we know to have been under way from the second half of the eighth century BC.[48] We know, too, that founders were heroized from early on.[49] However, of Nausithoos it is said simply, 'he had already gone to Hades, subdued by fate', *ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἤδη* **κηρὶ** *δαμεὶς* **Ἀϊδόσδε** *βεβήκει* (*Odyssey* 6.11). The question thus arises whether the poet is deliberately confounding expectations by making the founder's fate indistinguishable from that of others. The effect then might be comparable to that of hearing a pronouncement that Herakles 'did not escape fate' (*οὐδὲ . . . φύγε* **κῆρα**, *Iliad* 18.117), when an alternative tradition told of his immortalization (*Odyssey* 11.602–4; Hesiod, *Theogony* 950–5).[50] Or we might compare the claim that the wrath of

[43] Picard 1940: 20 fig. 3.; Abramson 1979: Plate 1 fig. 1, facing p. 4.

[44] Cf. Antonaccio 1995: 169 'It is perhaps better to see Phrontis, if he is present at all, as a later addition to the Olympian cults on the promontory.' Differently, Mazarakis Ainian 1999: 14; cf. Abramson 1979: 8–9.

[45] Kearns 1989: 131, cf. 42 'The Odyssean lines look as though they refer to a pre-existing cult rather than supplying the inspiration for a later phenomenon: why mention Phrontis and Sounion otherwise?' Differently, Antonaccio 1995: 168–9.

[46] Cf. Kearns 1989: 42.

[47] See Kearns 1989: 42 and n. 151.

[48] See Malkin 1987: 138; Crielaard 1995*b*: 236–9.

[49] See Malkin 1987: 261–6.

[50] Cf. Kullmann 1992: 257; Dräger 1997: 10–11.

Achilleus 'dispatched many souls of heroes to Hades' (ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν | ἡρώων, *Iliad* 1.3–4), when an alternative tradition located the dead heroes not with the undifferentiated dead, but on the Isles of the Blessed (Hesiod, *Works and Days* 167–73, *Catalogue of Women* fr. 204.103). In that case, *Odyssey* 6.11 will not have been composed in ignorance of the cult of founders, but will pointedly overlook it.

The interpretation of all these passages is controversial, yet cumulatively they amount to a fair case that hero cult was a reality for Homer and his audience. It would then emerge that Homer was no less aware of hero cults than other early poets, such as Hesiod and Alcman, who allude to such cults explicitly.[51] The reason why hero cult is virtually absent from Homeric epic is because it has been suppressed, not because it was unknown.[52] This suppression calls for an explanation. A political motivation cannot be ruled out, but given the lack of consensus both about the ideology of the Homeric epics and about the political roles of hero cult in the eighth and seventh centuries BC, such an explanation is extremely difficult to give.[53] The following alternative explanations have been tried.

(1) The constraints of the narrative perspective of epic. T. Hadzisteliou-Price argued that the heroes of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* could not be regarded as cult heroes because they are 'treated in the story as personages of the living generation'; to have shown awareness of their subsequent cult would have been anachronistic.[54] Tragedy, however, treats heroes as 'personages of the living generation', and can still allude to their cult.[55] So too do other epics, the *Argonautica* and the *Aeneid*.[56] Furthermore, the *Iliad* is capable, when it wants, of regarding the heroes from the perspective of the present (notably at 12.23, where

[51] Cf. Hes. *th.* 988–91 (Phaethon), 942 (Semele), 949 (Ariadne), 950–5 (Herakles); *op.* 109–73 (see below). Alcm. frr. 2, 7 *PMG* (Dioskouroi, Menelaos).

[52] Lloyd-Jones 1983: 81 speaks of 'a kind of censorship', cf. 76–7.

[53] On the ideology of the Homeric poems, cf. Taplin 2000: 20; Haubold 2000: 11–12. It is supposed to be aristocratic by Latacz 1996: 32–5; monarchic by Janko 1998: 13. On the political implications of hero cult in viii–vii BC, cf. Kearns 1989: 131–2; Boehringer 2001: esp. 372–5.

[54] Hadzisteliou-Price 1973: 134. Cf. Sinos 1980: 51 'The language of epic is conditioned to speak of its characters as men; their non-epic aspect as *hemitheoi* or as objects of cult is limited by the synchronic perspective of Epic.' Cf. Haubold 2000: 6–7.

[55] *Pace* Hadzisteliou-Price 1973: 134. Cf. Aesch. *sept.* 587–8; Soph. *OC* 1520–46; Eur. *Hipp.* 1423–30, *Med.* 1381–3. At Aesch. *Ag.* 516 ἥρως means 'hero of cult'. On heroes in tragedy, see Mikalson 1991: 29–45.

[56] Cf. A.R. 1.585–8, 1.1047–8, 2.658, 2.845–50, 2.911–29, 2.1273–4. Virg. *Aen.* 3.301–5, 5.47–103, 760–1, 6.378–81, 8.102–6, 268–79.

uniquely in the poem the heroes are referred to as ἡμιθέων, 'demigods'; compare Hesiod, *Works and Days* 160).[57] The perspective of the epic narrative thus is not a sufficient explanation of Homeric epic's suppression of hero cult.

(2) The Panhellenic orientation of Homeric epic. According to G. Nagy, the Panhellenic orientation of Hemoric epic meant that it had to shed any allusions to local hero cults: 'The hero of cult must be local because it is a fundamental principle in Greek religion that his power is local. On the other hand, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are Panhellenic. What results is that the central heroes of this epic tradition cannot have an overtly religious dimension in the narrative.'[58] Nagy's understanding of the 'Panhellenism' of the Homeric poems is bound up with his proposal of an 'evolutionary model' for the genesis of the Homeric poems, which not all scholars accept.[59] The argument that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are 'more Panhellenic' than the poems of the Epic Cycle provides for Nagy an explanation of why the former admit fewer allusions to immortalization and hero cult.[60] This theory has found considerable favour.[61] The theory, however, makes impersonal, cultural, forces responsible for the suppression of hero cult in the Homeric poems, rather than any literary considerations.[62] It is hard not to see a literary point in the teasingly allusive manner of the *Iliad*'s departures from tradition with regard to, say, Sarpedon (see above) or Herakles (16.431–61, 666–83; 18.117). It is noteworthy, too, that the cult of Herakles, although a Panhellenic and not a local one, is no more immune to exclusion from the *Iliad* than the cults of other heroes.

(3) The literary aims of Homeric epic. We may now consider literary motivations for the suppression of hero cult from Homeric epic. This suppression must surely be related to, first, the distinctive view of death taken in the Homeric poems, and second, to the striking aversion shown, especially in the *Iliad*, to the transition from mortal to immortal (see above, Chapters 2 and 3). It is a natural conclusion that hero cult is incompatible with the whole outlook of the Homeric poems, especially the *Iliad*. For some scholars, the presence of this distinctive

[57] Cf. de Jong 1987: 44–5.

[58] Nagy 1979: 116; cf. 118. Cf. Redfield in Nagy 1979: p. x.

[59] For Nagy's conception of 'Panhellenism', see e.g. Nagy 1979: 6–9; id. 1990*a*: 23–4, 53–4, 70–3, 77–81; 1996: 38–63. Nagy's evolutionary model is endorsed by e.g. Seaford 1994: 144. It is criticized by e.g. Rutherford 1996: 29 n. 86; Cairns 2001: 3 n. 12.

[60] Nagy 1990*a*: 70–2 (repeating 1979: 8). Cf. Burgess 2001*a*: 174.

[61] See e.g. Schein 1984: 49; Graf 1996*b*: 357–8.

[62] Cairns 2001: 35 and n. 115.

outlook provides one more reason to believe that the Homeric poems are, singly, the product of an individual poetic personality, rather than a collective tradition.[63] This distinctive outlook could be put down to the poet's own personal religious beliefs.[64] More plausibly, however, it may be put down to the poetic purposes of the epics: the elevated, tragic, and pathetic effect aimed at (especially by the *Iliad*, and to a lesser extent by the *Odyssey*) requires that death be total and not compromised, as it would be by reference to posthumous cults.[65]

Reflections on Pindar and hero cult

In Pindar, the treatment of hero cults is very different from that in Homer: contemporary hero cults are frequently reflected in Pindar's odes. The major athletic festivals all claimed to have their origin in hero cult: Pelops at Olympia, Python at Delphi, Melikertes-Palaimon at Corinth, and Opheltes-Archemoros at Nemea. Pindar mentions the hero cult and games in honour of Pelops at Olympia (*O.* 1.90–6). Local games (ἐπιχώριοι ἀγῶνες) were no less rooted in hero cult (according to an ancient commentator on Pindar, 'all the ancient games were performed in honour of dead persons': *Hypothesis on the Isthmian Odes* (a)).[66] Pindar mentions local games held in honour of Tlepolemos on Rhodes (*O.* 7.80), Protesilaos at Thessalian Phylake (*I.* 1.58–9), and the Alkaidai at Thebes (*I.* 4.67–8).

Many of the odes were performed in the victor's city and reflect local cults of gods and heroes.[67] It seems that some odes may actually have been performed at local hero festivals, as others were performed at divine festivals (see above, Chapter 1). *Pythian* 5 may have been performed at the Karneia in Cyrene, a festival at which the hero Battos and the dead Battiadai kings also received cult (see below, Chapter 11). *Isthmian* 4 seems to have been performed at a Theban festival celebrating

[63] Cf. Griffin 1977: 52–3; id. 1995: 7–8; Cairns 2001: 35 and n. 116. Differently, e.g. Nagy 1979: 5.

[64] Cf. Farnell 1921: 11 'Homer . . . while probably aware of hero-worship and the occasional deification of the mortal, did not accept or did not wish to encourage this vain dream of the self-exaltation of man.'

[65] See Griffin 1977: 42–3; id. 1980: 162; Edwards 1985: 216, 226–7; Kullmann 1992: 255–7; Janko 1994: 2. Schein 1984: 49 tries to combine both the 'Panhellenic' and the 'literary' explanations for the suppression of hero cult.

[66] Cf. Brelich 1958: 94–9; Seaford 1994: 121–2.

[67] Richardson 1992: 228.

Herakles as a god and his children, the Alkaidai, as heroes.[68] *Olympian* 9 may have been performed at a festival of Aias in Opous.[69] It seems moreover to have been a custom for the victorious athlete to dedicate his wreath on his return to a local hero: this practice may be presupposed by *N.* 5.53–4, *N.* 8.13–16, and *O.* 9.112.[70] The dedication of the wreath to the hero may have been the occasion for those odes.[71] Epinician poetry was thus, potentially, anchored to hero cult at both ends of its production: at the games where the victory was won, and at the victor's city where the ode was, most often, performed.[72]

Apart from reflecting the local cults of the victor's city, Pindar often reflects heroic traditions of personal relevance to the victor or his family.[73] *N.* 10.49–51 relates how Pamphaes, an ancestor of the laudandus, once played host to the Dioskouroi, with the result that the Dioskouroi now guarantee the family's athletic success. This kind of family theoxeny story was evidently a common encomiastic theme. A similar story of hospitality to the Dioskouroi is reported by Herodotus for the Arcadian Euphorion (6.127.3). Plato, too, mentions a (fifth-century?) song which narrated the entertainment of Herakles by the ancestor of an Athenian aristocratic family (*Lysis* 205c6–d1).[74] Similar traditions may again be implied by Pindar for the Emmenidai (*O.* 3.38–41, *I.* 2.39–40) and for Hagesias' family in Syracuse (*O.* 6.77–81).[75] A different family tradition is mentioned in *N.* 7.86–97: this time the special relationship between Herakles and the victor's family is explained by the proximity of their home to the hero's (or rather, god's?) sanctuary. A different family tradition still is alluded to in *P.* 8.58–60, possibly describing an epiphany of the hero Alkmaion to the victor, whose house must also have been close to the hero's shrine, if the latter is called the laudandus' 'neighbour' (*P.* 8.58 γείτων).[76] However, this interpretation is con-

[68] Krummen 1990: 93. Differently, d'Alessio 1994: 123 n. 19.[69] Gildersleeve 1890: 201; Farnell 1930–2: ii. 67; Krummen 1990: 275.

[70] Slater 1984: 245 and n. 24; Kurke 1991: 206 and n. 23; ead. 1993: 137–41. However, the meaning of none of those passages is entirely clear.

[71] So Gelzer 1985: 96 and n. 5; Krummen 1990: 275 (taking the deposition of a wreath in the Aiakeion on Aegina to have coincided with the performance of *N.* 5 and *N.* 8).

[72] Cf. Dougherty 1993: 111.

[73] For 'family traditions' in Pindar, cf. *P.* 9.105–25. See Chamoux 1962: 172; Carey 1981: 161.

[74] For the family's background, see Davies 1971: 359–61.

[75] Schadewaldt 1928: 37 n. 1. Cf. Burnett 1970: 24–5; Kearns 1982: 6. On aristocratic 'family traditions' in general, see Gould 1989: 22–3, 28.

[76] For epiphanies of gods and heroes in V BC, cf. Hdt. 6.105.1, 6.117.3. See Bowra 1964: 49–52; Pritchett 1971–91: iii. 11–46; Lane Fox 1986: 102–67; Versnel 1987*b*; Garland 1992: 54–5; Hornblower 1996: 356.

troversial, as it is unclear whether the first persons are to be referred to the victor or the poet, and whether the hero is to be identified as Alkmaion or Amphiaraos.[77] Certainly, the journey to Delphi (59 *ἰόντι γᾶς ὀμφαλὸν παρ' ἀοίδιμον*) and the prophecy (60 *μαντευμάτων τ' ἐφάψατο . . . τέχναις*) would naturally suit an athlete on his way to compete in the Pythian games.[78] The possibility that a first person in the odes may refer to the laudandus is controversial, but it may have been a permitted licence of epinician (see above, Chapter 1). The identity of the hero as Alkmaion is made likely by the reference to his 'inherited skills in prophecy' (60 *μαντευμάτων . . . συγγόνοισι τέχναις*): Alkmaion would have inherited these from his father Amphiaraos. A shrine of Alkmaion on Aegina, near the victor's house, is attested by no other source, but is not intrinsically unlikely.[79] Finally, an allusion to the relationship of the victor to his neighbouring hero may be seen as more relevant to the encomiastic context than an allusion to a personal experience of Pindar's.[80]

There were, then, numerous reasons why hero cults could feature in epinician poetry. Yet there is one more reason, not so far considered in this section, which will be especially described in this book: the kind of career typical for a hero—trials (*πόνοι* or *ἆθλα*) followed by success and ultimately by posthumous immortality and/or a cult—could serve as a paradigm for the athletic victor.[81] It is often possible to observe close and pervasive verbal links between that part of a poem which describes a hero's cult and that which describes the laudandus' honours. Such links seem to equate the laudandus with the hero as a recipient of cult, but the question remains how close an equation is envisaged. One possibility is that the laudandus is simply to enjoy a metaphorical 'immortality' in the poet's song, which is merely analogous to the literal immortality enjoyed by the hero in cult. Another possibility is that the laudandus may hope to enjoy immortality in the same, literal, sense as the cult hero. These questions will be repeatedly explored below, in particular with the detailed examination of five selected odes in Part III.

[77] For the argument that the speaker is Pindar, the hero Amphiaraos, and the hero shrine the famous Amphiaraon in Oropus, see Hubbard 1993; cf. Robbins 1997: 268–73; Pfeijffer 1999*a*: 540–2.

[78] For athletes taking prophecies, see *O.* 8.1–8; Paus. 6.8.3. Cf. Decker 1995: 153–6. Cf. Σ *P.* 8.78a, 82.

[79] Giannini 1995: 576 points to links between Aegina and Alkmaion's hometown Argos.

[80] See Thummer 1957: 32–3; Bundy 1962: 69–70 and n. 84.

[81] See e.g. Slater 1984: 250.

5
Uses of the Word *heros*

Heros in Homer

In Homer, the word ἥρως is used only of living humans.[1] It is applied to individuals (*Iliad* 1.102 ἥρως Ἀτρεΐδης), to the Achaean contingent as a whole (*Iliad* 2.256 ἥρωες Δαναοί, 12.165 ἥρωας Ἀχαιούς), or to anyone alive at the time of the Trojan war (*Iliad* 1.4 ἡρώων; compare Hesiod, *Works and Days* 159, *Catalogue of Women* fr. 204.119; 'Arctinus', *Cypria* fr. 1.7). In various formulae, ἥρωες may be used to qualify ἄνδρες (*Iliad* 5.746–7 ἀνδρῶν | ἡρώων, 13.346 ἀνδράσιν ἡρώεσσιν, *Odyssey* 4.268 ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων).[2] Those qualified as 'heroes' in the epic are mortal, and go to Hades when they die (*Iliad* 1.3).[3] As 'mortals', they may be opposed to the 'gods' (*Iliad* 1.574–5 θνητῶν . . . θεοῖσι). The Homeric use of ἥρως thus has no religious implications.[4]

Heros in Pindar

It has been claimed that Pindar's usage concurs with Homer's.[5] However, a religious usage has also been claimed for Pindar.[6] In this religious usage, ἥρως denotes an object of cult. In this usage, ἥρως may be distinguished from both ἀνήρ and θεός.[7] In certain contexts, however, a ἥρως could be assimilated to either one of those.[8] From the following survey of Pindar's usage, it can be seen that Pindar employs both the non-religious and religious uses.

[1] See Brelich 1958: 10; Dietrich 1965: 24–5; Burkert 1985*a*: 203. Cf. Haubold 2000: 3–10. *Il.* 1.3–4 ψυχὰς . . . | ἡρώων and 16.144 φόνον ἔμμεναι ἡρώεσσιν are not, of course, exceptions!

[2] See *LfgrE* i. 862.23–7.

[3] On the mortality of the Iliadic hero, see Griffin 1980: 82–3, and above, Ch. 3.

[4] Boehringer 2001: 25 'Eine religiöse Bedeutung des Begriffs ["Heros"] ist bei Homer nirgends sichtbar.' Differently, Hadzisteliou-Price 1973: 130; van Wees 1992: 315 n. 7.

[5] Woodbury 1991*b*: 314 n. 124; Slater 1969*a*: s.v. ἥρως.

[6] Rumpel 1883: s.v. ἥρως; Deneken 1884–90: 2444; LSJ s.v. ἥρως I.3 (where, however, *P.* 1.53, *P.* 4.58 are improperly cited); Bowra 1964: 48; Carey 1981: 162.

[7] e.g. Antiph. 1.27; Plat. *Crat.* 397c4–399c6, *leg.* 717a6–b4.

[8] See Kearns 1989: 125.

(1) Non-religious use. (a) With a personal name: *O.* 6.33, *O.* 9.9, *P.* 8.51, *P.* 11.31. (b) Without a personal name: *O.* 9.62, *P.* 2.31, *P.* 4.36, *P.* 4.58,[9] *P.* 4.199, *P.* 9.14a, *N.* 10.82, fr. 187,[10] *O.* 8.42, *P.* 1.53, *N.* 4.29, *P.* 9.116, *N.* 8.9, *I.* 1.17, *I.* 6.28, *I.* 8.45. (c) Adjectival formations: *O.* 13.51.[11]

(2) Religious use. (a) As a category distinct from *θεός* or *ἀνήρ* or both: *O.* 2.2, *P.* 5.95, *P.* 8.27, *N.* 3.22.[12] As a distinct category of divine being: fr. 133.5–6. (b) As objects of cult: *N.* 9.10,[13] ?fr. 52g.13,[14] fr. 52n.(a).1.[15] Adjectival formations: *N.* 7.46,[16] fr. 520.36–7.[17] (c) Cult heroines: *P.* 11.7.

(3) Unclear cases: *P.* 3.7,[18] *N.* 5.7, *I.* 1.17, *I.* 5.26, *I.* 6.25.

(4) Unclassifiable (context too fragmentary): frr. 52d.58, 52h.9, 111a.7, 140a.74–5.

Observations on *heros* in Pindar

Pindar provides the first attestation of a word for 'heroine' in the Greek language (*P.* 11.7).[19] He uses *ἥρως* of a historical heroized person, Battos (*P.* 5.95). In fr. 133.5, moreover, *ἥροες ἀγνοί* is used of various

[9] Classified by LSJ s.v. *ἥρως*, along with *P.* 1.53, under the signification 'heroes, as objects of worship'. However, *ἀντίθεοι* (cf. Bacch. 11.79–81) simply means 'godlike', and is not a sufficient indication of the religious sense: the still-living heroes of epic may be *ἀντίθεοι* (*Il.* 5.663, etc.).

[10] 'Those living in legendary times' seems to be the sense intended by Plut. *quaest. conv.* 2.10.1 643d.

[11] Here *ἡρωΐαις* seems to have the same meaning as *παλαιγόνων* in the preceding line: this suggests that the meaning is 'those who lived around the time of the Trojan war'.

[12] For Herakles as either *ἥρως* or *θεός* in cult, cf. Hdt. 2.44.5. See Nock 1944: 142 n. 4; Burkert 1985*a*: 208. The non-religious use could be understood if the expression were taken as '(once) a hero, (now) a god', but this seems less probable. The emendation of Maas 1954, *ἥρως ⟨θοός⟩*, is unconvincing: see Rutherford 2001: 409–10.

[13] The religious use, in view of both *τιμαῖς* (for *τιμή* as 'cult', cf. Richardson 1974: 260–1; West 1978: 185; Nagy 1979: 119 §1 n. 4) and *ἐπασκήσω* (cf. Hsch. *ἐπασκεῖν· σέβεσθαι, ἁγνεύειν*).

[14] Teneros is a cult figure (fr. 51d *ναοπόλον μάντιν*; Paus. 9.26.1), and fr. 52g is a cult song.

[15] The context (*βω[μόν*) suggests the religious use.

[16] See below, Ch. 13.

[17] Rutherford 2001: 409 suggests the translations 'sacred delegation in honour of a hero' or 'sacred spectacle in honour of a hero'.

[18] The religious use is assumed by Deneken 1884–90: 2444; cf. Burkert 1985*a*: 214. The decision depends partly on punctuation: *Ἀσκλαπιόν, ἥροα παντοδαπᾶν ἀλκτῆρα νούσων* or *Ἀσκλαπιὸν ἥροα, παντοδαπᾶν ἀλκτῆρα νούσων*. The former suggests someone who is *now* a healing hero of cult, the latter someone who lived in heroic times and was *then*, in his own lifetime, a healer.

[19] See Larson 1995: 21; Lyons 1997: 11, 14–15.

classes of historical persons (see below, Chapter 8). Context provides the only means of deciding between the non-religious and religious uses. Formally no distinction can be made, as both non-religious and religious uses occur with or without a name.[20] Even when the character in question is known to be a cult hero this is not a sufficient criterion for inferring the religious use: Pelops at *O.* 9.9 and Asklepios at *P.* 3.7 are not necessarily thought of there as cult heroes. A rule of thumb is that the non-religious usage occurs in mythical narrative, the religious use when the poem's 'I' speaks in the present.[21]

In some cases it seems possible to assign the occurrence to one or other of the uses: this is class (3) above. In such cases we are dealing with figures who are simultaneously heroes of epic and heroes of cult, in a context where both senses seem relevant. The ease with which in Pindar one use may shade into the other is an apparent difficulty for the view that the 'two senses, the religious and the secular, are not derived one from the other, nor from a single original sense'.[22] These unclear cases invite us to probe a little further into the history of the word.

The two uses of *heros*

The etymology of ἥρως continues to elude scholars.[23] One suggestion is to connect ἥρως with Ἥρα (and ὥρα) so that the hero is one who is 'ripe for marriage'.[24] Other etymologies have also been put forward.[25] However, as no etymology is really convincing we may do better to turn to an examination of the word's earliest attested uses. The observation

[20] *O.* 6.33 ἥρωϊ . . . Εἰλατίδᾳ is the non-religious, fr. 52g.13 ἥρωα Τήνερον (probably) the religious use. At *O.* 9.9 ἥρως Πέλοψ and *P.* 3.6–7 Ἀσκλαπιόν | ἥροα it is unclear which is intended. For ἥρως on its own in the non-religious use, cf. *O.* 9.62; in the religious use, cf. *N.* 9.10.

[21] Carey 1981: 162. However, *N.* 3.22 may be the religious usage in mythical narrative, and *O.* 9.9 and *O.* 13.51 the non-religious usage outside mythical narrative.

[22] West 1978: 373.

[23] Cf. Burkert 1985*a*: 203.

[24] Pötscher 1961. Cf. Chantraine 1968–80: s.v. 'Un rapprochement avec Ἥρα serait plausible'; Lyons 1997: 14.

[25] Peters 2002: 365–8 suggests an etymology from a root **sēr*, 'forcible taking' ('gewaltsames Nehmen'), and sees the original meaning as 'plunderer, raider', applicable to a warrior in a *Jungmännerbund*. The etymology proposed by Lorenz 1996: 20–1 and nn. 3, 5, however, is based on a misapprehension: ἥρως is explained as 'the strong one', with reference to the Old Indian element *saras-* in e.g. *sarasvati*, translated as 'strong in water' (but literally just 'rich in water', 'watery'). However, the element *saras-* means not 'strong', but 'water': cf. Mayrhofer 1996: 705–6 '*SAR*', 708 '*saráyu*', '*sáras-*'. I am grateful to Michael Janda for guidance here.

that ἥρως has two distinct uses, a religious and a non-religious one, can serve as our starting point.[26] The relation of the two uses to one another is controversial: the religious use has sometimes been derived from the non-religious, epic, one; and sometimes the two uses have been seen as independent of one another.[27] An attractive alternative is to see ἥρως as in origin a title of respect, capable of either a secular or a religious application.[28] Similarly, ἄναξ, δεσπότης (δέσποινα), and πότνια are all capable of both non-religious and religious applications.[29] The same ambivalence is found in Christian terminology, with Latin *dominus*, Greek κύριος, French 'seigneur', German 'Herr', and English 'lord/Lord'.[30] It is consistent with the possible origin of ἥρως as a title that it may accompany a name: for example, ἥρωα Μαχάονα (*Iliad* 4.200). With this we may compare similar uses of ἄναξ or κρείων (*Iliad* 2.566 Μηκιστέος . . . ἄνακτος, *Odyssey* 4.22 κρείων Ἐτεωνεύς).[31]

Mycenaean Greek probably already knew both non-religious and religious uses of ἥρως. On the one hand, the non-religious use seems to occur on two tablets from Knossos: KN Sc 244 *e-ro-e* (a dative: ἥρωι?) and KN Xd 116.b *e-ro-e-o* (a genitive: ἥρωος?).[32] On the other hand, the religious use seems to occur on two tablets from Pylos, PY Fr. 1204 and Tn 316.5 *ti-ri-se-ro-e* (a dative: τρὶς ἥρωι?).[33] The religious significance of the name (*tris*) *heros* in the two Pylos tablets has been doubted.[34] However, context suggests that the *tris heros* is an object of religious worship: he receives offerings (olive oil: PY Fr. 1204; a golden cup: Tn 316.5) and

[26] See LSJ s.v. ἥρως I.1 and I.3; Deneken 1884–90: 2441–5; Rohde 1925: 348–62; Brelich 1958: 8–11; Chantraine 1968–80 s.v.; West 1978: 370; Burkert 1985*a*: 203; id. 1992*b*: 547; Snodgrass 1987: 159; id. 1988: 20; Vandiver 1991: 18–19. It has, however, been denied (implausibly) that ἥρως has two uses by Hadzisteliou-Price 1973: 130 'the dictionaries may be wrong on the meaning of the word ἥρως in Homer' (suggesting that ἥρως even there has the religious sense); similarly, van Wees 1992: 315 n. 7 'I would suggest that *heros* never meant anything but "semi-divine being" '.

[27] Religious use derived from non-religious use: Rohde 1925: i. 155; Burkert 1992*b*: 547–8; Boehringer 2001: 30. Both uses mutually independent: West 1978: 373.

[28] Nock 1944: 164–5; Nilsson 1967–74: i. 382; Chantraine 1968–80: 417; Gérard-Rousseau 1968: 223; Kearns 1989: 2.

[29] Deneken 1884–90: 2444.

[30] Burkert 1996: 81.

[31] Wendel 1929: 88; Dickey 1996: 104.

[32] Aura Jorro and Adrados 1985–93: i. 248; cf. Gérard-Rousseau 1968: 223.

[33] Properly thus written, *divisim* (τρὶς ἥρωι, not τρισήρωι). See Gérard-Rousseau 1968: 222 and n. 5; Aura Jorro and Adrados 1985–93: ii. 353 and n. 2. For τρίς intensifying, cf. τρὶς μάκαρ, τρὶς μέγας, etc.

[34] Hadzisteliou-Price 1973: 131 'the meaning of the word hero in Mycenaean times is unknown, as well as its origin, and there is no prefix to denote either a God or a hero'; Peters 2002: 358–62.

features alongside four other divine names in the dative (PY Fr. 1204).[35] To admit this use of (*tris*) *heros* as a religious title in Mycenaean does not entail that hero cult was already practised in the Bronze Age (see further below). We may also note that two other names in PY Fr. 1204, viz. *po-ti-ni-ja* (= *πότνια*) and *do-po-ta* (≈ *δεσπότης*), are titles of respect capable of both religious and non-religious applications, which lends some support to the argument that *ἥρως* is to be similarly regarded.

The earliest attestations of *ἥρως* in properly literary texts, as opposed to the Mycenean Linear B tablets, also suggest that both non-religious and religious uses had a long history behind them. On the one hand, the non-religious use of *ἥρως* is formulaic (and hence traditional) by the time the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were composed.[36] On the other hand, we may encounter a religious use of *ἥρως* as early as Hesiod.[37] In *Works and Days*, the heroes are 'blessed' after their death (172 *ὄλβιοι ἥρωες*). They are referred to also as 'the godlike race of men heroes, who are called demigods' (159–60 *ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος, οἳ καλέονται | ἡμίθεοι*).[38] Further, in a law ascribed to Drakon (dating, if authentic, to the 620s BC) the cult of heroes in Attica is already referred to as 'ancestral': *τιμᾶν . . . ἥρωας . . . ἑπομένοις νόμοις πατρίοις*, 'to honour . . . the heroes . . . following the ancestral laws' ('Drakon' in Porphyry, *On Abstinence* 4.22.7).[39] If both the non-religious and the religious uses are ancient, then the religious use is unlikely to derive from the influence of epic in

[35] The religious context of the tablets is stressed by Brillante 1986: 177; Burkert 1991: 528. But note the reservations of Carlier 1984: 76 'dans plusieurs "listes d'offrandes", des noms de divinités . . . sont mêlés à des anthroponymes et à des noms de métier', 89 'L'huile d'olive n'était évidemment pas dans le monde mycénien une denrée reservée aux offrandes religieuses.'

[36] Formulaic are: the verse-ending *ἥρωας Ἀχαιούς* (seven times in *Il.*); the whole verse *ὦ φίλοι, ἥρωες Δαναοί, θεράποντες Ἄρηος* (four times in *Il.*); the verse-beginning *ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων* (four times in *Od.*, and in Hes.). Traditional: cf. Hadzisteliou-Price 1973: 132; West 1978: 370–1.

[37] Deneken 1884–90: 2443.44–9; Wilamowitz 1928: 59; cf. Chantraine 1968–80: i. 417; Vandiver 1991: 17–18. Differently, Brelich 1958: 9–10 and n. 8; West 1978: 190; Snodgrass 1988: 21; Kearns 1989: 5; Burkert 1992*b*: 548; Crielaard 1995*b*: 269. It is significant here that the heroes are being regarded from the vantage point of the viii–vii BC poet, not from the vantage point of the Heroic Age: see below.

[38] According to West 1978: 191, *ἡμίθεος* 'refers to their parentage . . . not to semi-divine status'; cf. Brillante 1990: 102. But just as *θεῖον γένος* means both 'godlike race' and 'progeny of the gods', so too *ἡμίθεος* surely means 'demigod' as well as 'having one divine parent'. Not only is a *ἡμίονος*, 'mule' (West's example) born of an ass, it is also a hybrid: half horse and half ass. Heroes likewise are hybrids, composites of man and god: cf. Lucian *dial. mort.* 77.2, *deor. concil.* 3 *θνητοὶ ἐξ ἡμισείας ὄντες*, 4 *ἡμιάνθρωπος*; 'Eur.' *Rhes.* 971 *ἀνθρωποδαίμων*; *Gilgamesh* I.ii.1 (Dalley 1989: 51) 'Two-thirds of him was divine, and one-third mortal.'

[39] See Burkert 1985*a*: 205. The authenticity of this Draconian law is controversial: see Stroud 1968: 81 n. 66; Ekroth 2002: 179 n. 212.

the eighth century BC.[40] Homeric epic will then no more have inspired the religious use of ἥρως than it did the phenomenon of hero cult itself (see the previous chapter). We may now consider the possible development of the two uses of the word.

(1) The non-religious usage. Both *wanax* and *heros* were probably titles in the Mycenaean social hierarchy, corresponding roughly to 'king' and 'lord' respectively. Collectively, the *heroes* may have formed a rank under the king, a class corresponding to 'lords', 'knights', 'counts'. Probably they were a class of chariot-owning nobles who marshalled the troops in battle, and thus resembled the *hequetai*: a plural of the Mycenean Greek noun *hequetas* (*e-qe-ta* in Linear B) which has been connected philologically to later Greek ἑπέτης, 'follower'. Semantically we may compare English 'count', deriving from Latin *comes*, 'companion'. The *hequetai* were high-ranking nobles subordinate to the *wanax*.[41] They received chariots (PY Sa 753, 787, 790) and were responsible for military operations.[42] In one of two suspected attestations of *heros* in Mycenaean, the *heros* receives a chariot (KN Sc 244).[43] Thus there are grounds for regarding *heros* and *hequetas* as related.[44] Like ἥρως in Homeric epic, Mycenaean *hequetas* could be used as a title with a name (PY An 654.7–8 *hequetas Alektryon*: compare, e.g., *Iliad* 4.200 ἥρωα Μαχάονα).[44] Since *hequetas* / ἑπέτης practically disappears from the later Greek language, it would be possible to regard ἥρως in the epic as its heir.[45]

We may assume that with the collapse of the highly stratified Mycenaean civilization there occurred upheavals in the social hierarchy and corresponding semantic shifts in the language. As the ranks of *wanax* and *heros* became extinct, so too the use of ἄναξ and ἥρως as secular titles will have become obsolete. Meanwhile, βασιλεύς, which had meant something like 'bailiff' in Mycenaean, assumed the meaning 'chief' (later 'king').[46] Henceforth the non-religious use of ἄναξ and ἥρως was

[40] Differently, Burkert 1992*b*: 547–8.

[41] See Chadwick 1976: 72; Deger-Jalkotzy 1978: 200–1.

[42] Chariots for *hequetai*: see Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 374 nos. 286, 288, 519 note on no. 288; Chadwick 1976: 73; Deger-Jalkotzy 1978: 79–83, 96–8. Responsibility for military operations: Chadwick 1976: 73, 177; Deger-Jalkotzy 1978: 200, 204.

[43] See Gérard-Rousseau 1968: 223.

[44] Palmer 1963: 87–8, 151–2; Deger-Jalkotzy 1978: 1, 5–6; Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 190–2.

[45] The disappearance of *hequetas*/ἑπέτης: Deger-Jalkotzy 1978: 147. Webster 1958: 98 would see ἵππότα in the epic as the successor to *hequetas*. Deger-Jalkotzy 1978: 148–53 suggests instead ἑταῖρος and θεράπων.

[46] Chantraine 1968–80: i. 166; Chadwick 1976: 70; Hoekstra 1981: 97–9; Murray 1993: 38; Janko 1994: 118. The terms ἄναξ and βασιλεύς in Homer are studied by Yamagata 1997.

reserved for archaizing contexts, whose setting was the Bronze Age.[47] One such context was 'heroic' poetry. So used, ἥρως must have been a conspicuous archaism. Under the influence, perhaps, of the bards' glamorizing portrayal of the role of the ἥρωες in Bronze Age society, the term ἥρωες came to be extended metonymically to all who had lived in that bygone age.[48] It would be natural for the ἥρωες, if these were mounted noblemen in charge of military campaigns, to capture the imagination most: we might compare the 'knights' of Arthurian legend.[49]

(2) The religious usage. *Wanax* and *Heros* are apparently already used in Mycenaean as names for divine beings who were objects of cult.[50] *(Tris) Heros* appears to have been a divine being of lesser importance.[51] This religious use of ἥρως need presuppose only a ranking order within the Mycenaean pantheon; it does not prove the existence of hero cult already in the Bronze Age.[52] (It may in fact be that the emergence of hero cult was dependent on conditions that arose only in the late Geometric period.[53]) The use of *Wanax* and *(Tris) Heros* as divine names in Mycenaean continues into the Archaic and Classical periods, when we find that various figures are worshipped under the names Ἄναξ or Ἥρως.[54] (We also find Δέσποινα and Πότνια similarly used.) At some point the divine world was systematized into a two-tier construct: an upper echelon of ἄνακτες (especially the Olympians) and a lower echelon of ἥρωες (minor deities).[55] (The term δαίμων was also available

[47] On ἄναξ, see Chantraine 1968–80: i. 84; Dickey 1996: 103. On ἥρως, see Snodgrass 1988: 21; Dickey 1996: 104. For the transition from a royal and secular vocabulary to a religious one, see Palmer 1963: 83–4, 214 (on τέμενος).

[48] It is used of the Ithacan nobles (*Od.* 1.272), the Phaeacians (7.44), the bard Demodokos (8.483), the butler Moulios (18.423). Hence Σ *Il.* 12.165 '[Homer] calls all persons alike "heroes", and not just the leaders'. Cf. Σ *Il.* 13.629, Σ *Il.* 14.230, Σ *Il.* 19.34. See *LfgrE* ii. 941.7–18.

[49] For heroes as horsemen or charioteers, cf. ἱππόται Νέστωρ (*Il.* 2.336, etc.); Alcae. 42.14 *PLF*; *N.* 4.28–30, etc.

[50] *Wanax*: PY Fr. 1215, 1220, 1227, 1235. *Wanassa* (fem.) / *Wanasso* (dual): PY Fr. 1215, 1219, 1221, 1222, 1227, 1228. See Palmer 1963: 249–50, 258–9, 308–9; Chantraine 1968–80: i. 84; Carlier 1984: 99; Aura Jorro and Adrados 1985–93: ii. 400–1 and nn. 8–11. On *(Tris) Heros*, see above.

[51] Aura Jorro and Adrados 1985–93: ii.353; Brillante 1986: 177.

[52] Differently, Chantraine 1968–80: i. 417; Brillante 1986: 177–8; Lyons 1997: 14; cf. Antonaccio 1995: 245.

[53] See Burkert 1992*b*: 536 and *passim*.

[54] Ϝάνασσα ('Aphrodite') on Cyprus; Ἄνακες or Ἄνακοι (Dioskouroi) in Attica; Apollo as Ἄναξ: see Hemberg 1955: *passim*; LSJ s.v. I.1. Ἥρως: cf. *IG* IV. 495 (Mycenae, V BC); Fraser 1977: 40, 79 (Rhodes). In general, see: Foucart 1918: 57–9; Rohde 1925: i. 172–5 esp. 174 n. 1 (printed as 'n. 2'); West 1978: 186; Larson 1995: 26–8; Parker 1996: 275 n. 83.

[55] For ἄνακτες as a synonym of θεοί, cf. Hes. *th.* 543; Sim. 523.2 *PMG*; Aesch. *suppl.* 222, 524; Pind. *O.* 10.49; Ar. *av.* 781. Cf. Cat. 68.76 *caelestis… eros*; Hor. *carm.* 1.1.6 *dominos… deos*. For ἥρωες as 'minor supernatural figures', 'gods in a small way', see Nock 1944: 165.

to '[cover] that embarrassing remainder which eludes characterization and naming'.[56]) A *terminus ante quem* for this development might be the law of 'Drakon' (if genuine) or Hesiod's *Works and Days* (offering no fewer than *three* subordinate tiers: δαίμονες, ὑποχθόνιοι μάκαρες θνητοί, and ὄλβιοι ἥρωες: 122, 141, and 173). From this point on gods and heroes 'form two quite separate groups', such that both 'share the nature of Stronger Ones in relation to men' and 'together circumscribe the sacral sphere'.[57]

The foregoing shows how the non-religious and religious uses of ἥρως might have developed in parallel out of a basic sense of 'lord'. This theory would account well for the diverse nature of the category of heroes, to which such obviously non-human beings as clouds can be assigned in Aristophanes' *Clouds* (315).[58] It can also account for the ambiguity of certain figures who are called both ἄναξ and ἥρως, implying uncertainty or flexibility as to where they may be ranked within the divine hierarchy.[59] This diversity and ambiguity are less easy to account for by taking the epic sense of ἥρως ('warrior, champion') as primary and trying to derive from it the meaning 'dead person invested with power'.[60] It is more tempting to follow A. D. Nock in the view that the term *heros* often meant 'minor deity' and not 'man who lived and died and subsequently received veneration'.[61]

Reflections on the uses of *heros*

An aristocratic warrior of the Bronze Age had been a ἥρως in the secular sense (cf. 'knight', *hequetas*) in his lifetime. The attitude with which someone referred to him in the fifth century BC as ἥρως in the secular sense may be compared to the attitude with which one might now refer to 'Sir Galahad'. The title characterizes the knight's status in his lifetime, while recognizing that these 'knights' are long extinct. On the other hand, an aristocratic warrior of the Bronze Age was often also a ἥρως in the religious sense to Greeks of the fifth century BC: one of

[56] Burkert 1985*a*: 180. [57] Burkert 1985*a*: 205.

[58] Cf. Nock 1944: 165 and n. 81. Differently, Boehringer 2001: 31–2. See further below, Ch. 9.

[59] Dionysos as ἄναξ: Archil. 120.1 *IEG*; as ἥρως: Plut. *quaest. Graec.* 36 299b. Herakles as ἥρως: Bacch. 5.71; as ἄναξ: ibid. 84–5; Archil. 324.2 *IEG*; cf. *N.* 3.22 ἥρως θεός. Lykos as ἄναξ, δεσπότης, and ἥρως: Ar. *vesp.* 389, 820–1. Phytalos as ἄναξ ἥρως: Paus. 1.37.2.

[60] As Burkert 1992*b*: 547–8; cf. Nilsson 1967–74: i. 185–6.

[61] Nock 1944: 162.

the 'Stronger Ones' who called for cult in the present. The attitude with which someone in the fifth century BC spoke of him as ἥρως in this sense might be compared rather with the attitude with which one might speak of 'St Peter'. In this case, the title expresses the saint's relation to contemporary believers, not a status he had in his lifetime. When using ἥρως of an aristocratic Bronze Age warrior, a fifth-century Greek need not have sharply distinguished these attitudes, that is, need not have been clear whether he was using ἥρως in a religious or a non-religious way. From the eighth century BC on, those who had been aristocratic warriors in the Bronze Age, whether the anonymous incumbents of Bronze Age tombs or named characters from epic poetry or other myth, were automatically candidates for cult in the present. These were ἥρωες in a double sense.[62] This explains those 'difficult cases' in Pindar (above), and numerous other cases, where it is hard, and perhaps inadvisable, to disentangle the non-religious from the religious usage.[63]

There is thus potential ambiguity when the hero is both a personage of the Bronze Age and is being regarded from the vantage of the fifth century BC. In two other cases, however, such ambiguity may not arise. The first is when a personage of the Bronze Age is being regarded not from the vantage of the fifth century, but from that of his own lifetime, as in epic poetry and Pindar's myths. The second case is when a deceased historical person of the Archaic or Classical periods is being called ἥρως. There was no question that he had been a ἥρως (in the sense of 'knight', *hequetas*) in his lifetime, as that rank had long since vanished; hence the religious use is clear (e.g. Battos at *P.* 5.95).

The last point can be developed further. From the eighth century BC on, the Mycenaean civilization and its rank of ἥρωες, 'knights', were irrevocably gone. It was no more feasible for a Greek of Archaic or Classical times to become a ἥρως in this sense than it is for us today. The group of persons who were ἥρωες in this sense was permanently restricted to the aristocratic warriors of the Bronze Age. Similarly, the knights of the Round Table are a finite and circumscribed company (to 'knight' someone nowadays is not to recruit them into that group!). The list of saints, however, is open-ended. Alongside St Peter, who died *c.* AD 64, there is (say) St Maximilian Kolbe, who died in 1941. The

[62] Cf. Vandiver 1991: 19; Burkert 1992*b*: 548.

[63] Cf. Hdt. 7.43.2 τοῖς ἥρωσι. Votive/dedicatory inscriptions: *IG* iv.495 τοῦ ἥρωος (pottery sherd from Mycenae, *c.* 475 BC), cf. cup from Argive agora, *c.* 475–50 BC (*AR* 1986–7: 18); ἡρώων τῶν ἐν Θήβαις (*AR* 1986–7: 18–19). Hes. *op.* 159, 172 could also be regarded in this way.

secular use of ἥρως was probably restricted much as the term 'Knight' (of the Round Table) was, and the religious use of ἥρως as open-ended as the title 'Saint'. The heroized athlete Kleomedes could in the 490s BC (assuming the oracle is authentic) be declared by the Pythia 'the latest of the heroes' (ὕστατος ἡρώων: oracle preserved at Pausanias 6.9.8). When Nikias, the first-century BC tyrant of Cos, was called ἥρως in his lifetime, this was probably not 'a reversion to the Homeric practice in a very un-Homeric spirit'.[64] Rather, it might be seen as the claim that Nikias in his lifetime was one of the 'Stronger Ones', 'a minor deity'. It has been claimed that Aristophanes' expression Λάμαχος ἥρως 'associates Lamachus with the warriors of the *Iliad*' (*Frogs* 1039, compare *Acharnians* 575, 579).[65] But in *Frogs*, performed in 405 BC after Lamachos' death in Sicily, Λάμαχος ἥρως may presuppose Lamachos' actual heroization, given that Athens in the later fifth century heroized her war dead (see below, Chapter 7).[66] In the *Acharnians*, performed in 425 BC during Lamachos' lifetime, it is conceivable that Dikaiopolis, faced with Lamachos' uncompromising warrior ethos, might jokingly suppose himself confronted with someone from the lost world of Achaean heroes.[67] But more likely the scene parodies the epiphany of a hero of cult, rather than the language of epic: then Dikaiopolis feigns to take the apparition of Lamachos (in panoply) for that of a cult hero.[68] Elsewhere in Aristophanes ἥρως is employed in the religious use.[69] In all these cases where ἥρως is applied to a historical person, it is probably best regarded as an instance of the religious use (St Peter), not the non-religious one (Sir Galahad).

There were, then, two uses of ἥρως, but there were clear rules defining their contexts of use. This suggests an important conclusion. We have seen nothing to support the view, widespread among literary scholars and archaeologists, that there were for the Greeks of the fifth century BC two distinct kinds of hero, and two distinct models of heroization, corresponding to the hero of epic and the hero of cult.[70]

[64] So Farnell 1921: 367. Cf. Nilsson 1967–74: ii. 152.

[65] Sommerstein 1996: 248 (on *ran.* 1039).

[66] So Dover 1993: 322.

[67] Cf. Rennie 1909: 174 'the braggadocio does not belong to these degenerate days, he is not οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσιν'.

[68] Cf. Rennie 1909: 175; Kleinknecht 1937: 306 n. 3; Sommerstein 1980: 185; Olson 2002: 223. Similarly, at *vesp.* 820–3 Bdelykleon persuades Philokleon that his slave is the hero Lykos, but Philokleon misses the hero's armour (823). For V-BC epiphanies of heroes as hoplites, cf. Hdt. 6.117.3, 8.38.

[69] Ar. *av.* 881, 1485, 1490, *vesp.* 389, 392, 438, frr. 318, 322.2 *PCG*.

[70] Contrast Kontoléon 1970: 46; Boedeker 1998: 238, 242. For the archaeological application, cf. Shapiro 1991: 631–44; Whitley 1994: 218–20, 228–9; de Polignac 1995: 135–6.

This view is dubious also for the reason that, from the vantage point of Greeks from the eighth century on, the heroes of epic were simultaneously worthy objects of cult: a clear sense of dichotomy was unlikely to take root. This is supported by Pindar's 'mixed cases' (see above). Rather than thinking in terms of a distinct model of heroization corresponding to the hero of epic, we should perhaps infer that when Greeks of the Classical period equated themselves with the heroes of epic they did so in awareness of the cult status of the latter, and that it was this that gave the equation its point. It would follow that there was only one conception of the hero with exemplary force: the hero as a figure of cult.

6

Immortality in Renown: *Kleos*

Kleos in Homer

Homeric heroes are compensated for their inevitable death by 'undying' or 'unquenchable renown' (*Iliad* 9.413 *κλέος ἄφθιτον*, *Odyssey* 4.584, 7.333 *ἄσβεστον κλέος*).[1] The phrase *κλέος ἄφθιτον* may be a formula of Indo-European pedigree.[2] In Homer, the hero's renown can be preserved by a monument such as a tomb (*Iliad* 7.91, *Odyssey* 4.584). But above all it was preserved in the song of the bard, passed on from generation to generation (*Iliad* 6.357–8; *Odyssey* 3.204, 8.580, 24.196–201).[3] Whether preserved by the tomb or song, *κλέος* in the *Iliad* carries with it no suggestion of cult.[4] This appears again to be an idiosyncrasy of the *Iliad*. It is striking that the compensation for Achilleus' mortality is to be 'undying renown' (*Iliad* 9.413 *κλέος ἄφθιτον*), whereas Demophon in the *Hymn to Demeter* is compensated for his mortality by 'undying cult' (262–3 *τιμὴ . . . ἄφθιτος*).[5] This difference will have been all the more striking if Achilleus was already a cult figure by the time the *Iliad* took shape.[6]

Kleos in Pindar

In Pindar, as in Homer, *κλέος* is frequently presented as a compensation for mortality, and a spur for human actions. This goes for both mythical heroes and the laudandus. We find a particularly clear expression

[1] Cf. *Il.* 7.91, 18.121. See Redfield 1975: 32; Griffin 1980: 95; Goldhill 1991: 70; Thomas 1995: 113–14; cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 374.

[2] For *κλέος ἄφθιτον* as an epic formula, with an Indo-European heritage, see Nagy 1990*a*: 244–5 n. 126, with references. For scepticism, see Finkelberg 1986; Griffin 1980: 95 and n. 45; id. 1995: 125. It is argued to be an Indo-European formula by Watkins 1995: 173–8.

[3] For *κλέος* (*κλέα*) *ἀνδρῶν* as the subject of song, see *Il.* 9.189, 9.524; *Od.* 8.73; Hes. *th.* 99–101.

[4] So e.g. Kullmann 1992: 257 n. 34.

[5] See Nagy 1979: 118–19.

[6] So Farnell 1921: 11; Nagy 1979: 9–10, 118, 342; Dowden 1989: 50–61 esp. 59, 194–5; Heubeck 1992: 369. Differently, Hooker 1988: 6 (Achilleus' cults occasioned by the diffusion of Greek epic); Brown in *OCD* s.v. 'Achilles', p. 6.

of the notion that the laudandus' fame (*κλέος*), which Pindar's song can confer, compensates for the laudandus' death at *O.* 10.91–6:

> *καὶ ὅταν καλὰ μὲν ἔρξαις ἀοιδᾶς ἄτερ,*
> *Ἀγησίδαμ', εἰς Ἀΐδα σταθμόν*
> *ἀνὴρ ἵκηται, κενεὰ πνεύσαις ἔπορε μόχθῳ*
> *βραχύ τι τερπνόν· τὶν δ' ἁδυεπής τε λύρα*
> *γλυκύς τ' αὐλὸς ἀναπάσσει χάριν,*
> *τρέφοντι δ' εὐρὺ κλέος*
> *κόραι Πιερίδες Διός.*

When, Hagesidamos, a man who has performed noble deeds goes without song to Hades' dwelling he has striven in vain and gained for his toil but brief delight. But on you the sweetly-speaking lyre and melodious pipe are shedding glory and the Pierian daughters of Zeus are making your fame widespread.

The same point recurs in many other odes.[7] Such passages put it beyond doubt that *κλέος* is an important concept in Pindar's odes. Yet unlike Homer, Pindar, as we have seen, makes frequent reference to hero cult (see Chapter 4). This makes it necessary to consider whether Pindar's conception of *κλέος* is an 'exclusive' or an 'inclusive' one.

Exclusive and inclusive conceptions of immortality in renown

It has frequently been observed that there were two facets to the hero's immortality: renown (*κλέος*) and cult (*τιμή*).[8] The *Iliad* gives evidence of only one of these, the 'immortality' of renown. This is, moreover, a metaphorical, not a literal form of immortality. Thus we might say that the *Iliad* operates with an 'exclusive' conception of immortality: it presents solely a model of immortality through renown, to the exclusion of the immortality of cult, or any other form of literal immortality. The alternative would be an 'inclusive' conception of immortality, which combined the immortality of

[7] *O.* 1.23–4, *O.* 8.10–11, *O.* 11.4–8, *P.* 1.92–4, *P.* 3.110–15, *N.* 4.6–8, *N.* 6.29–30, *N.* 7.11–16, *I.* 1.50–1 and 67–8, *I.* 2.28–32, *I.* 4.37–44, *I.* 5.7–10, *I.* 7.16–21. Cf. Bacch. 1. 181–4, 3.90–2, 9.82–7, 13.64–6.

[8] Concisely put by Redfield in Nagy 1979: p. x 'After death [the hero] is immortal in two different senses: immortal in cult and immortal in song. He receives *timē*, cultic observance, and *kleos*, the fame of those whose stories are told by the bards.' Cf. too Pòrtulas 1985: 234 'Dans le modèle héroïque, célébration par le culte et immortalité poétique sont deux aspects, étroitement solidaires, de la même réalité religieuse.'

renown with the immortality of cult, or another form of literal immortality. It is important to try to gauge how widespread the exclusive conception of immortality which we find in the *Iliad* is within Greek culture as a whole.[9]

It is sometimes claimed as a fundamental difference between the ancient Greeks and Christians that, while the latter have aspired to a literal, personal immortality, the former contented themselves with the prospect of a metaphorical immortality consisting just in renown.[10] Classical epitaphs seem to bear out the prevalence of such an exclusive conception of immortality.[11] The Archaic lyric poets also seem to presuppose an exclusive conception of immortality, expounding the motif that commemoration in song offers an escape from the oblivion of death and making no mention of literal immortality (Sappho 55 *PLF*; Theognis 243–6 *IEG*). It is possible elsewhere to find this metaphorical concept of immortality (in renown) being pointedly distinguished from a literal immortality (such as the gods enjoy). Thus, in Isocrates' *Panathenaic Oration*, the 97-year-old orator puts the following speech in the mouth of a former pupil: 'I think that when you [Isocrates] have ended your life, you will partake of immortality (*μεθέξειν ἀθανασίας*)—not that which the gods enjoy, but that which brings about in later generations remembrance of exceptional people for some one of their noble achievements' (260). The prospect of winning 'immortal fame' can, besides, be presented as the ultimate spur for all human achievement. Thus, in Plato's *Symposium* Diotima is made to say: '[consider] how terribly [men] are affected by the desire to become noteworthy, "and to set up a store of immortal renown for all time" (*καὶ κλέος ἐς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον ἀθάνατον καταθέσθαι*: a hexameter of unknown provenance)' (208c4–d2).

It can thus appear that the exclusive conception of *κλέος* (that of the *Iliad*) was widespread and pervasive. Yet the picture is complicated. In the passage just cited from Plato's *Symposium*, Diotima, after she has considered various people who directed their life's efforts to leaving behind them an immortal 'progeny' of renown, turns to people whose

[9] For the question thus posed, cf. Rudhardt 1958: 122–3; Buxton 1994: 170–1.

[10] e.g. Humphreys 1993: 159 'Whereas the pagan looked for continuity of existence in men's thoughts and in his tomb or statue as a focus for these, the Christian was concerned about the fate of his soul in a future existence.'

[11] Lattimore 1962: 342 'from the evidence of epitaphs, the belief of the ancients, both Greek and Roman, in immortality, was not widespread, nor clear, nor very strong', cf. 264–5. Similarly Mikalson 1983: 75, 82; Guthrie 1950: 260–4. Compare and contrast Clairmont 1970: 64–71.

lifetime endeavours were rewarded with cult: 'or, if you wish, [consider] what children Lykourgos left behind him in Sparta . . . Solon too is honoured among you [Athenians] . . . as are other men in many other places, both among Greeks and among barbarians, for their performance of many fine deeds and their begetting of virtue of all kinds. Even many religious observances have come about for these people . . .' (209d4–e4). Diotima's speech is sometimes taken to provide a straightforward statement of an exclusive conception of immortality in renown.[12] But in the passage just cited, the concept of *τιμή* accrues to that of *κλέος*. Solon is 'honoured' (209d5–6 *τίμιος*) among the Athenians, and he and people like him come into 'many religious observances' (209e2 *ἱερὰ πολλά*), an expression that conveys both 'shrines' and 'rites'.[13] Lykourgos in Sparta, Solon in Athens, and the 'other men in many other places' are, accordingly, people rewarded not just with the metaphorical immortality of renown, but with the literal immortality of cult. In this way, Diotima's speech alerts us to an important point: when we appear to find statements of the exclusive conception of immortality (immortality through renown only), it may transpire that we in fact have an inclusive conception of immortality (immortality in renown plus immortality in cult). There are (the passage from the *Symposium* suggests) a select group of people whose prospects of immortality go significantly beyond just immortality in renown.

Exclusive *versus* inclusive conceptions of immortality in Pindar

In general, scholars have assumed that Pindar operates with an exclusive conception of *κλέος*; in other words, that he regards immortality through renown as the only available form of immortality. C. M. Bowra gave this the following formulation: '[Pindar] accepts the Homeric and heroic notion that since men have only a short existence at their disposal, they must make the most of it, and it is this conviction which he puts in the mouth of the young Pelops [*sc.* at *O.* 1.81–4] . . . Undying renown is for Pindar a more substantial consolation than any afterlife below the earth.'[14] These sentiments have been echoed by many

[12] See Guthrie 1950: 261–2; Young 1968: 63 n. 2.

[13] See Dover 1980: 154 ad loc. For Lykourgos' cult in Sparta, cf. Hdt. 1.66.1; Paus. 3.16.6; Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F118. A cult of Solon in Athens is not directly attested, but see Kearns 1989: 198 (and add Plat. *symp.* 209d4-e4 to the references cited there?).

[14] Bowra 1964: 95–6; cf. 189–91.

scholars.[15] In a similar vein scholars have compared Pelops' decision at *O.* 1.81–4 with Achilleus' choice at *Iliad* 9.410–16 and with Sarpedon's protreptic to Glaukos at *Iliad* 12.322–8.[16] Underlying such comparisons seems to be the assumption that Pindar's conception of immortality is the same as Homer's: namely, that it is the exclusive one, immortality consisting only in renown.

However, the example of Pelops in *Olympian* 1 chosen by Bowra does not sit at all well with this view. True, renown is the motive for Pelops' heroism. In verses 82–3 he shuns a 'nameless old age' and in verse 93 has duly come into his *κλέος*.[17] But in verses 90–3 we see that Pelops' reward explicitly includes cult. He has 'a much-frequented tomb' (93 *τύμβον ἀμφίπολον*) and receives 'blood-sacrifices' (90 *αἱμακουρίαις*), which continue into the present (90 *νῦν δ'*). Here—as in Diotima's speech in the *Symposium*—what at first sight seemed to be the exclusive conception of immortality turns out to be the inclusive one.

It is not clear that what goes for Pelops, the hero of the myth, must also go for Hieron, the laudandus. Yet in *Olympian* 1 Pelops is made to serve as an example for Hieron: a whole set of verbal echoes effects a parallelism between the two, precisely in respect of Pelops' cult at Olympia and Hieron's Olympic victory.[18] Thus, in verse 78 **κράτει δὲ** *πέλασον* echoes 22 **κράτει δὲ** *προσέμειξε*, in verse 91 **ἀγλααῖσι** echoes 14 **ἀγλαΐζεται**, in verse 91 again *μέμικται* echoes 22 *προσέμειξε*, and in verses 93–4 finally *τὸ δὲ* **κλέος | τηλόθεν δέδορκε** echoes 23 **λάμπει** *δέ οἱ* **κλέος**. It has plausibly been suggested that Pelops' cult is to be seen as foreshadowing the hero cult which Hieron was to receive posthumously (as founder of Aitna).[19] If so, an inclusive model of immortality (i.e. immortality through renown in conjunction with immortality in cult) would apply to Hieron as well as to Pelops.

[15] Rohde 1925: ii. 205 'Einzig der grosse Name, der Ruhm im Gesange, ist nach dem Tode der Lohn der Tugend grosser Thaten'; Norberg 1945: 27–8; Lattimore 1962: 45 'Pindar seems to believe that only fame, not life, can be preserved'; Race 1986: 56, 61–2, 63; Steiner 1986: 129 'According to Pindar, only one force permits the individual to transcend his own immortality, that of the song the poet creates'; Cannatà Fera 1990: 31 '[*sc.* negli epinici] [l']unica forma di sopravvivenza è la fama data dal canto', cf. 167; Young 1993: 127; Robbins 1997: 258 'The poet's task is to immortalise this excellence in poetry, the only sure form of continuing life after death.'

[16] Race 1986: 56, 63; Carey 1995: 89.

[17] If (with Köhnken 1974: 200; Gerber 1982: 146; Fisker 1990: 72) we take 93 *τὸ δὲ κλέος* with 95 *Πέλοπος*, and take 94 *τᾶν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἐν δρόμοις* as a single locution (cf. *P.* 1.72 *Πυθιάδος ἐν δρόμῳ*).

[18] Gerber 1982: 122, 142, 143, 145; cf. Bundy 1962: 91 n. 125.

[19] See Gerber 1982: p. xv; Slater 1989: 499. Differently, Verdenius 1988: 1–2.

Another ode which similarly dwells initially on the role of *κλέος* but goes on to integrate it into an inclusive conception of immortality is *Isthmian* 4. Verses 35–42 of that ode proclaim that Aias' wrongful death has been compensated for by the honour done him by Homer in his poetry: 'but Homer has honoured [Aias] over all men; he set up all his virtue and declared it through the staff of wondrous verses for future generations to perform' (37–9 *ἀλλ' Ὅμηρός τοι τετίμακεν δι' ἀνθρώπων, ὃς αὐτοῦ | πᾶσαν ὀρθώσαις ἀρετὰν κατὰ ῥάβδον ἔφρασεν | θεσπεσίων ἐπέων λοιποῖς ἀθύρειν*).[20] The language of 'performance' (*ἀθύρειν*) here alludes to the subsequent (*λοιποῖς*) reperformance of Homer's poetry by rhapsodes; the rhapsode's staff is evoked in *κατὰ ῥάβδον* (38).[21] Here we are dealing explicitly with a notion of immortality conferred by the poet's song. Immortality is in fact attributed to poetry in verses 40–1: 'for this creeps along with immortal voice, if someone says something well' (*τοῦτο γὰρ ἀθάνατον φωνᾶεν ἕρπει, | εἴ τις εὖ εἴπῃ τι*). This example of Homer's immortalization of Aias' achievements in song is explicitly transferred to the poet's own celebration of Melissos at verses 43–5: 'may I find favourable Muses, so as to kindle the same beacon of songs also for Melissos' (*προφρόνων Μοισᾶν τύχοιμεν, | κεῖνον ἅψαι πυρσὸν ὕμνων | καὶ Μελίσσῳ*).

So far, then, in *Isthmian* 4 Pindar seems to be adhering to a Homeric model of immortality in song for his laudandus. However, the example of Herakles in verses 52–68 initiates a new train of thought. Herakles attained literal immortality. He 'went to Olympus' (55), where he received 'the finest form of blessedness' by the side of Zeus (58–9) and married Hebe, 'Youth' (59); he now receives a continuing cult at Thebes (61–2). The example of Herakles thus brings literal immortality into play. Whereas Homer 'has honoured' Aias 'among men' (37), Herakles 'has been honoured by the gods as one dear to them' (59). The verbal echo **τετίμακεν** (37) ~ **τετίμαται** (59) suggests that the 'honour' which the poet can bestow on the laudandus is surpassed by that which the gods might bestow on one whom they love. And no less than the example of Aias the example of Herakles is applicable to the laudandus. Melissos is associated with Herakles in various respects: both are said to be short in stature (49, 53: not the conventional view

[20] On the meaning of 'Homer' to Pindar, see Fitch 1924; Nisetich 1989; Burgess 2001*a*: 129.

[21] Cf. Σ *I.*4.63c–h. Burkert 2001*a*: 102 '[Pindar] makes Homer himself a rhapsode, "singing to the staff"'; Krummen 1990: 85; Willcock 1995: 80. Here Pindar alludes to the (folk) etymology of *ῥαψῳδός* from *ῥάβδος*; at *N.* 2.2 he alludes to the (correct) etymology from *ῥάπτειν*.

of Herakles!); both left Thebes to take part in a pancration or a wrestling match (53–4); and Melissos has distinguished himself, repeatedly, at the festival of Herakles (69–72).[22] Thus while the example of Aias initially held out to Melissos the prospect of immortality in song, the example of Herakles now holds out the prospect of literal immortality. The example of Herakles is an obvious one to suggest the possibility of literal immortality for the laudandus.

Another example is *Nemean* 7. In verses 11–16, song is presented as the proper recompense for toil: song is the 'only way' of holding 'a mirror to good deeds' (14 *ἔργοις δὲ καλοῖς ἔσοπτρον ἵσαμεν ἑνὶ σὺν τρόπῳ*). This suggests an exclusive model of immortality in song, to which 'the wise' will have recourse in anticipation of death (17–20). However, in the verses which follow (20–30) the role of song is problematized. The example of Aias and Odysseus illustrates that words may distort the truth. This ushers in a new train of thought: 'honour comes about for those whose reputation the god swells luxuriantly after they have died' (31–2). We are now no longer concerned with just posthumous 'reputation' (*λόγον*) but with posthumous 'honour' (*τιμά*). The example of Neoptolemos which follows makes it clear that 'honour' here includes 'cult'. Buried within the god's sanctuary at Delphi, Neoptolemos is attended with 'processions fit for a hero with countless sacrifices' (46–7 *ἡροΐαις . . . πομπαῖς | . . . πολυθύτοις*) (see below, Chapter 13). While the poet can confer immortality in song, the god (32 *θεός*) can, it seems, confer literal immortality and cult. In this verse, 'the god' is not to be identified with either 'the Muse' or with 'the poet inspired by the gods'.[23] Here 'the god' is a collective singular, for the gods in general. It thus transcends the Muse or the divinely inspired poet. It takes us beyond the power of poetry in just the same way that the honouring of Herakles by the gods in *Isthmian* 4 takes us beyond the honouring of Aias by Homer. The emphasis on the role of the gods makes an important point: at stake is not just the ability of the poet aided by the Muses to 'immortalize' (metaphorically) the patron in his own song, but also the patron's capacity to become literally immortal. That is something that is in the gift of the gods, not of the poet.

Isthmian 5 may stand as a last example of an inclusive model of *κλέος* in Pindar. Verses 12–13 of that ode declare 'success' and 'good renown' to be the 'only two things' which make up a blessed life. This lesson is

[22] Cf. Krummen 1990: 57.

[23] As Σ*N.* 7.46a *θεὸν δὲ τὴν Μοῦσαν* and Σ*N.* 7.46b *θεός . . ., τουτέστιν ὁ ποιητὴς ἐμπνευσθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν*, followed by Köhnken 1971: 45.

immediately followed by a warning not to aspire to divinity: 'Don't seek to become Zeus. You have everything if a share of these blessings should come to you. Mortal things suit mortal people' (14–16). A few verses later comes the familiar claim that the laudandus deserves a song in return for his toils (22–5). This claim is justified here by the fact that 'the brave warriors among the heroes also gained renown (*λόγον*)' (26–7). Yet the heroes who are then listed in verses 27–34 are not only 'celebrated . . . for time beyond measure' (27–8); they—the Oineidai, Iolaos, Perseus, and the Dioskouroi—also receive cult. The language of verses 27–34 combines both the notion of 'renown' (27 *κλέονται*) and the notion of 'cult' (29 *σεβιζόμενοι*, 30 *θυσίαισι*, 33 *γέρας*). Once again, then, we have an ode which seemed initially to proclaim an exclusive model of immortality (immortality through renown only), but subsequently implies an inclusive model (immortality through renown in addition to the immortality of hero cult).

It is necessary, however, to consider in turn two salient features of Pindar's odes which seem hard to reconcile with an interest in the literal immortality of the laudandus: first, the abundant *gnomai* which insist on human mortality; and second, the fact that so strong an emphasis is placed on immortality in song.

Gnomai

The odes are replete with *gnomai* which seem to exclude the possibility of a literal immortality: 'all alike must die', 'remember you are mortal', and 'don't seek to become a god'.[24] Other *gnomai* speak of song as the 'only' means by which a person can survive his death.[25] Taken at face value, all these *gnomai* seem to presuppose an exclusive model of immortality, countenancing only immortality through *κλέος*.

However, it is not clear how we are to take Pindar's *gnomai*.[26] A previous generation of scholars did not hesitate to take the *gnomai* as Pindar's heartfelt pronouncements.[27] Yet modern scholarship has

[24] 'All alike must die': *N.* 7.19–20, *N.* 11.16, *I.* 7.43. 'Remember you are mortal': *N.* 11.15, *I.* 5.16. 'Don't seek to become god': *O.* 5.24, *I.* 5.14. These *gnomai* are taken to exclude literal immortality by e.g. Instone 1993: 19–20.

[25] *N.* 7.14–16 (14 *ἑνὶ σὺν τρόπῳ*), *P.* 1.92–4 (93 *οἷον*); fr. 121.1–4 (3 *μόνον*).

[26] On Pindar's *gnomai*, see e.g. Dornseiff 1921: 129–32; Kirkwood 1982: 23–4; Race 1986: 29–30; Lardinois 1995: 254–72. For bibliography on *gnomai* in general, see Lardinois 2001*a*: 93 nn. 1–3.

[27] e.g. Bowra 1964: 61 on Pindar's 'innermost beliefs', cf. 357–8, 392–3.

become increasingly sceptical about the presence of a personal voice of Pindar in the odes.[28] Frequently we are dealing with just a laudator's 'conventional masks and gestures'.[29] It cannot be overlooked that the wisdom embodied in Pindar's *gnomai* is often traditional.[30] *Gnomai* from different odes may contradict one another.[31] Thus, *gnomai* in Pindar have often been seen as having a rhetorical function: effecting a transition between formally distinct parts of an ode, contributing to the creation of the laudator's character (*ethopoeia*), and putting the laudandus' achievements in a wider ethical context.[32]

Because *gnomai* do not provide unproblematic access to the poet's point of view, they need to be set in the context of the ode as a whole.[33] They should be treated analogously to other statements from the laudator, such as his proclaimed reasons for directing the narrative in a particular way: 'I scruple to speak of a great undertaking, risked without justice' (*N.* 5.14–18); 'I will pass over his end in silence' (*O.* 13.91); 'Why am I vaunting beyond due measure?' (*P.* 10.4); 'Can it be, friends, that I have been spun around at a path-shifting crossroads, when previously I had been travelling a straight path? Or has some wind cast me off course, like a little boat at sea?' (*P.* 11.38–40); 'My heart, to what foreign coast are you changing my voyage?' (*N.* 3.26–32). All are deliberate fictions. The song is not really improvised, the poet does not really get blown off his track, and the myth never really stops short without good reason.[34] When the laudator declares

[28] e.g. Slater 1979*b*. A case for 'the voice of Pindar', however, is made by Kirkwood 1981.

[29] Bundy 1962: 35.

[30] Cf. e.g. *P.* 1.85 with Hdt. 3.52.5, Epicharm. fr. 285; or *P.* 11.50–4 with Archil. 19 *IEG*, Anacr. fr. 361 *PMG*, Sim. 584 *PMG*. Note Kirkwood 1982: 23 '[*gnomai*] are not original perceptions, and some are demonstrably well-known maxims'. Cf., on the rhetorical value of such commonplaces, Aristot. *rhet.* 1395b1–3 *ἔχουσι δ' εἰς τοὺς λόγους βοήθειαν μεγάλην μίαν μὲν διὰ τὴν φορτικότητα τῶν ἀκροατῶν· χαίρουσι γὰρ ἐάν τις καθόλου λέγων ἐπιτύχῃ τῶν δοξῶν ἃς ἐκεῖνοι κατὰ μέρος ἔχουσιν.*

[31] Contrast e.g. *N.* 1.25 'it is necessary to fight with one's native talent, walking in straight roads (*εὐθείαις ὁδοῖς*)' with *P.* 2.84–5 'against an enemy as an enemy I will make a surprise attack like a wolf, treading now here, now there in crooked roads (*ὁδοῖς σκολιαῖς*)'.

[32] Transitional function: Dornseiff 1921: 131; Thummer 1968–9: i. 131–2; Hamilton 1974: 16. *Ethopoeia*: Carey 1995: 96–8, id. 1999: *passim* (cf. Aristot. *rhet.* 1395b12–17). Wider ethical context: Dornseiff 1921: 130; Kirkwood 1982: 23; Carey 1995: 86.

[33] Cf. Stern 1970: 305 '[*gnomai*] are tropes of the genre and must be understood in their total context'.

[34] See Miller 1993–4; Lardinois 1995: 255. On 'dramatic fictions' (or 'oral subterfuge'), see also Carey 1989: 552 n. 15; id. 1995: 99–103. A previous generation of scholars took Pindar's tendency to digress literally: e.g. Farnell 1930–2: i. 160 'We are dealing with a poet astonishingly wayward, whom a single phrase is often enough to send off the track, spinning down a long by-path of myth.'

his motivation for telling a particular myth, the reason given should seldom be considered an adequate explanation of the function of the myth within the ode.[35] When the laudator initiates a myth without any apparent motivation, the impression created of a random association of ideas is a disingenuous one.[36] We should take pains to distinguish poet from laudator (narrator). The latter's proclaimed understanding of what he is about may fall far short of the former's, which is never explicitly revealed to us. This has implications for our attitude to the *gnomai*. These utterances of the laudator do not come from a privileged standpoint: Pindar's *gnomai* are no more authoritative than the generalizing statements made by the chorus or *koryphaios* in tragedy.[37] It is sufficiently recognized in, for instance, Sophoclean tragedy, that '[t]he chorus must not be assumed to be "the mouthpiece of Sophocles" . . . Even when choruses set their seal on a play with a concluding generalization, this must never be assumed without more ado to be the play's "message"; it is just one piece of the total picture.'[38] Instead of privileging the chorus' perspective we should see the choral voice as part of the 'polyphony' of the play.[39] This view is extendable to Pindar's *gnomai* (and not just because epinician poetry is, probably, choral; in monodic lyric too there is no warrant for assuming that the speaking persona is that of the poet, or that the views expressed are ones which he or she necessarily endorses).[40] A similar point may be made for Herodotus' use of *gnomai*.[41]

A *gnome*, then, does not have the last word on its subject; its perspective is limited and its content always open to revision. *Gnomai* address only a part of the total experience of the world: they 'are generalizations which permit contradiction and conflicting interpretations'.[42] The contradiction between 'too many cooks spoil the broth' and 'many hands make light work' is endemic to proverbs. We have seen in this chapter how in *Olympian* 1, *Isthmian* 4, *Nemean* 7, and *Isthmian* 5 *gnomai* may be revised in the course of an ode: the prospect of immortality in song gives way to the possibility of literal immortality in cult. Relatively

[35] Miller 1993–4. [36] Miller 1993–4.

[37] Cf. Race 1990: 42 n. 2 'Like the chorus in a drama, the lyric voice guides the reactions of the audience and at the same time displays the speaker's *ethos*.'

[38] Buxton 1984: 23. Cf. Kranz 1933: 220–2; Taplin 1978: 166–7; Scott 1996: 1–11, 27–8, 43; Griffith 1999: 11, 18, 180, 220.

[39] See Hutchinson 2001: 436–7 and the references in n. 17.

[40] Speaking persona not that of the poet: cf. Miller 1993–4: 22 n. 2. The views expressed are not subscribed to by the poet: Carey 1986: 66; id. 1995: 92. Cf. Bowie 1993: 35–6.

[41] Gould 1989: 61.

[42] See esp. Gould 1989: 81–2 (on Herodotus' uses of *gnomai*); Buxton 1994: 164.

vague moral intuitions may be refined in the course of an ode. In fact, the insistence on human mortality is not contradicted by the prospect of hero cult. Heroization for the most part occurs posthumously, and so does not flout any principle of inevitable mortality. Paradoxically, heroes as a rule die to become immortal (see above, p. 46). Pindar's *gnomai* should, accordingly, not be taken to rule out the possibility of the kind of literal immortality enjoyed by a hero. Rather, the *gnomai* belong precisely in a context in which the possibility of heroization is being explored.

The emphasis on immortality in song

A second objection to the argument that Pindar's odes entertain the possiblity of a literal immortality for the laudandus is that it is metaphorical immortality (i.e immortality through renown) which receives the greater prominence in the odes: this might be thought unlikely if literal immortality were genuinely an issue. The cogency of this argument may be assessed by first considering two non-Pindaric poems, from the fourth and third centuries BC, where it is somewhat easier to establish than with Pindar's odes that a literal immortality for the laudandus is at stake.

The first poem is Aristotle's song for Hermias. In 341 BC, Hermias, tyrant of Atarneus and Aristotle's father-in-law, died. Aristotle had a cenotaph erected and composed a song in his honour. In this song, Hermias is juxtaposed with Herakles, the Dioskouroi, Achilleus, and Aias (842 *PMG*, verses 9–14); yet the song makes explicit appeal only to a model of immortality in song for Hermias (verses 17–19):

> τοιγὰρ ἀοίδιμος ἔργοις
> ἀθάνατόν τέ μιν αὐξήσουσι Μοῦσαι,
> Μναμοσύνας θύγατρες

Therefore [Hermias] deserves a song for his deeds and the Muses, daughters of Memory, will make him immortal.

Aristotle's performance of this song, every day at communal dinners in the Lyceum (Athenaeus 15.696b), supposedly led to the charge of 'impiety' being brought against him in 322 BC. The prosecutor was a politician, Demophilos, apparently on the instigation of the Eleusinian hierophant Eurymedon.[43] The charge against Aristotle was of trying

[43] For the (alleged) accusation brought against Aristotle and his speech in his own defence, see D. L. 5.4, 5, 9; Athen. 15.696a–697b = Hermippus fr. 48 Wehrli.

to introduce Hermias as a new god.[44] The trial reportedly revolved around the song to Hermias and the issue of its genre: whether, as a paean, it implied that Hermias was immortal.[45] In the one sentence surviving from the speech that Aristotle allegedly made in his own defence, the philosopher denies that it was his intention 'to sacrifice to Hermias as an immortal' (*Ἑρμείᾳ θύειν ὡς ἀθανάτῳ*) or 'to immortalize his nature' (*ἀθανατίζειν τὴν φύσιν*).[46] Although there are problems with the authenticity of this defence speech and with the historicity of the trial, these need not detain us here. The tradition itself offers a valuable insight on the ancient reception of the Hermias song. Evidently Greeks could interpret a song which laid a strong emphasis on the laudandus' immortality in song as having a keen interest in the laudandus' literal immortality.

The second poem is Theocritus' *Idyll* 17, an encomium of Ptolemaios II (Philadelphos) composed in the 270s BC.[47] It holds out to Philadelphos the prospect of receiving a 'good fame' from the poets:

> *Μουσάων δ' ὑποφῆται ἀείδοντι Πτολεμαῖον*
> *ἀντ' εὐεργεσίης· τί δὲ κάλλιον ἀνδρί κεν εἴη*
> *ὀλβίῳ ἢ κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἀρέσθαι;*

The spokesmen of the Muses sing the praises of Ptolemaios in return for his good services. What could be finer for a blessed man than to win good fame among men? (115–17).

There is no suggestion here of cult or literal immortality for Philadelphos. On the contrary, the rhetorical question 'what could be finer . . . than . . . good fame . . .?' suggests that he can have no other reward than *κλέος*. However, contemporary Hellenistic poets elsewhere show that they are fully aware of Philadelphos' divine status.[48] In Theocritus' encomium itself the literal immortality of Philadelphos' parents, Ptolemaios I (Soter) and Berenike I, is a prominent theme: their apotheosis and their cult are dwelled on in verses 16–33, 45–52, and 121–8. The model of literal immortality, which his parents so manifestly enjoy, cannot be excluded for Philadelphos in this poem.[49] Nor,

[44] On such charges, see Parker 1996: 215, 276–7; Mikalson 1998: 48–9.

[45] See Schröder 1999: 120–1; Rutherford 2001*a*: 92–7.

[46] Athen. 15.697a. On the authenticity of the speech (suspected already by Athenaeus, op. cit., *εἰ μὴ κατέψευσται ὁ λόγος*), see Mikalson 1998: 49 n. 9, with references.

[47] On the poem, see Hunter 2003.

[48] See Call. *h.* 1.69–89, 4.165. Theocr. 7.93 with Dover ad loc. Herodas 1.30 with Headlam ad loc. Later, in ii–i BC, cf. Meleager *HE* 3.3 (= *AP* 7.418.3).

[49] The deification of his adoptive father, Julius Caesar, was similarly a crucial precedent for Augustus: Galinsky 1996: 318–19.

evidently, is the one-sided emphasis on Philadelphos' κλέος ἐσθλόν in verses 115–17 meant to exclude this.[50] Rather, Theocritus in this poem presupposes a conception that combines both immortality in song and literal immortality: the inclusive model.

Aristotle's song for Hermias and Theocritus' encomium of Philadelphos show that concern for the laudandus' literal immortality could be fully consistent with a strong emphasis on immortality in song. In both these poems, as often in Pindar, the only form of immortality explicitly proclaimed is metaphorical immortality in song. But the possibility of literal immortality for the laudandus is intimated in both cases, through analogical suggestion. In Aristotle's song, the analogy is with mythical heroes who did attain literal immortality: Herakles, the Dioskouroi, Achilleus, and Aias. In Theocritus' encomium, it is analogy with the dead relatives of the laudandus who had been deified, Ptolemaios I and Berenike. Both forms of analogy, with mythical heroes and heroized relatives of the laudandus, are common in Pindar. (Of the odes to be considered below, heroized relatives provide an example for the laudandus in *Isthmian* 7 and *Pythian* 5, and mythical heroes provide an example in *Pythian* 2 and *Nemean* 7.) In the case of both Aristotle's Hermias-song and Theocritus' encomium of Philadelphos, it is the independently-known historical circumstances of the poems that argue that literal immortality for the laudandus is an issue. With Pindar's odes, however, it is often assumed that the historical circumstances of the fifth century rule out literal immortality being an issue for the laudandus. One recent writer on Theocritus, commenting on the use of Pindar *Olympian* 2.1–6 as an intertext for Theocritus 17.1–8, argues: 'Pindar's *Priamel* [*sc. O.* 2.1–6] . . . simply presents superhuman themes that function as foils for his excellent human subject—at most he may imply that, although he was a mortal man, Theron had gone as far as a man could go. Theocritus [*sc.* 17.1–8], on the other hand, deals with a man-hero who is really going to become a god, and this circumstance is the reason why he writes a eulogy of Ptolemy that hints at parallelisms between him and Zeus or the heroes . . . To understand Theocritus' poetic strategy, this historical difference between his *laudandus* and those of Pindar is [important].'[51] The importance attached here to the historical circumstances of the laudandus for the interpretation of the poem is perfectly reasonable; however,

[50] Cf. Goldhill 1991: 278, 280; Hunter 1996: 81.

[51] Fantuzzi 2000: 138. In general on Theocritus and Pindar, see Hunter 1996: 83 and n. 25.

the assessment of those circumstances is open to dispute. We must not lose sight of the fact that Theron, no less than Theocritus' laudandus Philadelphos, came into a form of literal immortality, receiving heroic honours at Acragas (Diodorus 11.53.2). Theron's hero cult at Acragas was posthumous, but his association with gods and heroes in Pindar's *Olympian* 2 (verses 2–6, 68–80) arguably assumes a special significance in the light of his posthumous cult. In other words, it is easy to overstate the 'historical difference' between Theocritus' patron and Pindar's patron in *Olympian* 2: one might point to the similarities. It is possible, of course, that Theron (with both his likely mystical leanings and his attested posthumous hero cult) is untypical among Pindar's patrons.[52] It is thus important that we get clearer about the historical circumstances of Pindar's patrons, which must mean considering how widespread heroization was in the fifth century BC. That enquiry will have major implications for our interpretation of Pindar's odes, and it will form the second part of this book.

[52] So e.g. Robbins 1997: 259–60.

PART II

Heroization in the Fifth Century BC

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Heroization in the Fifth Century BC

Despite its great importance for Greek religious and cultural history, the heroization of historical persons in the Archaic and Classical periods has not received a full and systematic study.[1] Although lists of heroized historical persons have been published, these do not give an exhaustive account of even the attested heroizations; and we have no clear idea how numerous the unattested heroizations were.[2] It is beyond the scope of this book to provide a comprehensive survey, yet it will be desirable to reconsider heroization in the fifth century in three of its most important aspects: the heroization of the war dead, the heroization of athletes, and possible forms of religious treatment of the living.

Little needs to be said in the context of this book to justify the attention to the heroization of athletes. Not only does this have a direct bearing on Pindar's odes, but athletes also constitute a significant proportion of heroized persons of the fifth century; any account of heroization in the Classical period needs to take stock of them.

The relevance of the heroization of the war dead to the present study is perhaps less obvious, but the reasons for its inclusion are twofold. First, the heroization of the war dead does have a bearing on Pindar's poetry, in particular on his seventh *Isthmian* (considered below, Chapter 10). Second, the heroization of the war dead has an important place in the history of the development of the cult of heroes. One of the most frequently remarked changes in the religious practice of the Hellenistic period is that the heroization of deceased contemporaries became much more widespread than in the Archaic or Classical periods.[3] There is a 'democratization' of heroic honours.[4] It is, in fact, with

[1] Treatments include: Farnell 1921: 361–72, 420–6; Boehringer 1996; Connolly 1998. The founder's cult has been well treated: see esp. Malkin 1987.

[2] Cf. the list of Farnell 1921: 420–6, revised by Connolly 1998. More or less *exempli gratia* addenda to Connolly's list might be: Glaukos (*GHI* no. 3; see Burnett 1983: 16–17 and n. 5); Pythagoras (Justin 20.4.18, after Timaeus?); Ameinias (Sotion fr. 27 Wehrli, in D. L. 9.21); Parmenides (see Kingsley 1999: 148, 248); Empedokles? (cf. Heracl. Pont. fr. 83 Wehrli, in D. L. 8.68).

[3] For this change in heroization in the Hellenistic period, see e.g. Rohde 1925: ii. 358–62; Wilamowitz 1931–2: ii. 19; Nilsson 1967–74: ii. 116–17, 143–4.

[4] Versnel 1989: 173 'Heroisierung ist sozusagen demokratisiert'.

the heroization of the war dead in the Archaic and Classical periods that we see the first indications of hero cult becoming accessible to a significantly wider cross-section of society. It has been said that 'It was the state funerals for war dead which first brought the honours of heroic burial within the range of every Athenian citizen', that is, around the middle of the fifth century BC.[5] A similar point has been made for the Archaic period with regard to the Spartan attitudes to the war dead: it has been argued that the elegies of Tyrtaeus '[extend] the possibility of veneration not only to the leaders but to each and every member of the hoplite phalanx', and '[evoke] the possibility of heroization for the individual'.[6] It may be that with these collective heroizations of the war dead in the Classical period (or even, in the case of Tyrtaeus' Sparta, in the Archaic period) a crucial step was taken towards the proliferation of hero cults in Hellenistic times.

The third aspect of heroization to receive attention in this book is the religious treatment received by living persons in the fifth century BC: by 'religious treatment' is meant here the treatment of living persons as if they were more than human. This is an especially controversial area, but one vitally important for our interpretation of Pindar, where we are interested in the question how far the victory ode may be considered a religious treatment of the laudandus.[7] This aspect of heroization too is fundamental to our understanding of the diachronic development of the cult of historical persons: the cult of the living (in the form of ruler cult) is held to be another distinctive development of the Hellenistic period, yet here again it seems that the Hellenistic period may be anticipated by developments in the fifth century. But we will begin with the rather less controversial case of the heroization of the war dead.

[5] Humphreys 1993: 121.
[6] Fuqua 1981: 225–6.
[7] Cf. Pfister 1909–12: 555–6, 586–7 (see above, Ch. 1).

7
Heroization of the War Dead

Introduction

The question of whether the Greek war dead were heroized has been repeatedly addressed and a range of answers returned.[1] It has been claimed simply: 'Those who fell in battle for their country were made heroes and received a cult.'[2] On the other hand it has been claimed, 'it is the exception, not the rule, for those who fall in battle to receive heroic honours'.[3] Finally, it has been denied that the war dead were heroized in the Classical period.[4] Faced with this divergence of opinions, we must review the evidence.

The dead of the Persian wars

The collective cults for the dead of the Persian wars offer the clearest evidence for the heroization of the war dead.[5] In most cases, however, the evidence for the cult is late and it is difficult to determine whether the heroization was carried out in the fifth century or later.

(1) Marathon, 490 BC.[6] A cult of the casualties of the battle of Marathon is variously attested. The earliest witness is an inscription honouring ephebes of the year 123/2 BC, who among other ritual observances 'visited the collective grave in Marathon and garlanded it and performed sacrifices to those who died in war for the sake of freedom' (*IG* II².1006.26–7 *πα[ρ]αγενόμενοι δὲ [ἐπὶ τὸ ἐμ Μαραθῶνι*

[1] See e.g. Jacoby 1944; Reverdin 1945: 154–8; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 108–21, 247–57; Stupperich 1977: 56–70; Loraux 1986: 28–30, 38–42; Welwei 1991; Parker 1996: 132–7; Ekroth 2002: 262.

[2] Lattimore 1962: 97, 238. Cf. Nilsson 1967–74: i. 717–18; Hornblower 1982: 257.

[3] Burkert 1985*a*: 207. The 'exception' are the dead of the Persian wars: ibid. 431 n. 50.

[4] Welwei 1991: 53, cf. 65–6.

[5] Rohde 1925: i. 182, ii. 349; Bowra 1961: 354; Burkert 1985*a*: 431 n. 50; Welwei 1991: 67 n. 9; Boehringer 1996: 50.

[6] Pritchett 1971–9: iii. 173–5; Kearns 1989: 55, 183; Garland 1992: 58; Spivey 1996: 123–51; Connolly 1998: 21.

πολυ]άνδρειον ἐστεφάνωσάν τε καὶ ἐνήγισαν | τοῖς κατὰ πόλεμον τελευτήσασιν ὑπ[ὲ]ρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας; compare, of the ephebes in the following year, lines 69–70). Second, there is Pausanias 1.32.4 σέβονται δὲ οἱ Μαραθώνιοι τούτους . . . οἳ παρὰ τὴν μάχην ἀπέθανον ἥρωας ὀνομάζοντες, 'the people of Marathon worship those who died in the battle, calling them heroes'. Further testimony to the heroic status of the Marathon dead is given by Aelius Aristides, *Defence of the Four* [3] 188 Lenz-Behr.

The explicit textual and epigraphical evidence of a cult of the Athenians and Plataeans who fell at Marathon is thus of a late date. The contemporary archaeological record does not help much. A tumulus at Marathon thought to be the grave of the dead of the battle of Marathon comprises an 'offering trench' with ceramic remains dating to the early fifth century BC, but not later: hardly clear evidence of a regular cult at the site.[7] One interpretation of the Parthenon frieze takes it to reflect the heroic status attained by the Marathon dead by *c.* 438 BC, but this interpretation is not universally approved.[8] It has been argued, further, that an Athenian cup of the 480s BC depicts the Marathonomachoi as heroes, but this is not compelling.[9]

Even in the absence of decisive evidence that the dead of Marathon were heroized in the fifth century, there remains a fair probability that they were heroized shortly after the battle.[10] There is an *a fortiori* argument to this effect: the Marathon dead were the Athenian war dead *par excellence*, and if the Athenians heroized any war dead in the fifth and fourth centuries BC (which they surely did: see below), we would expect them to have heroized these.[11]

(2) Thermopylae, 480 BC. In the case of the dead of Thermopylae

[7] Whitley 1994: 216, 215 n. 7. Cf. Stais 1893: esp. 53–4; Pritchett 1960: 140–3; id. 1971–91: iv. 126–9; Hammond 1973: 172–6. The identification of this tumulus as the grave of the Marathon dead has been challenged: see Mersch 1995.

[8] Boardman 1977; id. 1985: 172–4; Spivey 1996: 148. Differently e.g. Castriota 1992: 217–22; Neills 2001: 173–201.

[9] *ARV* 399. See Barrett and Vickers 1978: 23; Williams 1986: 79.

[10] So Farnell 1921: 363; Kearns 1989: 55; ead. 1990: 328 n. 10; Boehringer 1996: 50; Spivey 1996: 122; cf. Garland 1992: 95. Differently, Welwei 1991: 62; Flashar 1996: 73; Parker 1996: 137 n. 57. Ekroth 2002: 75–7 would see at least the *enagizein* sacrifice (attested in the ii–BC ephebic inscription) as an innovation of ii BC.

[11] For this argument *a fortiori*, cf. Kearns 1989: 55; Connolly 1998: 17. For the Marathonomachoi as the Athenian war dead *par excellence*, cf. Hdt. 9.27.5; Thuc. 2.34.5; Loraux 1986: 155–71. At Dem. 18.208, those who fell at Marathon are listed along with those who fell at Plataea, Salamis, Artemisium, and 'many other brave men', who all received the same honour of a public burial.

the evidence is contemporary, but its value uncertain: Simonides 531 *PMG* (cited by Diodorus 11.11.6):

> *τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις θανόντων*
> *εὐκλεὴς μὲν ἁ τύχα, καλὸς δ' ὁ πότμος,*
> *βωμὸς δ' ὁ τάφος, πρὸ γόων δὲ μνᾶστις, ὁ δ' οἶκτος ἔπαινος·*
> *ἐντάφιον δὲ τοιοῦτον οὔτ' εὐρὼς*
> *οὔθ' ὁ πανδαμάτωρ ἀμαυρώσει χρόνος.*
> *ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ὅδε σηκὸς οἰκέταν εὐδοξίαν*
> *Ἑλλάδος εἵλετο· μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Λεωνίδας,*
> *Σπάρτας βασιλεύς, ἀρετᾶς μέγαν λελοιπὼς*
> *κόσμον ἀέναόν τε κλέος.*

For those who died in Thermopylae the fate is famous, the death is noble, the grave is an altar, there is remembrance instead of lamentations, pity has become praise. Such a shroud neither decay nor all-subduing time will obscure. This precinct of brave men has chosen a good name throughout Greece as its sacristan. Leonidas too, king of Sparta, bears witness, having left behind him a great decoration for his excellence and eternal fame.

The genre, venue, and mode of performance of this song is controversial; so is its interpretation, and whether or not the song is complete as quoted.[12] A number of features of the song are suggestive of a cult of the war dead: *ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν* (6) in particular is a standard expression for the war dead.[13] Certain themes recur in the Athenian funeral oration: the inappropriateness of mourning for the war dead (verse 3), the good name enjoyed by the dead throughout all Greece (verses 6–7).[14] The language of hero cult is used in *βωμὸς δ' ὁ τάφος*, 'the grave is an altar' (3) and *ὅδε σηκός*, 'this precinct' (6).[15] This language has suggested to some that the song was performed at Sparta in the context of a cult centred on the cenotaph of those who fell and were buried at

[12] On the genre, see Palmisciano 1996; Steiner 1999.

[13] See Goldhill 1991: 125.

[14] Inappropriateness of mourning: cf. *LSS* 64.3–7; Lys. 2.78; Hyp. 6.41–2; Plat. *Menex.* 248b5–c2. Cf. the closing formula of the Athenian funeral oration: *νῦν δὲ ἀπολοφυράμενοι . . . ἄπιτε* (Thuc. 2.46.2; Plat. *Menex.* 249c6–8; 'Dem.' 60.37). Cf. *IC* III.iv.38.12–13 (I BC). See Parker 1983: 42–3; Loraux 1986: 44–50; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 192–3. Good name throughout Greece: cf. Thuc. 2.43.3; Lys. 2.2; 'Dem.' 60.33.

[15] For graves as 'altars', cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 106 *αἰδουμένη σοι βωμὸν ὡς τύμβον πατρός*, 'revering your father's [Agamemnon's] tomb as an altar'. Diodorus the Periegete *FGrH* 372 F35 in Plut. *Them.* 32.5 *τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ βωμοειδὲς τάφος τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους*, 'the altar-like construction on top of [the foundation] is a grave of Themistokles'. For *σηκός* as 'hero's precinct', cf. LSJ s.v. II.1; Bowra 1961: 347; Kierdorf 1966: 27; Steiner 1999: 385 and n. 15. Differently, Podlecki 1968: 260.

Thermopylae.[16] Others, however, have understood the same language metaphorically: 'this precinct' could be a metaphor for the song itself, like Pindar's 'treasure-house of song', which neither rain nor wind will destroy (*P.* 6.7–18).[17] In our ignorance of the performance context of Simonides' song, it does not seem possible to adjudicate between the literal and metaphorical interpretations. It may be significant, however, that Diodorus prefaces his citation of the song by saying that the Spartan dead of Thermopylae 'departed this life for immortality' (11.11.6 *εἰς ἀθανασίαν μετήλλαξαν*): the parallels for this expression suggest that Diodorus may have been thinking of a literal immortality.[18]

(3) Plataea, 479 BC.[19] The cult of the Greeks who fell in the battle of Plataea can be securely dated to the fifth century BC. Thucydides makes two Plataean speakers in 427 BC mention before the Spartans 'the graves of your fathers, whom after their death at the hands of the Persians and their burial in our land, we have been accustomed to honour each year publicly with garments and the other customary offerings, and all the seasonal things which our soil yielded up, bringing them the first-fruits of everything' (3.58.4 *πατέρων τῶν ὑμετέρων θήκας, οὓς ἀποθανόντας ὑπὸ Μήδων καὶ ταφέντας ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐτιμῶμεν κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον δημοσίᾳ ἐσθήμασί τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νομίμοις, ὅσα τε ἡ γῆ ἡμῶν ἀνεδίδου ὡραῖα, πάντων ἀπαρχὰς ἐπιφέροντες*). These Plataean spokesmen go on to warn the Spartans that, if they destroy Plataea, they will 'leave [their own fathers and kinsmen] dishonoured of the privileges which they now have' (3.58.5 *ἀτίμους γερῶν ὧν νῦν ἴσχουσι καταλείψετε*). Later sources also testify to this cult. Isocrates in his *Plataean Oration* speaks of 'the graves no longer receiving the customary offerings' ([14] 61 *τοὺς . . . τάφους μὴ τυγχάνοντας τῶν νομιζομένων*). An inscription from Plataea of the mid-third century BC mentions funeral games held by 'the Greeks' in honour of the dead of the battle (*SEG* xxvii.65.20–4 *τὸν | ἀγῶνα ὃν τιθέασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ | τοῖς ἀνδράσιν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἀγω- | νισαμένοις πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους | ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας*). Finally, the cult is also mentioned by authors of the second century AD.[20]

[16] So Wilamowitz 1913: 140–1 n. 3, 176–7 n. 3; Bowra 1961: 344–9; Campbell 1982: 383; Goldhill 1991: 125. Paus. 3.14.1 mentions a stele in Sparta recording the names of the Thermopylae dead. [17] Podlecki 1968: 259–62; Steiner 1999. Cf. Kierdorf 1966: 28.

[18] Cf. Isoc. 9.70; Aristot. *EN* 1145a23–4; Paus. 8.2.4–5. See below, p. 177.

[19] Nilsson 1906: 455–6; Burkert 1983: 56–8; Étienne and Piérart 1975: 63–8; Pritchett 1971–91: iii. 178–83; Schachter 1981–94: iii. 125–43 esp. 135, 137; Boedeker 1998: 239–44.

[20] Plut. *Arist.* 21.2 *οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ὑπεδέξαντο τοῖς πεσοῦσι καὶ κειμένοις αὐτόθι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐναγίζειν καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν*; *de mal. Her.* 42 872f *πολυάνδρια καὶ θῆκαι . . . καὶ μνήματα νεκρῶν ἐν οἷς ἐναγίζουσιν ἄχρι νῦν Πλαταιεῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμπαρόντων*; Paus. 9.2.5–6.

(4) Salamis, 480 BC.[21] This famous battle can be mentioned here, even though there is no evidence for a cult of those who died in the battle. The victory itself was certainly commemorated with a festival, the Aianteia (Pausanias 1.36.1; *IG* II^2.1028.24–8). But there is no evidence that the war dead were worshipped in conjunction with this festival. An interesting sidelight is thrown by an Athenian inscription of the early first century BC, setting out provisions 'concerning the temples and precincts [of Attica], in order that they might be restored to the gods and to the heroes to whom they originally belonged' (*IG* II^2.1035, line 4). The inscription goes on to mention the 'precinct of Aias' (32 [*τέμεν*]*ος Αἴαντος*) on Salamis, in the same breath as 'Themistokles' trophy over the Persians and the *polyandrion* of those who died in the battle' (33–4 *τὸ* [*Θεμισ*]*τ*[*οκ*]*λέους τ*[*ρόπαιον κατὰ Π*]*ε*[*ρ*]*σῶν καὶ πολυάνδριον τῶν* | [*ἐν μάχηι τελευτησάντων*]). It is an interesting question whether this '*polyandrion* of those who died in the battle', along with the 'precinct of Aias', was understood to be one of the 'precincts of the heroes' mentioned at the beginning of the inscription (line 4). If so, it would seem that the war dead of Salamis were heroes by the first century BC.

(5) The Megarian dead of the Persian wars. In his description of Megara Pausanias writes: 'There are graves of Megarians in the city; they made one for those who were killed in the Persian invasion, and the tomb called "Aisymnion" was also a grave of heroes' (1.43.3 *εἰσὶ δὲ τάφοι Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει· καὶ τὸν μὲν τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐποίησαν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τοῦ Μήδου, τὸ δὲ Αἰσύμνιον καλούμενον μνῆμα ἦν καὶ τοῦτο ἡρώων*). Since Pausanias says that the so-called Aisymnion was 'also' a grave of heroes, we can infer that, by the second century AD, the Megarian dead of the Persian wars were seen as heroes.[22]

Also relevant is a Megarian inscription of the fourth or fifth century AD, which an archpriest Helladios had inscribed to renew an epigram of 'Simonides' on the Megarian dead of the Persian wars (*SEG* XIII.312).[23] Although the epigram's ascription to Simonides is spurious, it probably dates from around 479 BC.[24] The most informative verses about the status of the war dead are the closing distich: *ἀστοὶ δ' ἄμμι τόδε* ⟨*ξυνὸν*⟩ *γέρας ὀμφαλῷ ἀμφίς* | *Νισαίων ἔπορον λαοδόκῳ 'ν ἀγορᾷ*, 'the citizens

[21] Pritchett 1971–91: iii. 175–8; iv. 173–4.

[22] See How and Wells 1928: ii. 316; Pritchett 1971–91: iv. 175–6; Welwei 1991: 54–5; Connolly 1998: 16 n. 81, 21.

[23] Also published as *IG* VII.53; Tod 1946: no. 20. The epigram embedded in the inscription is 'Sim.' 16 *FGE*, = Campbell iii. 532–5. For Simonides' praise of the valour of the Megarians at sea, cf. 629 *PMG*.

[24] Cf. Page 1981: 214.

gave us this [*sc.* the memorial on which the epigram was inscribed] as our common reward, around the navel of the Nisaeans, in the marketplace which receives the people'. The 'navel' where the monument stood has been understood either as 'an altar' or the Megarian 'council chamber'.[25] It clearly denotes an important spot at the heart of the city.[26] Helladios' inscription of the fourth or fifth century AD implies that the war dead were actually buried where the memorial stood, for it speaks of 'the heroes who lie in rest *here*' (1–2 *τῶν . . . κει[μέ]νω[ν] | ἐντα[ῦ]θα ἡρώων*; compare 3 *τῶν κειμένων*, 'those lying in rest').[27] Both this inscription and Pausanias' statement that the 'grave' of the Megarian war dead was 'in the city' (*ἐν τῇ πόλει*) assume intramural burial, apparently in the agora, for these Megarian casualties of the Persian wars.[28] If they are right, this must count as a strong indication that the Megarian dead of the Persian wars had been heroized already in the fifth century.[29] Both Pausanias (1.43.3, above) and Helladios' inscription (lines 1–2 *τῶν ἐν τῷ Περσικῷ πολέμῳ ἀποθανόντων . . . ἡρώων*) call them 'heroes'. Helladios' inscription, moreover, mentions an *ἐναγισμός* of a bull, which it claims had been performed continuously ever since the fifth century BC: 'up to our own time the city used to sacrifice a bull as well' (13 *[μ]έχρις ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ ἡ πόλις [κ]α[ὶ] ταῦρον ἐν[ή]γ[ι]ζεν*). It has been denied that this ritual of *ἐναγισμός* goes back to the fifth century BC, but on no conclusive grounds.[30]

[25] 'Altar': LSJ s.v. iii.1. Council-chamber: *CIG* 1.1051 p. 557 ('curia').

[26] Cf. the collocation of 'city's navel' and 'marketplace' at Pind. fr. 75.3 *θεοί, | πολύβατον οἵ τ' ἄστεος ὀμφαλὸν θυόεντ' | ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς Ἀθάναις | οἰχνεῖτε πανδαίδαλόν τ' εὐκλέ' ἀγοράν*, 'you gods, who visit the much-frequented city's navel, rich in frankincense, in holy Athens, and the glorious, richly-adorned marketplace'. On this fragment, see van der Weiden 1991: 193.

[27] It seems much less likely that 2 *ἐντα[ῦ]θα* can mean 'there', i.e. in the field. These Megarians died in diverse regions (Artemisium, Salamis, Mycale, Plataea).

[28] Cf. Ekroth 2002: 78. Differently, Page 1981: 213 'The "tomb" was presumably a memorial; the Megarians deserved the Panhellenic rule of burial on the battlefield'; Campbell, iii. 532–3 n. 1 'The monument is likely to have been a cenotaph.' Hdt. 9.85.2 has Megarians buried at Plataea.

[29] See Seaford 1994: 117 and n. 66. But see preceding note.

[30] Cf. Ekroth 2002: 77–8 'the *enagizein* sacrifice was not part of a continuous, ancient tradition'; but see Currie 2003. In general on such problems of dating hero cults, cf. Hughes 1999: 174 and n. 40.

Institutionalized cults of the war dead

In some cities the war dead seem routinely to have been the object of cult: the evidence is strongest for Athens, Thasos, Sparta, and Thebes.

(1) Athens, fifth and fourth centuries BC.[31] The earliest apparent testimony to a routine cult of the Athenian war dead is the Aristotelian *Athenian Constitution*: 'the polemarch arranges the funeral games, and performs destruction sacrifices for the war dead and for Harmodios and Aristogeiton' (58.1 *ὁ δὲ πολέμαρχος . . . διατ[ί]θησι . . . ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐπιτάφιον καὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ Ἁρμοδίῳ καὶ Ἀριστογείτονι ἐναγίσματα ποιεῖ*). This, the reading of the papyrus, attests sacrifices (*ἐναγίσματα*) for the Athenian war dead (and for Harmodios and Aristogeiton).[32] However, the text has been variously emended, so that the sacrifices are performed only for Harmodios and Aristogeiton, rather than for them and for the war dead.[33] The conjunction of sacrifices to the war dead and to Harmodios and Aristogeiton would not be surprising. Harmodios and Aristogeiton were buried, like the Athenian war dead, in the Kerameikos.[34] The tyrannicides and the war dead were closely associated ideologically.[35] *Enagismata* performed by the polemarch for the war dead may be supported by a passage of Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*: 'when [Demainete] arrived at the pit in the Academy—you know, where the polemarchs make the ancestral sacrifice to the heroes . . .' (1.17 *ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὸν βόθρον ἐγένετο τὸν ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ, πάντα γινώσκεις, ἔνθα τοῖς ἥρωσιν οἱ πολέμαρχοι τὸ πάτριον ἐναγίζουσι . . .*). Here, the 'heroes' might be either Harmodios and Aristogeiton

[31] Brückner 1910: 229–34; Jacoby 1944: 37–66; Pritchett 1971–91: iv. 106–24; Stupperich 1977: 54–6; Roller 1981: 8–9; Loraux 1986: 38–41; Hornblower 1991: 156, 292; Seaford 1994: 80–1, 106–9; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 191–5; Parker 1996: 132–7 esp. 135–7.

[32] For a defence of the papyrus text, see Wilamowitz 1893: i. 249 and n. 130; Deubner 1932: 230 and n. 8; Jacoby 1944: 38 n. 3; Loraux 1986: 38 n. 86, 363 n. 149.

[33] Kenyon (followed by Chambers in his 1994 Teubner edition) emends to *διατίθησι . . . ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐπιτάφιον* [[*καὶ*]] *τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ Ἁρμοδίῳ καὶ Ἀριστογείτονι ἐναγίσματα ποιεῖ* ('arranges the funeral games for the war dead, and performs hero sacrifices for Harmodios and Aristogeiton'). This emendation receives only nebulous support from Pollux 8.91 (*ὁ δὲ πολέμαρχος . . .. διατίθησι . . . τὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἀγῶνα τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ ἀποθανόντων καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἁρμόδιον ἐναγίζει*), which is an imprecise paraphrase, and may itself be corrupt. Papageorgios and others emend to *διατίθησι . . . ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐπιτάφιον ⟨ἐπὶ⟩ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κτλ.*, on the strength of the epigraphically attested formula *ἆθλα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τόι πολέμοι*. See Ekroth 2002: 83–5.

[34] War dead: Ar. *av.* 395–9; Thuc. 2.34.5; Paus. 1.29.4. Harmodios and Aristogeiton: Paus. 1.29.15.

[35] See Taylor 1991: 7–8.

or the war dead or both; it is unclear why Heliodorus would not have specified the tyrant slayers if he had just these in mind.[36]

We find unambiguous references to a cult of the Athenian war dead in the fifth- and fourth-century funeral orations, and later. In his *Samian Funeral Oration* of 439 BC, Perikles argued, 'we deduce that [the war dead] are immortal by the honours they enjoy' (Stesimbrotus *FGrH* 107 F9 *ταῖς τιμαῖς ἃς ἔχουσι . . . ἀθανάτους εἶναι τεκμαιρόμεθα*). In his Thucydidean funeral oration for the dead of the first year of the Peloponnesian war (431 BC), 'Perikles' again speaks of 'showing the honours in deed' to the war dead (Thucydides 2.35.1 *ἔργῳ . . . δηλοῦσθαι τὰς τιμάς*).[37] Lysias (if the transmitted *epitaphios* is his) speaks of 'those who have died in war as worthy of being honoured with the same honours as the immortal gods' (2.80 *ὡς ἀξίους ὄντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτηκότας ταῖς αὐταῖς τιμαῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀθανάτους τιμᾶσθαι*). 'Demosthenes' speaks of the war dead as being 'judged worthy of immortal sacrifices and contests' (60.36 *θυσιῶν καὶ ἀγώνων ἠξιωμένους ἀθανάτων*). Hyperides says that 'for [the war dead] death is the inaugurator of great blessings' (6.28 *θάνατος τούτοις ἀρχηγὸς μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν γέγονε*). Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentions 'the [in Athens] customary sacrifices for those who were killed in a foreign country' (*On Thucydides* [18.6] *τοὺς εἰωθότας ἐναγισμοὺς τοῖς ἐπὶ ξένης ἀποθανοῦσιν*). Funeral games for the Athenian war dead are attested in the literary and epigraphical record (see below).

(2) Thasos, late fifth or early fourth century BC. A Thasian inscription from the turn of the fifth century features the clause, 'whenever the city sacrifices to its war dead' (*LSS* 64.10–11 *ὅταν ἡ πόλις ἐντέμνῃ | τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς*).[38] The verb *ἐντέμνειν* is a technical term for blood sacrifice.[39] The use of *ὅταν* with the subjunctive shows that this is a regular, institutionalized cult. It is striking that the inscription uses *οἱ ἀγαθοί* to mean 'the (heroized) war dead'.[40]

(3) Sparta. It has often been denied that Sparta heroized her war dead.[41] However, an early text which raises the possibility is Tyrtaeus 12.27–34 *IEG*, speaking of one who falls in battle:

[36] Cf. Kearns 1989: 143; Himmelmann 1990: 29 n. 57; Parker 1996: 137 n. 57.

[37] Cf. Plat. *Menex.* 236d4 for *ἔργῳ* used of the burial of the war dead.

[38] *NCIG* 19; Pouilloux 1954: 371–80.

[39] Cf. Thuc. 5.11.1 (Brasidas). Ekroth 2002: 135.

[40] Pouilloux 1954: 372; Loraux 1986: 99–100. See further below, p. 206.

[41] e.g. Pritchett 1971–91: iv. 246 '[there is] no suggestion . . . that there was any cult, whether sacrifice, festival or games, associated with the [Spartan] war dead in general', 'the Spartan practice was in sharp contrast to that of the Athenians'. Cf. Boedeker 1998: 237, 242; Stehle 2001: 117–18. According to Dem. 20.141, Athens is alone in holding a funeral oration for its war dead.

τὸν δ' ὀλοφύρονται μὲν ὁμῶς νέοι ἠδὲ γέροντες,
ἀργαλέῳ δὲ πόθῳ πᾶσα κέκηδε πόλις·
καὶ τύμβος καὶ παῖδες ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀρίσημοι
καὶ παίδων παῖδες καὶ γένος ἐξοπίσω·
οὐδέ ποτε κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀπόλλυται οὐδ' ὄνομ' αὐτοῦ,
ἀλλ' ὑπὸ γῆς περ ἐὼν γίνεται ἀθάνατος,
ὅντιν' ἀριστεύοντα μένοντά τε μαρνάμενόν τε
γῆς πέρι καὶ παίδων θοῦρος Ἄρης ὀλέσῃ

Young and old mourn for him alike and the whole city grieves with a terrible sense of loss; his tomb and his children are distinguished in men's eyes, as are his children's children and his descendants thereafter; his good fame never dies, nor does his name, but, though beneath the earth, he becomes immortal, whomever rushing Ares slays as he displays superlative bravery and stands firm and fights for his country and children.[42]

Several features here are typical of the cult of the war dead as it is attested later, especially in Athens.[43] First, there is public mourning (27–8).[44] Second, there is a special status for the descendants of the war dead (29–30).[45] Third, there is everlasting renown for the war dead themselves (31).[46] Fourth, there is a conspicuous tomb for the war dead (29).[47] Finally, there is the claim that although beneath the earth the fallen warrior 'becomes immortal' (32). This last point calls especially for discussion.

It is characteristic of Tyrtaeus' elegies to redeploy Homeric concepts and phraseology.[48] In the distich which especially concerns us (31–2), the expression *κλέος ἐσθλόν* strongly evokes the ideology of the Homeric poems.[49] We might thus conclude that Tyrtaeus employs the Homeric (exclusive) conception of immortality in renown (see above, Chapter 6).[50] In that case, Tyrtaeus' fallen warrior 'becomes immortal'

[42] For a defence of Tyrtaeus' authorship of these verses, see Jaeger 1966: 111–26; Prato 1968: 15–19; Meier 1998: 274. Differently, Fränkel 1975: 337.

[43] See Loraux 1986: 99 and n. 127; Meier 1998: 284 with nn. 209, 212–13.

[44] Cf. Callin. 1.16–19 *IEG*; *LSS* 64.1–7; Anacr. 1.2 *FGE*; *CEG* I.10.(iii).9; Lys. 2.81 *ἀνάγκη ὀλοφύρεσθαι τοὺς θαπτομένους*. For restrictions on mourning for war dead, see above.

[45] Cf. at Thasos: *LSS* 64.16–21; at Athens: Aeschin. 3.154; Plat. *Menex.* 248e6–249b2; 'Dem.' 60.32, 37; on Rhodes: Diod. 20.84.3; on Samos: Plut. *de Her. mal.* 22 860c.

[46] Cf. Sim. 531.9 *PMG*; Heracl. 22 B29 *VS*; *GHI* 48.48.

[47] Cf. in Athens, Thuc. 2.43.2 *τὸν τάφον ἐπισημότατον*, cf. 2.34.5; Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.17.

[48] See, however, Fowler 1987: 24, 31–3: we should see Tyrtaeus as steeped in the poetic tradition generally, rather than indebted specifically to the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*.

[49] Cf. *Il.* 9.413 and esp. *Od.* 24.93–4. But note Snell 1969: 33 'Diese Worte . . . sind homerisch, aber in unhomerischem Zusammenhang.'

[50] So Rohde 1925: ii. 201 n. 3; Jaeger 1966: 122–3, 136; Prato 1968: 135; Adkins 1972: 36; Welwei 1991: 63; Steiner 1999: 393 and n. 57.

simply because 'his good fame never dies'. On this interpretation, the deathlessness is really the property of the warrior's *κλέος* and his *ὄνομα*: it is these that 'do not ever perish' (31 *οὐδέ ποτε . . . ἀπόλλυται*), and this deathlessness is transferred to the dead warrior, who thus himself metaphorically 'becomes immortal' (32 *γίνεται ἀθάνατος*).

But Tyrtaeus is perfectly capable of couching non-Homeric sentiments in the language of epic.[51] Within the range of attested Greek views about the war dead, it is not clear whether we should see the ideology of Tyrtaeus as closer to that of Homer or to that of the Athenian funeral oration; Tyrtaeus seems to occupy a transitional place. An identical formulation to Tyrtaeus' **γίνεται ἀθάνατος**, 'he becomes immortal', is found in Perikles' Samian funeral oration of 439 BC: **ἀθανάτους . . . γεγονέναι**, 'they have become immortal' (in Stesimbrotus *FGrH* 107 F9). Perikles must mean these Athenian war dead to have become literally immortal, for he qualifies them with the phrase 'like the gods' (*καθάπερ τοὺς θεούς*). The afterlife of the war dead is a concern also in other Athenian funeral orations ('Demosthenes' 60.33–4; Hyperides 6.35, 43).[52] The issue at stake is not whether Tyrtaeus makes any use of the concept of immortality in renown; 12.31 *IEG* shows that he does. The question is rather whether for Tyrtaeus immortality in renown was all there was, or whether this could be conjoined with literal immortality. The choice, once again, is between an 'exclusive' and 'inclusive' conception of immortality (see above, Chapter 6). We encounter an 'inclusive' conception of immortality for the war dead, comprising immortality in renown as well as immortality in cult, frequently in the Athenian funeral orations.[53] Although cult is not explicitly mentioned at Tyrtaeus 12.27–34 *IEG*, it seems quite feasible to see these verses as reflecting at least the ideology of the heroization of the war dead.[54]

[51] Cf. Gerber 1997: 106.

[52] Cf. Dobson and Hornblower in *OCD* p. 547, '[Thuc. 2.35–46] may have been idiosyncratic in . . . its silence on the after-life'. The eschatological aspect of the funeral orations is, however, played down by many: Loraux 1986: 41–2, 117–18 (118 the war dead 'may expect no other felicity than the enjoyment of eternal renown'); Versnel 1989: 168–71 (169–70 'es ist nirgendwo in den *epitaphioi logoi* wirklich eindeutig die Rede von Heroisierung oder einem kultisch gefeierten Fortleben nach dem Tod'); cf. Mikalson 1983: 78.

[53] Lys. 2.79–81 *ἀγήρατοι . . . μνῆμαι, ζηλωταὶ . . . τιμαί*; Plat. *Menex.* 236e2 *μνήμη καὶ κόσμος* (here a synonym of *τιμή*); 'Dem.' 60.36 *μνήμην ἀρετῆς... ἀγήρως τιμάς*. See Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 193–4 'In . . . the *epitaphioi* . . . death in war . . . confers . . . different types of immortality. First, civic immortality through glory. Second, heroization.'

[54] So Snell 1953: 172, id. 1969: 34 'er [der tote Krieger] lebt als Heros weiter. Solche Mythisierung und Heroisierung des Kriegers sind Homer und Kallinos fremd'; Lattimore 1962: 238 n. 181; Stupperich 1977: 64 and n. 7; Fuqua 1981: 221, 224–6 (224 'Tyrtaeus in

Apart from Tyrtaeus, a possible hint of heroization of Spartan war dead is to be found in various late traditions pertaining to the Gymnopaidiai, an important Spartan festival with choral dances for Apollo.[55] At this festival, the dead of a battle in the Thyreatis were allegedly honoured by choruses who wore 'Thyreatic garlands' and sang songs for the dead of the battle—'paeans', according to one source.[56] The identity and the date of the battle in question is unclear: it could be the battle at Hysiai in 669 BC, a Spartan defeat (Pausanias 2.24.7); or it could be the battle of Thyrea in *c.*550 BC, the so-called 'battle of the Champions', a Spartan victory (Herodotus 1.82; Pausanias 2.38.5). It is consistent with the seventh-century date of the battle at Hysiai that 'songs' (*ἄσματα*) of the seventh-century poets Thaletas and Alcman are said to have been performed at the festival.[57] On one modern view, the festival was founded in the immediate aftermath of the battle at Hysiai in order to commemorate that battle.[58] The commemoration of the war dead at this festival for Apollo would come very close to heroization, especially if the songs performed were paeans.[59] However, this reconstruction must remain tentative. It can be doubted whether the

12.31–32W is . . . proposing that [the fallen Spartans] deserve veneration parallel to that accorded in the historical hero cults themselves'); Stehle 2001: 116; Boedeker 1998: 237. Contrast Meier 1998: 285 'Für eine regelrechte Heroisierung der Kriegestoten . . . bieten die Verse des Tyrtaios . . . keinerlei Indizien.'

[55] Cf. Paus. 3.11.9; *Etym. Magn.* s.v. *Γυμνοπαιδία*. The testimonia are collected by Käppel 1992: 330–1, testt. 102–3. See Nilsson 1906: 140–2; Wade-Gery 1949; Brelich 1961: 22–34; Robertson 1992: 147–65, 187–8, 206; Calame 1997: 203–4.

[56] Athen. 15.678b-c = Sosibios *FGrH* 595 F5 '(*sc.* Thyreatic garlands) are worn in remembrance of the victory at Thyrea (*ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἐν Θυρέᾳ γενομένης νίκης*) by the leaders of the choruses that are organized at that festival (*sc.* at the Thyreatic festival), [when they also hold the Gymnopaidiai]'. *Etym. Magn.* 'Gymnopaidia: a festival of the Lacedaimonians, at which boys used to sing, naked, paeans to Apollo in honour of those who fell in the battle for Thyrea (*ἑορτὴ . . . ἐν ᾗ παῖδες ᾖδον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι παιᾶνας γυμνοὶ εἰς τοὺς περὶ Θυρέαν πεσόντας*)'. Suda 'Gymnopaidia: choruses of boys in Sparta in Laconia which sing hymns to the gods in honour of those Spartans who were killed at Thyrea (*χόροι . . . εἰς θεοὺς ὕμνους ᾄδοντες, εἰς τιμὴν τῶν ἐν Θυραιαῖς ἀποθανόντων Σπαρτιατῶν*)'. Cf. Photius s.v. *Γυμνοπαιδία*.

[57] Athen. 15.678b–c (= Sosibius *FGrH* 595 F5; Alcman Test. 27 Calame; Thaletas Test. 11 Campbell) *χοροὶ δ' εἰσὶν τὸ μὲν πρόσω παίδων . . . τὸ δ' ἐξ ἀρίστου ἀνδρῶν, γυμνῶν ὀρχουμένων καὶ ᾀδόντων Θαλητᾶ καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος ἄσματα καὶ τοὺς Διονυσοδότου τοῦ Λάκωνος παιᾶνας*. Cf. Burkert 2001*b*: 135–6.

[58] The date of the battle of Hysiai is 669 BC, the traditional foundation date of the Gymnopaidiai is 668–7 BC. Wade-Gery 1949. Differently, Robertson 1992: 149, 164–5.

[59] Fuqua 1981: 225 with n. 33 'The descriptions of the Gymnopaidiai, especially the allusions to hymns for the dead at Thyrea, suggest strong affinities with the practices of hero cults'; Rutherford 2001*a*: 31 and n. 30, 57 'probably with implication of heroization'. Differently, Robertson 1992: 158 'paeans for men . . . are a late development'. In general on the addressees of paeans, see Käppel 1992: 341–9; Schröder 1999: 10–49 esp. 38–42.

songs attributed to Thaletas and Alcman really were by these poets.[60] If that attribution is accepted, the generic classification of the songs as 'paeans' can still be questioned.[61] Finally, even if the songs of Thaletas and Alcman were paeans, it is possible that the paeanic addressee was Apollo, not the war dead themselves.[62] In short, the traditions about the Gymnopaidiai are suggestive of an early heroization of Spartan war dead, but require us to take a number of things on trust.

It would not be very surprising if the earliest suggestions of a cult of the war dead came from Sparta. Of all Greek cities, Sparta shows the most abundant evidence of heroization in the early period.[63] The heroization of Spartan kings has often been presumed ancient.[64] The law-giver Lykourgos was heroized at an early date.[65] But the most striking indication of Archaic Sparta's propensity to heroize contemporaries (such as the sixth-century ephor Chilon) are the famous 'heroizing reliefs' from the mid-sixth century BC.[66] Sparta also shows some of the earliest evidence for cults of mythical heroes in Greece, for instance, Helen, Menelaos, Agamemnon, and the Dioskouroi.[67] This suggests a fertile soil for a cult of the war dead in the early period. Spartans were, moreover, famous for the practice of saluting brave warriors in their lifetime as more than human (see below, Chapter 9), an attitude which would cohere well with the heroization of the war dead.

Other aspects of Sparta's treatment of her war dead have been thought inconsistent with their heroization. It is striking that, in

[60] Robertson 1992: 206 'ascribed, fancifully of course, to Thaletas and Alcman', cf. 157–8 and n. 36. However, for a connection between Thaletas, Gymnopaidiai, and paeans, cf. Thaletas testimonia 7, 8 Campbell.

[61] It may be significant that Athen. (15.678c) speaks of ἄσματα of Thaletas and Alcman, but of παιᾶνας of (the otherwise unknown, but presumably late) Dionysodotus.

[62] Cf. Schröeder 1999: 18–19. The war dead of Abdera were commemorated in a paean performed at an Apollo festival: Pind. *pae.* 2. See Rutherford 2001*a*: 46, 267.

[63] Cf. Parker 1989: 147–8 and 167 n. 30.

[64] Reverdin 1945: 151. A ἡρῷον of the viii–BC king Teleklos is mentioned by Paus. 3.15.10. On the cult of the Spartan kings, see below, Ch. 11.

[65] Oracle in Hdt. 1.65.3 = Parke and Wormell 1956: ii. 14; Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F118; Aristot. fr. 544 Gigon. See Parker 1989: 152; Wide 1893: 281–4.

[66] One such extant relief bears the inscription [*X*]*ίλων*. Pausanias, moreover, mentions a 'hero shrine of Chilon' not far from where the relief was recovered (3.16.4 *Χίλωνος . . . ἡρῷον*). This example seems to prove that these reliefs could (sometimes? always?) be of the heroized recently deceased. See Stibbe 1996: 222–34 esp. 224–5. For further discussion of the reliefs, see: Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 181; Jeffery 1976: 128–9; Pipili 1987: 103 n. 610; Boardman 1991: 165 'might serve for the recent dead in exceptional circumstances'; Larson 1995: 50–2.

[67] Helen and Menelaos: Antonaccio 1995: 197, cf. 155–66. Agamemnon and Kassandra: Antonaccio 1995: 181–2. Dioskouroi: Alcm. 1.1 *PMG*, cf. Alcae. 34.1 *PMG*.

contrast to the Athenian practice after 465 BC, the Spartans buried their war dead on the battlefield rather than bringing them home for public burial.[68] But while the translation and interment of a hero's bones were typically a part of hero cult, they were not a necessary condition for it.[69] The dead of Marathon and Plataea were buried where they fell and heroized (see above); so were various other Athenian casualties of war.[70] The Athenian practice of burying the war dead in Athens was instituted in the 460s, and the Athenian practice of offering cult to the war dead seems to be significantly older (see below). The fact that Sparta buried her war dead on the battlefield is not itself a compelling argument against the heroization of her war dead.[71] Nor are we entitled to require that the heroization of war dead in Sparta follow an Athenian pattern, especially one that was established there only in the 460s. Burial on the battlefield is no indication of indifference to the war dead, and Spartan burials at the site of battle were by no means rudimentary.[72] It is clear too that there were 'tombs' (presumably cenotaphs) in Sparta itself for the war dead.[73]

For evidence of Classical Sparta's attitude to her war dead we may look to her treatment of her casualties in the Persian wars. The war dead of Thermopylae in 480 BC may collectively have received cult, possibly at a cenotaph in Sparta (Simonides 531 *PMG*: see above). The dead of Plataea in 479 BC definitely received a cult, administered by the Plataeans (see above). The Plataean control of this cult does not

[68] See Pritchett 1971–91: iv. 249–51.

[69] For the translation and interment of the bones of mythical heroes, cf. Orestes and Sparta (Hdt. 1.67), Theseus and Athens (Plut. *Thes.* 36, *Cim.* 8), Pelops and Olympia (Paus. 5.13.4–7). See Deneken 1884–90: 2490.5–67; Pfister 1909–12: 188–218; Stupperich 1977: 64–6; Loraux 1986: 39–40. Translation and interment of bones unnecessary for hero cult: Pfister 1909–12: 218–38; Malkin 1987: 201 n. 78; Antonaccio 1995: 265 and n. 71; de Polignac 1995: 148 and n. 55.

[70] Tellos: Hdt. 1.30.5 (see below). Hermolykos was buried at Geraestus, Euboea, *c.*472 BC, an honorific burial: Hdt. 9.105. Cf. Thuc. 2.34.5; Ael. Aristid. 3.196 Lenz-Behr; Plat. *Menex.* 242c1–2, 242d6, 242e6, 243c7, NB 246a5–6.

[71] Contrast Pritchett 1971–91: iv. 246; Parker 1989: 146–7.

[72] Cf. Hdt. 7.225.2, 7.228, 9.85.1–2; Paus. 2.9.5. See Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 110.

[73] Tombs (cenotaphs) of the war dead in Sparta: Tyrt. 12.31 *IEG*; Paus. 3.14.1 (Brasidas); Paus. 3.12.9 (Maron and Alpheios). Perhaps Sim. 531.1–3 *PMG* implies a cenotaph of Thermopylae dead (see above and e.g. Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 202). Epitaphs of the war dead in Sparta (see Plut. *Lyc.* 27, *inst. Lac.* 18 238d) argue the existence there of tombs for the war dead. On these issues, see Christou 1964: 129; Stupperich 1977: 66; Pritchett 1971–91: iv. 244–5. In Athens, the stele of Dexileos (end V BC) has been seen as a cenotaph ἡρῷον: Loraux 1986: 31; Spivey 1996: 120. On cenotaphs in general, see Jacoby 1944: 40 n. 11; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 99–100, 257–9, 299; Stupperich 1977: 66 and n. 8; Loraux 1986: 348 n. 18.

mean the Spartans were unconcerned for it.[74] One of the arguments the two Plataean spokesmen pleading with a Spartan army to spare their city in 427 BC urged in their favour was the cult that the Spartan war dead currently enjoyed in their territory (Thucydides 3.58.4–5). Although this plea failed and the Spartans did raze Plataea, they seem by reorganizing the sanctuary, and especially by constructing an 'inn' (*καταγώγιον*) in which pilgrims might be accommodated, to have taken steps to ensure that the cult could continue even without its Plataean administrators (Thucydides 3.68.3).[75]

Pausanias attests an annual ceremony for Leonidas and Pausanias at Sparta, at which funeral orations (*λόγους*) were spoken and a contest (*ἀγῶνα*) was held (3.14.1); these were apparently addressed to the generalized Spartan war dead.[76] However, there are doubts about the antiquity of this ceremony.[77] We also hear of encomia for the Spartan war dead, in which they were deemed fortunate (Plutarch, *Lykourgos* 21.2 *ἔπαινοι γὰρ ἦσαν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τῶν τεθνηκότων ὑπὲρ τῆς Σπάρτης εὐδαιμονιζομένων, καὶ ψόγοι τῶν τρεσάντων*). While it cannot be proven that the war dead of Sparta were heroized, there is a cumulative case which deserves to be taken seriously.

(4) Thebes. It is possible that there was an institutionalized, collective cult of the Theban war dead in the fifth century. This possibility will be argued separately in a discussion of Pindar's seventh *Isthmian* (below, Chapter 10).

Non-institutionalized cults of the war dead

The following, apparently isolated, cults of the war dead are also found.

(1) Phigalia (Arcadia), after 659 BC. Pausanias 8.41.1 *Φιγαλεῦσι δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ πολυάνδριον τῶν λογάδων τῶν Ὀρεσθασίων ἐστὶ καὶ ὡς ἥρωσιν αὐτοῖς ἐναγίζουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος*, 'the Phigalians also have

[74] A possible role played by Sparta in establishing the commemorative festival at Plataea is discussed by Aloni 1997: 24–5.

[75] See Gomme 1945–56: ii. 358; Rhodes 1994: 228. Differently, Boedeker 1998: 240.

[76] Cf. *IG* v.i.18–20, 559, 660 esp. 4–6 *τὸν ἐπιτάφι[ον Λεωνίδα] | καὶ Παυσαν[ία καὶ τῶν λοι-]πῶν ἡρώω[ν]*.

[77] The ceremony is dated to ii AD by Roller 1981: 6, 15 n. 46. Non-committal are *RE* III. A.1515.38–50, 1516.25–30; Connor 1979: 24–5 n. 14. For general scepticism on the value of Pausanias' information about cults of the Archaic and Classical periods, see Ekroth 1999: 157–8. Dem. 20.141 claims that only the Athenians hold funeral orations: cf. Loraux 1986: 1, 16 n. 5.

in the marketplace a *polyandrion* of the elite corps the Oresthasians, and they make sacrifices to them as heroes every year'.[78]

(2) Rhodes, 305 BC. Diodorus 20.84.3 *ἔγραψαν δὲ καὶ τῶν τελευτησάντων ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τὰ μὲν σώματα δημοσίᾳ θάπτεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ γονεῖς καὶ παῖδας τρέφεσθαι λαμβάνοντας τὴν χορηγίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ταμιείου, καὶ τὰς μὲν παρθένους δημοσίᾳ προικίζεσθαι, τοὺς δ' υἱοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γενομένους ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ στεφανῶσαι τοῖς Διονυσίοις πανοπλίᾳ*, 'they passed a law also that the bodies of those who died in war should be publicly buried and the parents and the children should be cared for, taking the expenditure from the common treasury, and that the unmarried daughters should be given a dowry at public expense and that the sons when they came of age should be decorated with a full suit of arms in the theatre at the Dionysia'. This is closely comparable to the practice in fifth-century Athens.

(3) Halieis, Kos, ?late fifth century or fourth century BC. *GV* no. 37 *[ἄνδρας] ἔθ' ἥρωας σέβεται πατρίς, ἀ[γλαὸν οἵτε] | [ἀμφέθεσ]αν νάσῳ κόσμον ἐλευθε[ρίας], | ἀνίκ' Ἀθα]ναίων πολυάσπιδα καὶ πο[λύκωπα] | [τάγματα] ἀνέζευξαν τᾶσδε ἀπὸ γᾶς π[ροφυγεῖν]*, 'the country still reveres the men who are heroes, who placed a splendid adornment of freedom around the island when they repelled the ranks of the Athenians of many ships and many oars, so that they fled from this land'. The epigram dates from the first century BC, but apparently relates to Coans who died either in the Peloponnesian War or in the Social War of 357–355 BC. It is claimed in the first century BC that they are 'still' (1 *ἔθ'*) revered by their fatherland. The purported continuity of cult for the war dead over centuries is comparable to the claim made in Megara in the fourth–fifth century AD (*SEG* XIII.312.13, see above).[79]

The cult of the war dead as routine in the fifth–fourth centuries BC

Heraclitus and Plato both refer to the heroization of the war dead as if it were a routine practice in the fifth and fourth centuries. Heraclitus' most explicit pronouncement on the war dead is that 'gods and men honour those slain in war' (22 B24 *VS ἀρηιφάτους θεοὶ τιμῶσι καὶ ἄνθρωποι*), which is most naturally taken to refer to the heroization of

[78] Cf. Paus. 8.39.4. See Nilsson 1967–74: i. 718 and n. 5; Pritchett 1971–91: iv. 160. Differently, Robertson 1992: 244–9.

[79] See Paton and Hicks 1891: no. 350; Hughes 1999: 174.

the war dead.[80] Other fragments are more enigmatic, but could also be interpreted along the same lines: 22 B53 *VS πόλεμος . . . τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς ἔδειξε, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους*, 'war reveals who are gods and who are men',[81] 22 B25 *VS μόροι γὰρ μέζονες μέζονας μοίρας λαγχάνουσι*, 'greater deaths come by greater destinies',[82] 22 B29 *VS αἱρεῦνται γὰρ ἓν ἀντὶ ἁπάντων οἱ ἄριστοι, κλέος ἀέναον θνητῶν*, 'the bravest choose one thing in return for all things, everlasting fame among men', 22 B63 *VS †ἔνθα δ' ἐόντι† ἐπανίστασθαι καὶ φύλακας γίνεσθαι ἐγερτὶ ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν*, 'they arise and become the waking guardians of the living and of the dead'.[83]

In Plato's dialogues we sometimes encounter the idea that the war dead should be regarded as 'divine beings' (*δαίμονες*).[84] First, *Republic* 468e4–469b4, especially 469a8–b1 *καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν δὴ χρόνον ὡς δαιμόνων οὕτω θεραπεύσομέν τε καὶ προσκυνήσομεν αὐτῶν θήκας;*, 'and shall we not in the future worship and pay obeisance to their tombs [*sc.* those of the war dead], as those of divine beings?' Second, *Cratylus* 398b8–c1 *λέγει οὖν καλῶς καὶ οὗτος καὶ ἄλλοι ποιηταὶ πολλοὶ ὅσοι λέγουσιν ὡς ἐπειδάν τις ἀγαθὸς ὢν τελευτήσῃ μεγάλην μοῖραν καὶ τιμὴν ἔχει καὶ γίγνεται δαίμων*, 'he too [*sc.* Hesiod, *Works and Days* 121–3] speaks well, and many other poets who say that when someone who is brave dies, he has a great fate and honour and becomes a divine being.'

Cults of individual war dead

We may round off our survey of the evidence by considering the attested cults of various individuals who died in battle.

(1) Unknown warrior buried at the West Gate, Eretria, early seventh century BC. The evidence for this cult is purely archaeological.[85]

(2) Tellos, Athenian, early sixth century BC. Herodotus 1.30.5 *καί μιν Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίῃ τε ἔθαψαν αὐτοῦ τῇ περ ἔπεσε καὶ ἐτίμησαν*

[80] Cf. Marcovich 1967: 510 '*θεοὶ τιμῶσι* most probably alludes to a posthumous or eschatological reward by gods of those slain in battle'.

[81] See Gigon 1935: 119–26; Marcovich 1967: 147; Kahn 1979: 208.

[82] Cf. Kahn 1979: 232–3.

[83] For the possible connection of this fragment with the heroized war dead, see Marcovich 1967: 510. Cf. Kahn 1979: 256.

[84] Burkert 1985*a*: 181, 332, 431 n. 50. On Plato's use of *δαίμων*, see Burkert 1985*a*: 331–2.

[85] See Bérard 1970: 31, 69, 71. Cf. de Polignac 1995: 130–2.

μεγάλως, 'and the Athenians both gave him a public burial on the spot and honoured him greatly'.[86]

(3) Archias, Spartan, cult on Samos, 520s BC. Herodotus 3.55.2 *τιμᾶν δὲ Σαμίους ἔφη διότι ταφῆναί οἱ τὸν πάππον δημοσίῃ ὑπὸ Σαμίων*, 'Archias said that he honoured the Samians because his grandfather [also called Archias] had been given a public burial by the Samians.' Plutarch, *On the Malice of Herodotus* 22 860c *Ἀρχίᾳ . . . τάφον εἶναι δημοσίᾳ κατεσκευασμένον ἐν Σάμῳ καὶ τιμώμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν λέγουσι*, '[the Samians] say that Archias has a grave which was constructed publicly in Samos and which is honoured by them'.[87]

(4) Maron and Alpheios. Pausanias (3.12.9) records a *ἱερόν* in Sparta for these Spartan casualties of the battle at Thermopylae in 480 BC.[88]

(5) Poseidonios, Philokyon, Amompharetos, Spartan casualties at Plataea, 479 BC. Herodotus 9.71.4 *οὗτοι δὲ . . . τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ τίμιοι ἐγένοντο, Ἀριστόδημος δὲ . . . οὐκ ἐτιμήθη*, 'of those who were killed in this battle these were honoured, but Aristodemos was not honoured'.[89]

(6) Brasidas, Spartan, cult at Amphipolis, 422 BC. Thucydides 5.11.1.[90]

Some perspectives on the cult of the war dead

The evidence surveyed for the cult of the war dead shows a wide distribution, both chronological and geographical.[91] By the fifth century BC it was evidently institutionalized in Athens and Thasos; it may also have been institutionalized in Thebes. Tyrtaeus may indicate that Sparta as early as the seventh century BC was receptive to the idea that a hoplite who fell in battle 'becomes immortal', although he does not speak directly of a cult of the war dead. It seems possible that in the fifth century the practices of the city-states may have influenced one another. Athenian customs are likely to have influenced Thasos,

[86] For the probable heroization of Tellos, see Kahn 1979: 233, 329 n. 311; Kurke 1993: 154. Differently, How and Wells 1928: 1.68. Tellos may be assumed roughly contemporary with Solon, but the identity of the war in which he fell is uncertain: see Hornblower 1991: 261.

[87] See Cartledge 1982: 250–1 and n. 40.

[88] Cf. Hdt. 7.227. Nilsson 1967–74: i. 718; Connolly 1998: 21.

[89] How and Wells 1928: ii. 317 'probably besides a public funeral and monument, "heroic honours", i.e. offerings to the dead'. Cf. Hdt. 1.30.5, 5.67.4.

[90] Various factors played a role in Brasidas' heroization: see Hoffmann 2000: 374–5.

[91] Cf. Ekroth 2002: 262 'The worship of the war dead was spread all over the Greek territory.'

a member of the Athenian league.[92] The cult performed at Plataea involved the war dead of various Greek states. At the end of the fifth century, the Athenian Xenophon and the Spartan Cheirisophos could carry out the funerary rites for the casualties of the Ten Thousand, a very cosmopolitan army, 'as is the custom for the war dead' (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 4.2.23 *ὥσπερ νομίζεται ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς*) (although the reference here is to burial, not to cult). Heraclitus and Plato (see above) speak about the status of the war dead without any geographical restriction. One can wonder whether the cult of the war dead was a rule, not the exception, in the fifth century BC.[93]

The cult of the war dead shows a different profile in different places and at different times. In the Late Iron Age we may assume that the death of a warrior conferred heroic status only when the warrior was noble.[94] The best evidence for this period comes from the rather murky context of the so-called Lelantine war, fought between Chalcis and Eretria on Euboea in, perhaps, the late eighth century BC.[95] The warrior buried at Eretria's West Gate who died *c.*720 BC was honoured with a cult from *c.*680 to the early fifth century BC.[96] Kleomachos of Pharsalus, an ally of the Chalcidians, was buried in the agora of Chalcis and his tomb was marked by a large column (Plutarch, *Amatorius* 17 761a). Amphidamas of Chalcis received a grand burial with funeral games (Hesiod, *Works and Days* 654–6).[97] The funeral rites of Patroklos described at *Iliad* 23.4–897 (a description roughly contemporary with the Lelantine war) probably reflect real existing practices, rather than, conversely, influencing them (see above, Chapter 4).[98] But the *Iliad* offers a perplexing window on contemporary attitudes. Retrojection from the seventh-century Tyrtaeus (12.32 *IEG*) coupled with the archaeological evidence just mentioned might have suggested that the Late Iron Age chieftain who fell in battle became 'immortal' (*ἀθάνατος*) after his death. Yet there is no indication of this for the Iliadic hero.

[92] See Pouilloux 1954: 378; Pritchett 1971–91: iv. 105.

[93] Contrast Burkert 1985*a*: 207 (quoted above).

[94] Stupperich 1977: 62–4; Loraux 1982: 28; van Wees 1988: 23. Honorific warrior burials, without any evidence of continuing cult, are known from the Early and Late Iron Age. See, on Lefkandi: Antonaccio 1995: 241. On Salamis (Cyprus), Argos, and Eleutherna (Crete), see de Polignac 1995: 129; Stampolidis 1995: 297.

[95] See Coldstream 1976: 15; Jeffery 1976: 65; Murray 1993: 79; Janko 1982: 94–8.

[96] Bérard 1970: 31, 69, 71; Antonaccio 1995: 228–36 esp. 235; de Polignac 1995: 130–6.

[97] He was a casualty of the Lelantine war: Plut. *sept. sap. conv.* 10 153f. Cf. *cert. Hom. et. Hes.* 6 West (= Allen v.228.62–6).

[98] Cf. Antonaccio 1995: 243; Stampolidis 1995: 306. Differently, Coldstream 1976: 15; de Polignac 1995: 129.

On the contrary, Sarpedon's famous speech of exhortation to Glaukos is grounded in the knowledge that he and Glaukos will not become 'ageless and immortal' (*ἀγήρω τ' ἀθανάτω τε*) by avoiding battle (*Iliad* 12.322–8), and it is not implied that death in battle will make them 'immortal' either. The *Iliad* nowhere suggests that death in battle guarantees the warrior a better fate in death.[99] Hektor emphasizes the benefits arising just for a dead warrior's dependants from his death in battle ('his wife is safe and his children hereafter, and his house and his land are unravaged'), and insists that the warrior himself just dies ('whoever of you is struck or stabbed and meets death (*θάνατον*) and fate, let him be dead (*τεθνάτω*); for it is not unseemly for him to die (*τεθνάμεν*) in defence of his fatherland', *Iliad* 15.494–9). This seems a world away from Tyrtaeus' repudiation of death in *γίνεται ἀθάνατος*, 'he becomes immortal'. With Sarpedon on the brink of death in book 16, the possibility of his immortalization is raised only, it seems, to be dashed; yet his burial rites are described in a way that leaves traces of the tradition of his immortalization apparent (*Iliad* 16.431–61, 667–83; see above, Chapter 4). There are further hints in Homer, never acted on, that a hero might become 'immortal and ageless' (*ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήρως*: a formula?).[100] The manner in which the question of the warrior-chieftain's heroization is at once raised and dismissed would be consistent with the hypothesis that Homer is here challenging received beliefs; the way the *Iliad* handles the death of the aristocratic warrior would then be comparable to what was suggested for the treatment of the founder Nausithoos in the *Odyssey* (6.11: see above, Chapter 4).

If in its beginnings a cult of the war dead was for nobles, a development towards an egalitarian treatment of the war dead seems to have come about first in Sparta.[101] An egalitarian attitude to the war dead there is implied by Tyrtaeus: 'he becomes immortal *whoever* is slain by rushing Ares' (12.32–3 *IEG*). Tyrtaeus' elegies were composed during the second Messenian war, a time of major social change.[102] Tyrtaeus' poetry reveals a widening of the application of the terms *ἀρετή* and *ἀγαθός* to citizen hoplites rather than just to an aristocratic

[99] It is interesting to contrast *Il.* 9.318–20 with Heracl. 22 B25 *VS*.

[100] See above, Ch. 3.

[101] Cf. Fuqua 1981: 225 '[Tyrtaeus] extends the possibility of veneration not only to the leaders but to each and every member of the hoplite phalanx'. On early Spartan 'egalitarianism', cf. Thuc. 1.6.4.

[102] On the date of this war, see Parker 1991: 42; Meier 1998: 96 (2nd half of vii BC); Shaw 1999: 278 (2nd half of vi BC). Social change: Murray 1993: 132–6, 171; Meier 1998: *passim*.

elite (12.1–20 *IEG*).[103] The 'Lykourgan' law which prohibited named tombstones for any but the war dead seems to be part of the same trend (Plutarch, *Institutions of the Spartans* 18 238d, *Lycurgus* 27.3). A grave marker was henceforth not an aristocratic prerogative, but the prerogative of all and only those who met death in battle: these were the true *ἀγαθοί*. Posthumous *κλέος*, moreover, was no longer the preserve of the aristocratic chieftain, but the property of the hoplite (Tyrtaeus 12.31 *IEG*). Nevertheless, even if the Spartan war dead did receive collective cult, differentiation of honours was still possible.[104] The Spartan kings were alone brought back to Sparta for burial.[105] For the Spartan war dead at Plataea, where all were heroized, there was separate burial for *εἰρένες*, 'young adults' (or *ἱρέες*, 'priests'), for other Spartiates, and for helots (Herodotus 9.85).[106] Special honour may have been shown to the polemarchs and to the Olympic victor Lakrates in the collective tomb of Spartans who fell at Athens in 403 BC.[107] Maron and Alpheios, Poseidonios, Philokyon, and Amompharetos received exceptional distinction in Sparta.[108]

In Athens, a cult of the war dead was in the early sixth century BC still restricted to individual aristocrats.[109] Tellos (see above) was probably an aristocrat.[110] The epigrams and grave monuments of Tettichos and Kroisos were private, aristocratic initiatives (*IG* I^3.1194 *bis*, 1240).[111] However, there was collective public burial on the battlefield for Athenian war dead by at least 506 BC.[112] Public funeral games for the Athenian war dead go back to at least *c.*480 BC.[113] The Marathon dead may have been heroized in 490 BC or shortly after. The insti-

[103] See Murray 1993: 133, 136; but note Fowler 1987: 32.

[104] Cf. Loraux 1986: 59; Hodkinson 1999: 169–70.

[105] Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.19; Plut., *Agis* 40.3; cf. Hdt. 6.58.3; Paus. 3.14.1, 6.4.9. The difference between Spartan kings and other war dead is emphasized by Podlecki 1968: 260; Pritchett 1971–91: iv. 241; Loraux 1986: 45–6; Cartledge 1987: 336–7.

[106] *εἰρένες* is Valckenaer's conjecture; the mss have *ἱρέες*, 'priests', which is defended by den Boer 1954: 288–300; Wallace 1970*a*: 99 n. 11. See Gilula 2003: 81–5. For *εἰρένες*, cf. Plut. *Lyc.* 17.2–3. A parallel for these young men aged 20–1 as the leaders of a company and entitled to special funerary honours is to be found in the funeral monument of the 19–20 year-old Athenian Dexileos (died 394 BC) as one of *τῶν πέντε ἱππέων* (Tod 1948: 20–1; Rhodes and Osborne 2003: 42–3). Differently, den Boer 1954: 292, 297–8.

[107] See Hodkinson 1999: 169–70.

[108] Loraux 1986: 31, cf. 59.

[109] On the following examples, cf. Loraux 1982: 20; Parker 1996: 133 n. 29.

[110] See Kurke 1993: 154–5.

[111] See Stupperich 1977: 69; Loraux 1986: 45.

[112] 'Sim.' 2.1–2 *FGE*; Pritchett 1971–91: iv. 164–5; Parker 1996: 132–3.

[113] Parker 1996: 132 and n. 36.

tutionalized cult of the war dead in Athens (in which the war dead were brought home and publicly buried in the δημόσιον σῆμα, given an annual funeral oration and funeral games, and, as it seems, ἐναγίσματα) apparently crystallized out in the 460s BC.[114] However, its motley antecedents could perhaps be thought to justify Thucydides' use of the phrase 'following ancestral custom', in describing the public burial of the war dead in 431 BC (2.34.1 τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ χρώμενοι): there had indeed been a long, if evolving, tradition.[115] Even in the democratic city differentiation of the honours for the war dead was still possible, as the monument of Dexileos in the early fourth century shows.[116]

The details of the cults

War dead were commonly buried in collective graves, *polyandria*, near the battlefield or in their home territory.[117] Cenotaphs are also found, whether the dead were buried at home or abroad.[118] Occasionally the war dead were buried in the agora, as apparently in Phigalia and Megara.[119] Otherwise, *polyandria* were situated outside the city, often near the gates.[120]

Sacrifices to the war dead are variously designated: we find (1) ἐναγίζειν, ἐναγίσματα, ἐναγισμοί, (2) ἐντέμνειν, (3) αἱμακουρία, (4) θυσίαι, and (5) τιμᾶν, τιμή.[121] The sacrifices were annual.[122]

[114] Cf. Paus. 1.29.4. See Pritchett 1971–91: iv. 112–24; Loraux 1986: 28–31, 58–60; Hornblower 1991: 292.

[115] Kierdorf 1966: 84–95. Cf. Parker 1996: 134–5; Humphreys 1980: 102 'Evidence for "public" funerals goes back to the origins of the *polis*... Military commanders had presumably made funerary speeches before cremating war dead on the battlefield from early times.' On Plat. *Menex.* 242b5–c2, calling the dead of the battle of Oenophyta (457 BC) the 'first' to have received public burial, see Loraux 1986: 62.

[116] See Tod 1948: nos 104–5; Loraux 1982: 31; ead. 1986: 31, 358 nn. 100, 103; Boardman 1995: 114, 115.

[117] *GG* 1–17. Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 247–8, 257; Pritchett 1971–91: iv. 94–5, 125–39. Cremated remains of Athenian war dead (?431–21 BC) have been discovered near the Athenian δημόσιον σῆμα: see Stavrakakis 2000; Rose 2000.

[118] See above, p. 101. [119] See above, pp. 102–3 and p. 94. [120] See below, p. 119.

[121] (1) *IG* II².1006.26; Hel. *Aeth.* 1.17; Plut. *Aristid.* 21.2, *de Her. mal.* 42 872e; Aristot. *resp. Ath.* 58.1; Dion. Hal. *Thuc.* 18.6; Paus. 8.41.1; *SEG* XIII.312.13; cf. Soph. *Ant.* 196. (2) *LSS* 64.10. (3) Plat. *Aristid.* 21.5. (4) Plat. *Menex.* 244a5; 'Dem.' 60.36. (5) Thuc. 2.35.1, 2.44.4, 3.58.4; Stesimbrotus *FGrH* 107 F9; Plut. *de Her. mal.* 22 860c; Lys. 2.66, 76, 79, 80; Heracl. 22 B24 *VS*; Plat. *Crat.* 398b10, *Menex.* 242c2, 249b3; Dem. 18.208; 'Dem.' 60.36; Hdt. 1.30.5, 3.55.2, 9.71.4; cf. Soph. *Ant.* 210. See Loraux 1986: 39 n. 92. For problems in establishing the original V-BC terminology and character of the cult, cf. Ekroth 2002: 123–4.

[122] At Athens: Plat. *Menex.* 249b4; Isoc. 8.87. Loraux 1986: 38, 363 n. 151; Parker 1996: 136 n. 54. At Plataea: Thuc. 3.58.4. At Phigalia: Paus. 8.41.1.

Offerings included: (1) garments and agricultural produce, (2) bulls, (3) garlands, (4) libations.[123] Notable too are funeral contests (*ἀγῶνες μουσικοί, ἱππικοί, γυμνικοί*), which are attested at Athens, Plataea, Sparta, Thasos, and Marathon.[124]

It has often been suggested that cults of the war dead were integrated into existing festivals; this is hard to demonstrate conclusively. Many battles were commemorated with festivals honouring gods or heroes, but it is often unclear whether these same festivals also provided the context for a cult of the war dead. One particularly complex case concerns the cult of the war dead of the battle of Plataea. While our Classical sources speak of a cult of the dead of the battle administered by the Plataeans, post-Classical sources speak of a Panhellenic and quadrennial festival, featuring athletic contests in honour of Zeus Eleutherios (the 'Eleutheria'). These two, the cult of the war dead and the Eleutheria, had certainly coalesced by the third century BC, by which time we find 'games' being held 'in honour of the war dead' (*SEG* XXVII.65.21–2 **ἀγῶνα** . . . *ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς*): the 'games' in question were evidently part of the quadrennial Eleutheria (compare Plutarch, *Life of Aristeides* 21.1 *πενταετηρικὸν* **ἀγῶνα** *τῶν Ἐλευθερίων*).[125] It remains a matter of speculation whether the war dead were already being honoured in the context of Zeus' festival (the Eleutheria) in the fifth century.[126] It is clear that the cult of the war dead was annual, not quadrennial (Thucydides 3.58.4 *κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον*; Plutarch, *Life of Aristeides* 21.2 *καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν*). Moreover, our sources leave it in no doubt that the cult of the war dead was administered by the Plataeans (Thucydides 3.58.4; Isocrates, *Plataean Oration* [14] 61; Plutarch, *Life of Aristeides* 21.2). But, although administered by the Plataeans, the annual cult of the war dead seems to have had a Panhellenic dimension already in the fifth century: 'delegates and envoys (pilgrims)' were to be sent 'every year from [all] Greece' to Plataea—

[123] (1) Thuc. 3.58.4 (cf. Porph. *de abst.* 4.22.7 *ἀπαρχαῖς καρπῶν*). (2) *SEG* XIII.312.13 (Megara); Plut. *Aristid.* 21.3, 5 (Plataea; a black bull). (3) *IG* II^2.1006.26 (Marathon, II BC); Plut. *Aristid.* 21.3. (4) Plut. *Aristid.* 21.3.

[124] Athens: Lys. 2.80; Plat. *Menex.* 249b5–6; Aristot. *resp. Ath.* 58.1; 'Dem.' 60.36. Bronze vessels of *c.*480–40 BC inscribed *Ἀθηναῖοι ἆθλα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τôι πολέμοι*: *IG* I^3.523–5. Plataea: Paus. 9.2.6; Plut. *Aristid.* 21.1. Sparta: Paus. 3.14.1. Thasos: *LSS* 64.20. Marathon: *IG* I^3.3. See, in general, Pritchett 1971–91: iii. 183–4; Roller 1981: 7–10.

[125] Schachter 1981–94: iii. 129; Boedeker 1998: 241.

[126] Denied by Meritt et al. 1939–53: iii. 101–2; Étienne and Piérart 1975: 67–8; Roller 1981: 7, 16 n. 64; Austin 1981: 99; Schachter 1981–94: iii. 126–32; cf. Pritchett 1971–91: iii. 181 n. 97; Parker 1996: 137 n. 57. Accepted by Pritchett 1971–91: iv. 175; Boedeker 1998: 240–1; cf. Rutherford 2001*b*: 40–1.

evidently to assist at the cult of the war dead (Plutarch, *Life of Aristeides* 21.1).[127] Plutarch asserts that the Plataeans performed the sacrifices for the war dead 'in the presence of the Greeks' (*On the Malice of Herodotus* 42 872e *συμπαρόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων*; compare his *Life of Aristeides* 21.2 *ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος*). There are also hints in fifth-century texts that the rituals at Plataea were a more than merely Plataean concern: Herodotus, describing the tombs erected by the various Greek states for their war dead on the site of the battlefield, seems to presuppose its functioning as an arena for Panhellenic self-display (9.85.1–3).[128] Moreover, the Spartans' construction of an 'inn' at the site presumably served to accommodate pilgrims coming to celebrate the festival (Thucydides 3.68.3: see above).[129] The cult of the war dead at Plataea thus seems to have been celebrated on a grand scale in the fifth century: was this already, effectively, the Eleutheria festival? There is no obvious reason why quadrennial Panhellenic games at a festival of Zeus should not have been linked in the fifth century with an annual festival for the war dead.[130] This was the pattern, for instance, at Olympia, where Pelops' hero cult was annual (Pausanias 5.13.2), and the games at Zeus' festival quadrennial. There is no doubt that funeral games could be instituted for war dead in the immediate aftermath of the Persian wars (see Diodorus 11.33.3; *IG* I³.3). The possibility seems to remain, therefore, that the cult of the war dead at Plataea was linked to a quadrennial Panhellenic festival for Zeus in the fifth century.

Other evidence for the combination of cults of the war dead with festivals to gods or heroes can be dealt with more briefly. The cult of the Thasian war dead may have been integrated into the Herakleia (*LSS* 64).[131] The Spartan dead of Thyrea were reportedly celebrated at the Gymnopaidiai in the context of a festival for Apollo (see above).[132] The Herakleia at Marathon commemorated the victory of 490 BC, and the casualties of the battle of Marathon may have been honoured then.[133] (The battle of Marathon was also commemorated in a festi-

[127] Cf. Meritt et al. 1939–53: iii. 101; Pritchett 1971–91: iii. 178.

[128] Schachter 1981–94: iii. 127.

[129] Gomme 1945–56: ii. 358; Pritchett 1971–91: iii. 182 n. 99; Schachter 1981–94: iii. 129.

[130] Boedeker 1998: 241.

[131] As argued by Pouilloux 1954: 378 and n. 2; Krummen 1990: 71–2 (note esp. 72 n. 40). Differently, Salviat 1958: 236; Pritchett 1971–91: iv. 106 n. 35. Cf. Roller 1981: 9–10, 17–18 n. 89.

[132] Käppel 1992: 58.

[133] *IG* I³.3 (Marathon, early V BC). NB 1 *hερακλείο[ισι]*, 2–3 *τοὺς ἀ[θλ-] | [οθ]έτας*; 4, 8–9 *ἀγῶνα*. The games were reorganized 'on a Pan-Attic scale' after 490 BC: see Vanderpool 1942: 336. See in general Deubner 1932: 227; Woodford 1971: 217–18; Parker 1996: 97 and n. 124, 153, 187. For this festival of Herakles as the occasion of a cult of the war dead, see Amandry 1971: 622; Boedeker 1998: 246 n. 35.

val for Artemis Agrotera.[134]) The Aianteia celebrated the victory at Salamis, although no cult of the war dead is attested in connection with that festival (see above).[135] An Epitaphia for the war dead is linked with a Dioskoureia at Rhodes.[136] Finally, the Athenian ἐπιτάφιος ἀγών has been identified, controversially, with either the Theseia or Genesia.[137] The case for the integration of some cults of the war dead into festivals is thus unproven, but suggestive.

Was the cult of the war dead a hero cult?

It remains to consider whether the cult and honours paid to the war dead amount to heroization.[138]

The nature of the cult

Many features listed above have counterparts in the tendance of the ordinary dead.[139] The ordinary dead also could receive annual ἐναγίσματα (Isaeus 2.46, 7.30).[140] Hence it can be questioned whether it was hero cult that the war dead received, a question to which scholars have returned divergent answers.[141] Three aspects in particular need emphasis.

First, the scale of the honours. The difference between the cult of the dead and hero cult was, in general, one of degree.[142] The honours paid the war dead were on an exceptional scale: they were 'ageless', whereas the tendance of the ordinary dead seldom exceeded three

[134] Pritchett 1971–91: iii. 173–5; Garland 1992: 55; Parker 1996: 153, 154 n. 6, 187. For Artemis Agrotera and Athenian war dead, cf. Aristot. *Ath. resp.* 58.1.

[135] Paus. 1.36.1; *IG* II².1028.24–8. Deubner 1932: 228; *RE* 1.927.44–928.4; Pritchett 1971–91: iii. 175–8; *Hesperia* 48 (1979) pp. 174–5 ll.17–22, p. 177; Kearns 1989: 46 and n. 15; Parker 1996: 153–4 and n. 6, 187.

[136] Jacopi 1932–40: 193–4; Pugliese Carratelli 1955: 267–9; Pritchett 1971–91: iii. 184.

[137] See Pritchett 1971–91: iv. 110. Cf. Roller 1981: 9, 17 n. 87.

[138] Cf. Loraux 1986: 39; Seaford 1994: 115; Parker 1996: 135; Boedeker 1998: 240.

[139] A point stressed by Welwei 1991: 56–8.

[140] Cf. Ekroth 2002: 86–8.

[141] A hero cult: Loraux 1986: 39–40. Not a hero cult: Welwei 1991: 53; Flashar 1996: 73. The objection of Welwei 1991: 62–3 regarding the honouring of slaves is met by Parker 1996: 136 n. 54; cf. Loraux 1986: 33. The objection (Welwei 1991: 58) that the prominence of ἔφηβοι in cults of the war dead suggests these were not heroic cults can be met by pointing to ephebes' involvement in hero cult: Burkert 1985a: 208; Krummen 1990: 70–3.

[142] See Deneken 1884–90: 2516–17; Nilsson 1967–74: i. 186; Stupperich 1977: 62; Seaford 1994: 111, 116.

generations.[143] On this count, the cult of the war dead is closer on the spectrum to hero cult.[144]

Second, the cult of the war dead was organized by the city.[145] The cult of the dead, on the other hand, was typically the concern of the family.[146] The cult of the war dead thus satisfies a condition which has been proposed for hero cult.[147] (The condition, however, is neither a necessary nor a sufficient one: some hero cults were privately instituted, and there were also state-organized cults of the non-heroic dead.[148]) In the cult of the war dead the city assumes the role of the family in the cult of the dead.[149] The city's arrogation to itself of the role of the family is particularly clear in its pledge of care for the living dependants of the war dead.[150]

Third, archaism. The cult of the war dead revived certain features from the aristocratic cult of the dead which by the fifth century BC had become anachronistic, or actually prohibited, in the cult of the dead; this is true in particular of the funeral games and the funeral oration. One-off funeral games in the cult of the dead are known to have been held in the Bronze Age.[151] They are found, sporadically, in the Archaic period, but had apparently ceased by the fifth century.[152] Recurrent, that is annual, funeral games for historical persons between the sixth and second centuries BC are an index of heroic status.[153] The funerary eulogy seems also to have had its roots in ancient aristocratic funerary practices, which in Athens by the Classical period had been abolished

[143] For the unlimited duration of the cult of the war dead, see Plat. *Menex.* 249b3 *τοὺς τελευτήσαντας τιμῶσα* (*sc.* *ἡ πόλις*) *οὐδέποτε ἐκλείπει*, 249c2 *παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον*; 'Dem.' 60.36 *ἀγήρως τιμάς*. On the limited duration of the cult of the ordinary dead, see Garland 1985: 106–7. In general, Nilsson 1967–74: i. 181; Seaford 1994: 116.

[144] See Stupperich 1977: 62.

[145] *LSS* 64.10–11; Plat. *Menex.* 249b3; Thuc. 3.58.4 *δημοσίᾳ*. State burial: Tyrt. 12.26 *IEG*; 'Dem.' 60.33.

[146] Garland 1985: 104.

[147] Deneken 1884–90: 2517.29–33; Nilsson 1906: 454; Seaford 1994: 109, 111, 116. The cult of the city founder was performed *παν̓δημεί*: Malkin 1987: 195. Cf. *P.* 5.95 for the founder Battos as a 'hero honoured by the people', *ἥρως . . . λαοσσεβής*.

[148] For private hero cults, see Sotion fr. 27 Wehrli (Ameinias); Theophr. *char.* 16.4; Lucian *philopseud.* 21 (private cult of Hippokrates); *IG* XII.iii.330 (Epikteta's testament). See above, Ch. 1. State cults of the dead include the Athenian Genesia and Chytroi; see e.g. Boehringer 2001: 41–2.

[149] Cf. Plat. *Menex.* 249b6–c1. See Jacoby 1944: 38; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 112, 121; Stupperich 1977: 57; Garland 1985: 90; Loraux 1986: 23–5.

[150] Plat. *Menex.* 248e6–249c3; Lys. 2.75; Aeschin. 3.154; Thuc. 2.46.1; Hyp. 6.42; *LSS* 64.18–22; Diod. 20.84.3. Contrast *Il.* 22.490–507. See Loraux 1986: 25–7.

[151] Decker 1995: 24–6.

[152] Roller 1981: 5–6. After V BC: Isoc. 9.1; Roller 1981: 10.

[153] See Roller 1981: 6–7; Seaford 1994: 120–1; Parker 1996: 136 and n. 54.

by a law ascribed to Solon, except within the confines of the state ceremony for the war dead (Cicero, *De Legibus* 2.26.65).[154] In the Athenian state funeral, the laying in state (*πρόθεσις*), which was otherwise restricted by a Solonian law to a single day ('Demosthenes', *Against Makartatos* [43] 62), lasted for two days (Thucydides 2.34.2).[155] In the procession (*ἐκφορά*) of the state funeral, chariots were still used, one for each tribe (Thucydides 2.34.3).[156] The sacrifice (*ἐνάγισμα*) of a bull, attested in the cult of the war dead of Megara and Plataea (*SEG* XIII.312.13; Plutarch, *Aristeides* 21.3, 5), was prohibited in Athens, again by funerary legislation of 'Solon' (Plutarch, *Solon* 21.6). It has been argued that the tumulus of the Marathon dead, if correctly identified, revived an aristocratic form of tomb architecture which had long been obsolete by 490 BC.[157] A verse epigram had once been an aristocratic privilege, but for most of the fifth century BC was reserved for the war dead.[158] The Athenian collective epitaphs for the war dead in the Kerameikos use archaizing, epic language.[159] The iconography of the collective grave reliefs in the Kerameikos also portray a form of combat which owes more to epic than to real life.[160] The retention of such antiquated and aristocratic practices for—and only for—the war dead suggests a heroizing intention.[161] It was similarly by the appropriation of antiquated aristocratic images (especially banqueting and equestrian motifs) that the heroization of the dead was intimated in funerary iconography from the fourth century on.[162]

The term heros

The war dead are not called 'heroes' in any extant texts of the fifth or fourth centuries BC, but only in texts of the Roman period.[163] This negative finding may seem to support the view that the war dead were

[154] Reflections of the old aristocratic practice are perhaps to be seen in: Aesch. *Ag.* 1548–50 *τίς δ' ἐπιτύμβιον αἶνον ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ θείῳ . . . πονήσει;* Anaxandr. 1.5–6 *PCG ἐπιδέξια λέγειν . . . ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τεθνηκότι*; Zenob. 5.28 *εἰώθεσαν . . . οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐν τοῖς περιδείπνοις τὸν τελευτήσαντα ἐπαινεῖν*. See Alexiou 1974: 105.

[155] For the interpretation 'two days', see Loraux 1986: 349 n. 24.

[156] Similarly at Plataea: Plut. *Aristid.* 21.2. For chariots in Geometric burials, see Boardman 1998: pl. 45. See in general Garland 1985: 34, 143; Loraux 1982: 30; ead. 1986: 19; Seaford 1994: 80–1.

[157] Whitley 1994: 227.

[158] Loraux 1986: 23. [159] Loraux 1975: 21, 24. [160] Loraux 1975: 23–5, 30.

[161] Humphreys 1980: 102; Seaford 1994: 119 and n. 81; Stupperich 1994: 99; Parker 1996: 133–5. Cf. Burkert 1985*a*: 204.

[162] Cf. Parker 1996: 140–1.

[163] e.g. Paus. 1.32.4, 1.43.3, 8.41.1; Hel. *Aeth.* 1.17; *GV* no. 37.1; *SEG* XIII.312.2; cf. Dio Chrys. 29.14.

not viewed as heroes in the fifth century. Furthermore, a general reticence has been observed against calling any recently deceased person ἥρως in the fifth century BC.[164] An explanation for the inhibition might be that ἥρως was felt primarily to designate the hero of epic, and could only with difficulty be transferred to the recently dead. Thus, in an expression like θύειν ὡς ἥρωϊ it has been argued that 'ὡς ἥρωϊ signifies "as if he was a hero" in the sense of the hero of epic, not simply of a heroized person.'[165] The reticence over calling the war dead heroes has been put down to 'a wish not to impugn a status verging on the superhuman, essentially bound up with the most distant past, that of the epic. From this point of view, the formula *thyein hos heroi* (to sacrifice *as* to a hero) would mean that by granting mere mortals the honors reserved for the warriors of epic, the cities were concerned to mark the distance that separated the present from heroic times.'[166]

These arguments are open to various criticisms. First, we have seen reason to be sceptical whether, from the perspective of a Greek of the fifth century, ἥρως would have had two readily distinguishable senses, 'hero of epic' and 'hero of cult' (see above, Chapter 5). Second, Greeks in the fifth century BC were not just concerned 'to mark the distance that separated the present from heroic times'. Rather, they were prepared at times to collapse that difference, to present a contemporary, historical person as the full equal of the heroes of myth (this contention will be upheld at various places below). Third, the meaning of θύειν τῷ δεῖνι ὡς ἥρωι is probably not 'to sacrifice to so-and-so *as to* a hero' (or '*as if* so-and-so *were* a hero'), but 'to sacrifice to so-and-so *as* a hero'.[167] In other words, the expression probably implies that the sacrificers do take so-and-so to be a hero. Finally, heroized historical persons could be seen as ἥρωες in the fifth and fourth centuries BC. Pindar calls Battos ἥρως (*P.* 5.95), although he had, admittedly, been dead for nearly two centuries. The athlete Kleomedes is called 'the latest of the heroes', ὕστατος ἡρώων, in an oracle, if authentic, of the fifth century.[168] In a

[164] Loraux 1986: 39–42; Parker 1996: 136–7. Cf. Welwei 1991: 61–2; Boehringer 1996: 50–1.

[165] Kontoléon 1970: 46 (original in French); cf. 47 'à mesure que nous remontons dans le passé, nous voyons que le sens du mot "héros" s'identifie à celui du héros homérique'.

[166] Loraux 1986: 40–1, followed by Parker 1996: 136 (the heroes were 'a group that was traditionally distant in time, exceptional in nature'). Cf. Flashar 1996: 73.

[167] See esp. Scullion 2000: 169; also Ekroth 2002: 208–12. Differently, Kontoléon 1970: 45 'comme à un héros'. See further Ch. 9.

[168] Parke and Wormell 1956: ii. no. 88, cf. i. 353–4. For the translation, 'the latest of the heroes', rather than 'the last of the heroes' (as if the god did not intend to recognize any subsequent heroes), see Fontenrose 1968: 74 n. 1; differently, e.g., Rohde 1925: i. 179–80.

fragment of Pindar certain categories of the recently dead become 'holy heroes', *ἥροες ἁγνοί* (fr. 133.5–6; see below, Chapter 8). An Orphic gold leaf from Pharsalus of the fourth century BC promises the initiate that he or she will rule 'with other heroes', *ἄ[λλοισι μεθ'] ἡρώεσσιν*, where 'other heroes' probably implies that the addressee is destined himself or herself to become one.[169] In Aristophanes' *Frogs*, reference is made to 'hero Lamachos' (1039 *Λάμαχος ἥρως*) after Lamachos had died in battle: it is possible (but not certain) that Lamachos was understood to be a heroized casualty of war.[170]

It does not seem that there were insurmountable obstacles of a general sort to seeing deceased contemporaries as heroes in the fifth century. In particular, the phrase *τῷ δεῖνι θύειν ὡς ἥρωι* (if this is correctly taken to mean 'to sacrifice to so-and-so as a hero') seems to indicate that historical persons could be seen as heroes. If this was generally the case, it is hard to believe, given the evidence surveyed, that the war dead were not made into heroes in the fifth century. The absence of the term *ἥρως* from fifth-century contexts relating to the war dead then seems all the more perplexing. But this finding can, and perhaps should, be relativized. Plato, at least, speaks of the war dead as *δαίμονες* (*Republic* 469a8–b1, *Cratylus* 398b8-c1); and Heraclitus may use *θεοί* of the war dead (22 B53 *VS*).[171] It is above all the speakers of the Athenian funeral orations who surprise us by their refusal to call the war dead *ἥρωες*. Yet this may say more about the decorum required of that genre than about the status of the war dead themselves. The orators seem to have preferred a more indirect approach to the question of their status; chief among these was comparison with the heroes.

Comparison to the heroes of epic

A good indication of how the war dead were regarded (also in the funeral orations) is the frequency of their comparison to the heroes of epic. They are repeatedly said to be as good as—'worthy of'—the

[169] IA2.11 Pugliese Carratelli. For comparable expressions, cf. Emped. 31 B146.3 *VS* *ἀθανάτοις ἄλλοισιν*; Theocr. 17.135–6 *ἄλλων | . . . ἡμιθέων*; *GV* 2040.5–6. However, *ἄλλοι* in such contexts might mean 'others, who are heroes' (*vel sim.*), without implying that the addressee is one.

[170] See Dover 1993: 322. Compare (or perhaps contrast) Ar. *Acharn.* 575, composed when Lamachos was still alive. See above, Ch. 5.

[171] For Plat.'s use of *δαίμονες* of the war dead, cf. Ael. Aristid. 3.188 Lenz-Behr *οὐ δαίμονας, ἀλλὰ δαιμονίους*; *SEG* X.410.2 (447 BC) *ψυχὰς δαιμονίως ὠλέσατ'*. Heraclitus' use of *θεός* of the war dead is probably 'unmarked' (see below, Ch. 9).

heroes. In the following instances it is interesting to track the recurrence of the term *ἄξιος* and its synonyms.[172]

(1) Callinus 1.19 *IEG* (of the *living* warrior) **ἄξιος** *ἡμιθέων*, 'he is worthy of the demigods'.

(2) Isocrates, *Panegyricus* [4] 84 *ἵνα . . . τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν θεῶν γεγονόσιν καὶ καλουμένοις ἡμιθέοις* **ἀξιωθεῖεν**, 'in order that they may be judged worthy of the same things as those who are born of the gods and called demigods'.

(3) Isocrates, *Euagoras* [9] 6 *μηδέποτε τοιούτων ἐπαίνων* **ἀξιωθησόμενον**, 'never destined to be judged worthy of such praises', *sc.* as the protagonists in the Trojan war and their successors enjoyed. Ibid. 65 (*sc. φαίνεται Εὐαγόρας*) *καὶ τὸν τῶν ἡρώων* (*sc. πόλεμον*) *ὑπερβαλόμενος*, 'Euagoras seems to have surpassed even the war waged by the heroes'.

(4) Plato, *Republic* 468e4–469a3: the war dead assimilated to Hesiod's Golden Race.[173]

(5) 'Demosthenes', *Funeral Oration* [60] 9 *ἃ δὲ τῇ μὲν* **ἀξίᾳ** *τῶν ἔργων οὐδέν ἐστι τούτων ἐλάττω*, 'as for those things which, with respect to the worth of the achievements, are in no way inferior to these things'.[174]

(6) Hyperides, *Funeral Oration* [6] 35 *ὢν* (*sc. τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατευσάντων*) *οὗτος* **ἀδελφὰς** *πράξεις ἐνστησάμενος κτλ.*, 36 *τῶν μετ' ἐκείνους μὲν γεγενημένων,* **ἄξια** *δὲ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρετῆς διαπεπραγμένων*, '[Leosthenes] initiated actions akin to those of the men who took part in the expedition to Troy]', 'those who were born after them [the heroes of the Trojan war], but accomplished things worthy of their excellence'.

(7) We may add a much later instance, which continues the theme: Dio Chrysostom, *Melankomas* 1 [29] 14 *καὶ ἔγωγε οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι εἰπεῖν ὅτι καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν ἡρώων . . .* **οὐδένος ἐλάττονα ἀρετὴν** *εἶχεν, οὔτε τῶν ἐν Τροίᾳ πολεμησάντων οὔτε τῶν ὕστερον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀμυναμένων. καὶ εἴ γε τότε ἐγένετο, ἅπερ ἐκεῖνοι ἔπραξεν ἄν*, 'and I for one would not hesitate to say that [Melankomas] had an excellence in no way inferior to the ancient heroes, neither those who fought at Troy nor those who later repulsed the barbarians in Greece. And if he had been born then, he would have done what they did.'

[172] Cf., perhaps, *ἄξιος* and its synonyms as used in Hellenistic decrees honouring benefactors: Habicht 1970: 207.

[173] Cf. Ael. Aristid. 3.188 Lenz-Behr. For Hesiod's Golden Race as heroes, see Nagy 1979: 154–5; Kearns 1989: 5 n. 29.

[174] For the interpretation of this phrase, see Loraux 1986: 164. Differently, Flashar 1996: 73. See below, p. 221.

Thus oratory, including the funeral oration, did not scruple to show the war dead in a heroic light even when it was fastidious about speaking of them as heroes.[175] The war dead could be said to reside on the Isles of the Blessed ('Demosthenes', *Funeral Oration* [60] 34; Hyperides, *Funeral Oration* [6] 35).[176] There, they would consort with mythical heroes and other heroized historical persons.[177] Such transportation to the Isles of the Blessed should probably be seen as tantamount to heroization.[178]

The power of the war dead beyond the grave

The war dead could be expected to continue protecting their fatherland in death.[179] They were thus assimilated to other 'saving heroes'.[180] Perikles' Samian oration refers to 'the benefits conferred' by the war dead (Stesimbrotus *FGrH* 107 F9 *τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἃ παρέχουσι*).[181] Heraclitus refers to them as 'guardians' of the living and dead (22 B63 *VS φύλακας*). Plato compares the war dead to Hesiod's Golden Race, who after their death are 'benign, warders-off of evil, guardians of men' (*Republic* 468e8–469b2 *ἐσθλοί, ἀλεξίκακοι, φύλακες μερόπων ἀνθρώπων*).[182] Much later, Aelius Aristides speaks of the Marathon dead in reminiscent terms, calling them 'guardians, saviours, warders-off of evil, brave in every respect, protecting the land no less than Oidipous who lies at Colonus, or whoever is believed to lie elsewhere in the land to the benefit of the living' (*Defence of the Four* [3] 188 Lenz-Behr).[183]

[175] Cf. Stupperich 1977: 52–3.

[176] Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.660.

[177] *All* mythical heroes on the Isles of Blessed: Hes. *op.* 170–2 (assuming 166 to be genuine). Individual mythical heroes on the Isles of Blessed: *Od.* 4.561–9; *O.* 2.70–80; Eur. *Ba.* 1338–9, etc. Historical persons on the Isles of the Blessed (apart from the war dead): Harmodios (*carm. conviv.* 894 *PMG*); mystic initiates (*O.* 2.68–72; Orphic gold leaves, 1A2.11 Pugliese Carratelli); cf. Plato's Guardians (*resp.* 540b6–7), and the just and the pious at Plat. *Gorg.* 523a5–b2. See in general Rohde 1925: ii. 369–73; Gatz 1967: 174–89; Broccia 1980; Gelinne 1988; Lattimore 1962: 35–6.

[178] Cf. Brückner 1910: 229–31; Burkert 1985*b*: 10–11; Slatkin 1991: 26 and n. 10. Differently, Loraux 1986: 41, 117–18, 365 n. 173; Nisetich 1988: 16.

[179] Bérard 1970: 69–70; id. 1982: 98–9; Loraux 1986: 40; *NCIG* p. 109; Stupperich 1977: 65–6; Kearns 1989: 55. This is a point overlooked by Welwei 1991: 66.

[180] e.g. Eurystheus at Athens (Eur. *Heracl.* 1030–7). See, in general, Rohde 1925: i. 162; *RE* VIII.1113.61–1114.58; Brelich 1958: 91–2; Nilsson 1967–74: i. 716–17; Burkert 1985*a*: 207; Kearns 1989: 44–63.

[181] Cf. the heroes at Ar. frr. 322.3–4, 504.14 *PCG*. *ἀγαθοποιός* is attested as an epithet of heroized historical persons: Graf 1985: 130.

[182] Quoting Hes. *op.* 123 (where our mss. have *ἐσθλοί, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων*).

[183] Cf. Soph. *OC* 1522–34.

The graves of the war dead were frequently situated at the gates of the city, suggesting a continuing role in the city's defence.[184] Aristomenes continued to assist his Messenian homeland by harming its enemies after his death (Pausanias 4.32.4). The heroized athlete Oibotas participated in the battle of Plataea (Pausanias 6.3.8). The power to help, or to harm, beyond the grave was in general a property of heroized historical persons.[185]

[184] Eretria, West Gate (end viii BC): Bérard 1970: 69–70. Athens: Thuc. 2.34.5; Paus. 1.29.4. Plataea: Paus. 9.2.5. Thebes: Paus. 9.10.1; Krummen 1990: 69–70, 72 n. 42. Cf. Onesileos, Hdt. 5.114.1–2; Kearns 1989: 50. In general, see Pouilloux 1954: 378; Bérard 1970: 68; id. 1982: 99; Loraux 1986: 40. For heroes at the city gates, see Rohde 1925: i. 160 n. 2; Nilsson 1967–74: i. 189; Rusten 1983: 292 n. 12; Kearns 1989: 54; ead. 1992: 73–4; Krummen 1990: 69; Bremmer 1994: 30 and 36 n. 27.

[185] Graf 1985: 129–30. Cf. *GV* 2040.7; *LSS* 72 B2–3 *ἐπ' ὀ-|νήσει* (Theogenes).

8

Heroization of Athletes

Introduction

The heroized athletes of the fifth century BC have been frequently investigated.[1] But crucial aspects of the phenomenon remain unclear, including how often athletes were heroized, at what period their heroizations occurred, and what reasons led to the heroization. Again, we must start by reviewing the evidence.

The heroized athletes

Hero cults are attested for the following fifth-century BC athletes.

(1) Philippos of Croton. He received cult in Segesta: Herodotus 5.47.1 *διὰ δὲ τὸ ἑωυτοῦ κάλλος ἠνείκατο παρὰ Ἐγεσταίων τὰ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ ἡρώιον ἱδρυσάμενοι θυσίῃσι αὐτὸν ἱλάσκονται*, 'on account of his beauty he won from the people of Segesta what no-one else has won: on top of his grave they established a hero shrine and they propitiate him with sacrifices.'[2]

(2) Kleomedes of Astypalaea. He received cult in Astypalaea: Pausanias 6.9.8 *Κλεομήδει μὲν οὖν Ἀστυπαλαιεῖς ἀπὸ τούτου τιμὰς ὡς ἥρωι νέμουσι*, 'the people of Astypalaea assign Kleomedes from this time honours as a hero'.[3]

(3) Theogenes of Thasos.[4] He received cult in Thasos, and elsewhere: Pausanias 6.11.9 *Θάσιοι δὲ ἀναθέντες, ἔνθα καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔκειτο, νομίζουσιν ἅτε θεῷ θύειν. πολλαχοῦ δὲ καὶ ἑτέρωθι ἔν τε Ἕλλησιν οἶδα καὶ παρὰ βαρβάροις ἀγάλματα ἱδρυμένα Θεαγένους καὶ νοσήματά τε αὐτὸν ἰώμενον καὶ ἔχοντα παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τιμάς*, 'The Thasians

[1] See especially Fontenrose 1968; Bohringer 1979; Kurke 1993: 149–55; Bentz and Mann 2001.

[2] Moretti 1957: no. 135. Phoenician influence is alleged by Deneken 1884–90: 2520, denied by Dunbabin 1948a: 335; Boehringer 1996: 44.

[3] Parke and Wormell 1956: ii. no. 88; Moretti 1957: no. 174.

[4] 'Theogenes' is the authentic form of the name, found in inscriptions; literary texts have 'Theagenes'. See Fontenrose 1968: 76 n. 4; Ogden 1997: 126–9.

set up [his statue] where it originally had been placed and are accustomed to sacrifice to him as a god. I know that in many other places elsewhere, both among the Greeks and among the barbarians, statues have been set up of Theagenes, and that he both heals illnesses and receives honours from the natives.'[5]

(4) Euthymos of Locri. He received cult, it seems, in Locri and/or Temesa in southern Italy. Callimachus, *Aetia* fr. 99 Pfeiffer = Pliny, *Natural History* 7.152 *consecratus est vivos sentiensque eiusdem oraculi iussu et Iovis deorum summi adstipulatu Euthymus pycta . . . patria ei Locri in Italia; ibi imaginem eius et Olympiae alteram eodem die tactam fulmine Callimachum ut nihil aliud miratum video deumque*[6] *iussisse sacrificari,*[7] *quod et vivo factitatum et mortuo*, 'Euthymus the boxer was consecrated while still living and sentient at the order of the same [*sc.* the Delphic] oracle and with the consent of Jupiter mightiest of the gods . . . I see that Callimachus marvelled at nothing more than at the fact that his statue [in Locri] and his statue in Olympia were struck by lightning on the same day and that the god [*sc.* at Delphi] ordered that sacrifices be made to him, which was done both in his lifetime and when he was dead.' A cult of Euthymos is also attested by clay herms from Locri of the later fourth century BC (see below).[8]

The dates of the following athletes who were heroized are unknown, but are presumed to fall in or close to the fifth century BC.[9]

(5) Euthykles of Locri. He received cult in Locri. *Diegesis* (II.5) to Callimachus *Aetia* 3.84–5 *τὸ μὲν ἄγαλμα τ[οῦ Εὐ]θυκλ[έο]υς κατ' ἴσον | τῷ τοῦ Διὸς ἐτ[ίμη]σαν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ βωμὸν ποιήσαντε[ς ..].τ[.]..[..]υ.[. ἵ]σταμέ- | νου μηνός*, 'they [the Locrians] honoured the statue of Euthykles equally to the statue of Zeus and moreover made an altar and . . . at the beginning of the month'.[10]

(6) Diognetos of Crete. He received cult in Crete. Ptolemy Hephaistion *Kaine Historia*, in Photius *Bibliotheca* 190 151a *Διόγνητον ὡς ἥρωα Κρῆτες τιμῶσιν*, 'the Cretans honour Diognetos as a hero'.[11]

[5] See further the Thasian inscriptions of I BC: *LSS* 72.A–B; Pouilloux 1994: 200–2. Moretti 1957: nos 201, 215. Pouilloux 1954: 62–106; id. 1994; Salviat 1956: esp. 154, 156; Chamoux 1979; Grandjean and Salviat 2000: 73–6.

[6] The mss have *ad eumque.*

[7] A variant reading is *sacrificare.* On the readings of Pliny's text, see Schilling 1977: 95.

[8] See further on Euthymos Call. fr. 98 Pfeiffer with *diegesis*; Paus. 6.6.4–11; Strab. 6.1.5 255; Ael. *v.h.* 8.18. For the epigram on his victor statue at Olympia, see Ebert 1972: 69–71. For his representation on herms from 'Grotta Caruso' in Locri (for the topography, see below, Fig. 2a. no. 6 on p. 270), see Costabile 1991: 195–226. See in general Moretti 1957: nos 191, 214, 227; Parke and Wormell 1956: ii. no. 392; Currie 2002.

[9] See Moretti 1957: no. 181; Bohringer 1979: 7; cf. Herrmann 1988: 128.

[10] Cf. Call. frr. 84–5 Pfeiffer; Moretti 1957: no. 180.

[11] Moretti 1957: no. 181.

The following athletes died some time before the fifth century BC, but their cults were instituted in the fifth century.

(7) Oibotas of Dyme. He received sacrifices from the Achaeans of the Peloponnese. Pausanias 7.17.14 *διαμένει δὲ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι Ἀχαιῶν τοῖς ἀγωνίζεσθαι μέλλουσι τὰ Ὀλύμπια ἐναγίζειν τῷ Οἰβώτᾳ, καὶ ἢν κρατήσωσιν, ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ στεφανοῦν τοῦ Οἰβώτα τὴν εἰκόνα*, 'the custom still endures to my day for Achaeans who are about to compete in the Olympic festival to sacrifice to Oibotas, and if they win, to garland the statue of Oibotas in Olympia.'[12] This appears not to have been a civic cult.

(8) Orrhippos (or Orsippos) of Megara. He was buried in the marketplace of Megara. Pausanias 1.43.8–1.44.1 *Κοροίβῳ δέ ἐστι τάφος ἐν τῇ Μεγαρέων ἀγορᾷ . . . Κοροίβου δὲ τέθαπται πλησίον Ὄρσιππος*, 'Koroibos has a grave in the marketplace of the Megarans . . . And near Koroibos Orsippos has been buried.'[13]

(9) Hipposthenes of Sparta. He received cult in Sparta. Pausanias 3.15.7 *πλησίον δέ ἐστιν Ἱπποσθένους ναός, ᾧ γεγόνασιν αἱ πολλαὶ νῖκαι πάλης· σέβουσι δὲ ἐκ μαντεύματος τὸν Ἱπποσθένην ἅτε Ποσειδῶνι τιμὰς νέμοντες*, 'nearby is a temple of Hipposthenes, the one who won the many victories in wrestling. They worship Hipposthenes in accordance with an oracle, paying him honours as Poseidon.'[14]

For the following athletes, cult is not clearly attested, but may be presupposed.

(10) Poulydamas of Scotussa, fifth–fourth century BC.[15] His statue in Olympia worked cures (Lucian, *Council of the Gods* 12).[16]

(11) Diagoras of Rhodes. He was rumoured to be a son of Hermes (Σ *O.* 7 Inscr. a, c).[17] No cult of him is recorded; however, comparison with other athletes suggests that the story of his being fathered by Hermes may have been part of a movement to make him into a hero.

(12) Glaukos of Carystus, sixth–fifth century BC. Again, no cult is attested, but it is interesting that he had—still in the second century

[12] Cf. Paus. 6.3.8, 7.17.6–7. Moretti 1957: no. 6.

[13] Cf. Σ *Il.* 23.683b.[1] Erbse. Orrhippos' epitaph: *IG* VII.52 = *EGLC* 843; the extant inscription is late (perhaps V AD), but is taken to be a renewal of a much older one. Moretti 1957: no. 16. He was victor in 720 BC, but received cult in V BC: see Bohringer 1979: 8.

[14] Moretti 1957: no. 61. See Hodkinson 1999: 165–7 (who assumes that the cult was instituted in V BC).

[15] Moretti 1957: no. 348. For the base of his victor statue in Olympia, see Taeuber 1997: Plate 8.1–3, 9.1–2.

[16] Cf. Theogenes (Paus. 6.11.9). Taken to be heroized by Farnell 1921: 425 (no. 307); Hönle 1972: 104. Sceptically, Bentz and Mann 2001: 232.

[17] Moretti 1957: no. 252. Heroized: Dover 1974: 81; cf. Taeger 1957: 84–5.

AD—an island named after him (Pausanias 6.10.3).[18] Analogously, perhaps, a part of Thessaly still bears the name *Πολυδάμειο*, after Poulydamas of Scotussa (above).[19]

The nature of the cults

Hero sacrifices are reported for Philippos, Kleomedes, Diognetos, Oibotas, and probably intended for Euthymos. The word *θυσία*, which occurs with Philippos and Kleomedes, is probably being used as an unmarked term, without implying 'divine sacrifices'.[20] Euthymos has a close association with the so-called 'Hero' of Temesa, which suggests that his cult was also heroic; the fact that it was paid in his lifetime need not contradict this (see below, Chapter 9). On the other hand, divine cult may be intended for Theogenes, Euthykles, and Hipposthenes. For Theogenes we find the formulation 'to sacrifice to . . . as a god' (*ἅτε θεῷ θύειν*), and he reputedly had cults in many locations (Pausanias 6.11.9). He is, moreover, called *θεός* in Thasian inscriptions.[21] Euthykles had an altar (*βωμόν*), and his statue was worshipped 'equally to that of Zeus' (*Diegesis* 11.5 to Callimachus *Aetia* 3 frr. 84–5 Pfeiffer). The fact that honours were paid to Hipposthenes 'as Poseidon' (Pausanias 3.15.7) has interesting implications for his status. It is possible that several athletes' cults may have been integrated into existing divine or heroic cults (see below).

Philippos had a hero shrine (*ἡρῷον*). For other athletes (Theogenes, Euthymos, Euthykles, Oibotas, and Poulydamas), the statue played a key role in the cult (see below). The cult could be centred on the agora.[22] There is some archaeological evidence relating to the cults of athletes.[23] There are inscriptions and a monument relating to Theogenes.[24] There are remnants of the relief of Poulydamas' statue-base at Olympia. A statue of Euthymos, showing him in the form of a bull with

[18] Moretti 1957: no. 134; Fontenrose 1968: 89. Cf. Sim. 509 *PMG*.

[19] Decker 1995: 140.

[20] For *θυσία* as 'unmarked', see Scullion 1994: 97 n. 57; cf. Malkin 1987: 193, cf. 229, 236. Differently, Ekroth 2002: 293–6.

[21] Chamoux 1979: 151; Pouilloux 1994: 202, 204.

[22] Theogenes: Dio Chrys. 31.96 *τὸν . . . ἀνδριάντα . . . ἑστῶτα ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει*. See Pouilloux 1954: 77; Brelich 1958: 131; Chamoux 1979: 144–5. On the significance of the agora, see Malkin 1987: 200–3, 237.

[23] See Bentz and Mann 2001: 233–5.

[24] Salviat 1956; Bernard and Salviat 1962: 594; Chamoux 1979; Pouilloux 1994; Grandjean and Salviat 2000: 73–6.

a young man's face and horns, is represented on fourth-century herms from Locri.[25] The archaeological record is thus fairly meagre, but is in fact scarcely fuller for city founders.[26]

As with the war dead, the first task must be to try to establish whether these athletes, whose cults are often attested late, were heroized in the fifth century BC.

The date of the cults

It has been argued that athletes' cults were instituted long after their lifetimes.[27] But it has also been maintained that they were heroized immediately or shortly after their death.[28] The ancient sources, at least, would have us believe in most cases that the cults were instituted immediately after the athletes' deaths or, in the case of Euthymos, even in the athlete's lifetime.[29] Oibotas and Orrhippos lived in the eighth century BC, but their cults are said to have been instituted in the fifth century. Other early athletes seem to have received special honours only in the fifth century: thus the seventh-century Spartan runner Chionis received a statue at Olympia around the mid-fifth century (Pausanias 6.13.2; the sculptor, Myron, was active 470–440 BC).[30] Most literary sources for athletes' cults are Hellenistic (Callimachus) or later (Pausanias); Philippos' cult, however, is recorded in a fifth-century source (Herodotus). The very fact that so many sources agree in giving a fifth-century date creates a presupposition that we are dealing with a genuinely fifth-century phenomenon. The archaeological evidence does not on the whole yield a *terminus ante quem* much higher than the literary evidence. Euthymos' cult, though, is shown by the archaeological record to predate the second half of the fourth century BC: Locrian herms of that date depict a cult statue of Euthymos as a man-bull (that is, the athlete metamorphosed into a river deity) standing next to an altar.[31] Epigraphical documents from Thasos relating to Theogenes go back to the first half of the fourth century BC, but these do not attest

[25] Costabile 1991: 195–226.

[26] Cf. Büsing 1978: 51; Malkin 1987: 190; Antonaccio 1995: 267.

[27] Deneken 1884–90: 2528.17–35; Young 2004: 108.

[28] Farnell 1921: 365 and n.; Brelich 1958: 99; Bohringer 1979: 9–10; Boehringer 1996: 46.

[29] Kleomedes: Paus. 6.9.8; Euthymos: Call. fr. 99 Pfeiffer. See Brelich 1958: 99–100.

[30] See Hodkinson 1999: 165.

[31] See Costabile 1991: 207, 228.

his cult; the extant cultic monument in the Thasian marketplace is, apparently, not earlier than the second century BC.[32]

Bound up with the question of the date of the athletes' cults is the date of their legends. These legends, like the cults, are often attested in late sources, and may thus be held to be much later than the athletes themselves.[33] Although the athlete legends frequently make reference to oracles which commanded the athlete's heroization, the authenticity of these can also be called into question.[34] A *terminus ante quem* is available, however, in the case of Poulydamas, whose heroic exploits are represented in a partially extant relief sculpture on the base of his Olympic victor statue, ascribed to 'Lysippos' (Pausanias 6.5.1) and dated by archaeologists to the later fourth century, a date close to Poulydamas' lifetime.[35] Otherwise, general considerations make it at least credible that athlete legends were circulating already in the fifth century. Herodotus says about the diver Skyllias of Scione: 'I am amazed if what is said (*τὰ λεγόμενα*) is true . . . other apparent falsehoods too are spoken of about this man, as well as a certain number of true things' (8.8.2–3): evidently there were legends about Skyllias which must have grown up in the fifth century, within at most a generation of his lifetime.[36] We are entitled to wonder what form athlete legends may have taken in the fifth century BC. Their original form was probably (local) oral tradition, and from there they might have been taken up by local historians. In the Hellenistic period, local traditions about athletic festivals and athletes were collected by Alexandrian scholars and published in prose treatises, with titles such as *On Athletic Contests* (*Περὶ ἀγώνων*).[37] Such material could even be incorporated in poems, such as Callimachus' *Aetia*.[38] All these sources—long-lived oral

[32] See Salviat 1956: 159; Pouilloux 1994: 205 (revising Pouilloux 1954: 77, 104 n. 4). Cf., differently, Pouilloux 1954: 77, 81–2, cf. 78–9 n. 1 *ad fin.*, 103–4, 228–9.

[33] Lacroix 1988: 188, for instance, dates them to the Hellenistic period.

[34] They are accepted as genuine by Parke and Wormell 1956: i. 353–7, but rejected by Fontenrose 1968: 91–2, id. 1978: 323–4.

[35] See Smith 1991: Pl. 46; Taeuber 1997: 238–9.

[36] Further, for Skylli(a)s' statue at Delphi, see Paus. 10.19.2.

[37] For the Alexandrians' interest in collecting local traditions about athletics, see Biliński 1959: 94–5; cf. Rohde 1876: 99 and n. 3. For a *Περὶ ἀγώνων* of Callimachus, see fr. 403 Pfeiffer. Euphorion too wrote a *Περὶ Ἰσθμίων*.

[38] Call. relates various athletes' legends and cults in *Aetia* books 3 and 4: frr. 84–5 Pfeiffer (Euthykles), frr. 98–9 Pfeiffer (Euthymos); cf. fr. 541 Pfeiffer (Koroibos), fr. 666 Pfeiffer (Astylos), fr. 758 Pfeiffer (Milon), ?fr. 607 Pfeiffer (Theogenes). Cf. Posidippus 14 = 1634–7 *EG* (Theogenes). Call.'s use of local historians is evident from *Aetia* fr. 75.54 Pfeiffer (Xenomedes of Ceos); frr. 88, 92.2 Pfeiffer (Leandr(i)os of Miletus); Σ Flor. 35–6 on fr. 7 Pfeiffer (Agias and Derkylos). For Call.'s possible use of local oral sources, cf. Fraser 1972: ii. 1072 n. 343.

tradition, local histories, and Hellenistic poetry—may have been used by Pausanias in the Roman period.[39]

Heroization *qua* athlete

It is a widespread view that athletes were not heroized by virtue of their athletic prowess, but for some other reason.[40] This view has plausibility since athletes in the fifth century were still predominantly aristocrats and were frequently ensconced in the political life of their cities.[41]

F. Bohringer has observed that 'each [of the heroized Olympic victors] seems tied to a particular moment of local history'.[42] Thus Bohringer associates Theogenes with the subjection of Thasos by Athens in 463 BC, Euthymos of Locri with the Locri–Rhegium conflict in 477–476 BC, and Kleomedes with Persian expansion in the eastern Aegean in the late 490s.[43] The cults of the eighth-century athletes Oibotas and Orrhippos are associated, respectively, with the annexation of Paleia by Dyme in the fifth century BC and with Spartan–Corinthian aggression towards Megara in 460–457 BC.[44] Following Bohringer's model, S. Hodkinson has connected the institution of Hipposthenes' cult in Sparta with the crisis caused by the earthquake and helot revolt of the 460s BC.[45] The heroization of athletes, associated with these civic crises 'directly, or by simultaneity alone', was a means for the city of effacing

[39] On Pausanias' sources, see Habicht 1998: 142–5. For his use of oral sources, cf. Veyne 1988: 3, 76, 132–3 nn. 13–14, 148 n. 159.

[40] Gardiner 1916–17: 96; Mylonas 1943–4: 287; Hönle 1972: 104; Buhmann 1975: 134; Bohringer 1979: 14; Serwint 1987: 11, 19, 23, 38–9, 463; Boehringer 1996: 37, 53 n. 7; Miller 2004: 160.

[41] Herrmann 1988: 127; Bernardini 1992: 971. On the social status of athletes in the Archaic and Classical periods, see Pleket 1974; Kyle 1985; Instone 1986; Poliakoff 1989. For a reminder, however, that not all athletes in V BC were born wealthy, see Young 1984; Richardson 1992: 232–3 (and on athletes' political involvement, see ibid. 234 'Political and athletic ambitions were, in fact, often inseparable'). NB Isoc. 16.33 (on Alkibiades) *εἰδὼς ἐνίους τῶν ἀθλητῶν . . . κακῶς γεγονότας*, 'knowing that some of the athletes [*sc.* in the non-equestrian events] were ignobly born . . .'. Cf. Carey 1995: 90 n. 9 '[Young] rightly rejects the idea that Greek athletics was *exclusively* the domain of the aristocrat . . . But . . . in the archaic and early classical period the overwhelming majority of contenders . . . came from "old" wealthy families or from *arrivistes* eager to present themselves as, and to display the values of, members of the aristocracy.'

[42] Bohringer 1979: 10 'chacun [des olympionices héroïsés] . . . semble lié à un moment particulier de l'histoire locale'. Bohringer's thesis has found approval in Price 1984: 49; Kurke 1993: 150; Hodkinson 1999: 166.

[43] Bohringer 1979: 10–12. [44] Bohringer 1979: 12–14. [45] Hodkinson 1999: 166–7.

inglorious episodes in its history.[46] Consequently, for Bohringer, heroization of athletes in the fifth century does not occur in recognition of their status as athletes.[47]

It seems likely that there was a political dimension to the heroization of athletes. However, we should be sceptical of the correlation of the institution of the athletes' cults with specific political crises, especially when the historical record for the individual cities is so incomplete and the correlation rests on 'simultaneity alone'.[48] It seems quite unlikely, moreover, that the cults of athletes were never a response to their status as athletes (an argument which will be pursued below). Finally, Bohringer's theory makes the athletes wholly passive in their heroization, although there are some suggestions that they could in fact promote it (see below).[49] Here the 'subjective aspect' of hero cult seems to be undervalued (see above, Chapter 1).

Rather differently, D. Boehringer has denied that Olympic victory constituted a 'category of heroization'.[50] For him, heroized Olympic victors belong to a more general category of heroes: '*loimos* heroes'. Boehringer has stressed that the relationship between athlete and city was an ambivalent one. Sometimes the city perpetrated an injustice against the athlete, after the athlete had wronged the city first. When a λοιμός (plague, famine, or some other serious setback) afflicted the city, the wrong done to the athlete was identified as the cause. The λοιμός was then dispelled by instituting a cult for the athlete. The athlete's cult was motivated by concern for the purity and solidarity of the city. Hence the heroization of the athlete had nothing directly to do with his status as an athlete, but rather with the city's need to dispel a λοιμός.[51]

Boehringer's category of '*loimos* heroes' has been variously

[46] Bohringer 1979: 14–15; quote is from p. 18: 'directement, ou par seule simultanéité.'

[47] Bohringer 1979: 14 'Le culte d'athlète . . . n'est pas un honneur rendu par une cité au citoyen qui l'a glorifiée sur ce plan: ce n'est pas un culte d'action de grâces'; 'L'exploit athlétique peut donc susciter une légende, un proverbe mais, de lui même, aucun culte.'

[48] The quotation is translated from Bohringer 1979: 18. Cf. Hodkinson 1999: 166–7 'The early fifth century was for Sparta a time of several major crises . . . all of which were sufficiently severe to have prompted the extraordinary response of Hipposthenes' divinization. We shall never know the precise circumstances for certain . . .'.

[49] This point is argued also in Currie 2002.

[50] Boehringer 1996: 37.

[51] '*Loimos* heroes': Boehringer 1996: 53 n. 7, cf. 37. Ambivalent relationship between athlete and city: Boehringer 1996: 41, 46, 48. Injustice by city to athlete: Boehringer 1996: 45. *Loimos* arising from mistreatment of athlete: Boehringer 1996: 45, 46. *Loimos* dispelled by athlete's cult: Boehringer 1996: 45. Cult motivated by concern for purity and solidarity: Boehringer 1996: 47.

anticipated.[52] However, the theory does not seem tenable as a blanket explanation for athletes' cults. First, a λοιμός is not attested in every case. Attempts to make it the cause of the heroizations of Euthymos and Kleomedes are unconvincing.[53] In the case of Kleomedes, the occasion of the Astypalaeans' Delphic consultation was Kleomedes' miraculous disappearance, not a λοιμός; the Pythia prescribed a cult of Kleomedes because she recognized him as 'the latest of the heroes', one 'no longer mortal'.[54] Second, even where the athlete legends cite a λοιμός as the motive for the cult, this does not mean it was the historical cause. The λοιμός leading to Oibotas' heroization is the alleged failure of Argives to win at Olympia, yet Argive Olympic victories are attested for 688, 512, and 496 BC.[55] This leads to a third objection: the ability to inflict a λοιμός is the prerogative of angered godhead generally and, especially, heroes.[56] Legends conforming to the pattern: coming of λοιμός, oracular consultation, institution of cult, disappearance of λοιμός are very widely attested.[57] This mythological process is better regarded as a reflex of the process of heroization, rather than as antecedent cause of it: here, as elsewhere where a legend gives an αἴτιον for a cult, legend and cult have probably arisen *pari passu*.[58] The cities which received oracles commanding the institution of an athlete's cult were probably often themselves predisposed to heroize the athlete.[59] There is, then, no warrant for taking the causation offered by the athlete legends (λοιμός followed by cult) literally, as if they offered a historical account of the process of heroization.[60]

L. Kurke, finally, has explained the heroization of athletes as resulting from 'an imbalance in the economy of *kudos*'.[61] On this view, 'those athletes become heroes who possess a superabundance of *kudos* or who suffered in life from a dearth of proper honors in response to their

[52] See Deneken 1884–90: 2488.45–2489.17; Nilsson 1906: 455; Mylonas 1943–4: 287; Hönle 1972: 104; Buhmann 1975: 135; Larson 1995: 16, 132–3.

[53] Boehringer 1996: 42–3.

[54] Parke and Wormell 1956: ii. no. 88.

[55] Bohringer 1979: 12.

[56] Gods: Apollo, *Il.* 1.43–52; Artemis, *Il.* 9.533–42. Heroes: Burkert 1985*a*: 206–7.

[57] Cf. e.g. Hdt. 1.67.2 (Orestes), 5.82.1 (Damia and Auxesia); Plut. *Cim.* 19.5 (Kimon); P. Oxy. 1800 fr. 2.ii.51–63 (Aesop); Paus. 9.38.3 (Hesiod); Servius *ad* Virg. *Aen.* 6.378 (Palinurus). See, in general, Larson 1995: 16; Kearns 1995: 517.

[58] Cf. Richardson 1985*a*: 56.

[59] Cf. Rohde 1925: i. 181 '[die delphischen Priester] werden nur in den einzelnen Fällen . . . ausgeführt haben, was der verbreitete Volksglaube ihrer Zeit im Allgemeinen vorschrieb.'

[60] Cf. Parker 1983: 271–2.

[61] This and the following quotations are from Kurke 1993: 151.

kudos'. Kurke's second category is comparable to the '*loimos* heroes'; with her first category, however, she recognizes that there was something intrinsic to athletes that made them candidates for cult: 'athletes are available for heroization because they already participate in the realm of talismanic power'. In what follows, the aim will be to relate the heroization of athletes to the athletes' status as athletes; a further important point to emerge is that athletes could be proactive in the process of their own heroization.

Pindar fr. 133

There is support for the view that athletes were candidates for heroization in their own right in a fragment of Pindar (fr. 133):

> οἷσι δὲ Φερσεφόνα ποινὰν παλαιοῦ πένθεος
> δέξεται, ἐς τὸν ὕπερθεν ἅλιον κείνων ἐνάτῳ ἔτεϊ
> ἀνδιδοῖ ψυχὰς πάλιν, ἐκ τᾶν βασιλῆες ἀγαυοί
> καὶ σθένει κραιπνοὶ σοφίᾳ τε μέγιστοι
> ἄνδρες αὔξοντ'· ἐς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἥροες ἁ-
> γνοὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων καλέονται.

For those from whom Persephone accepts requital for [her] ancient grief, she surrenders up their souls again to the upper sun in the ninth year. From these are nurtured haughty kings and men swift in strength and greatest in wisdom; and they are called by men 'holy heroes' for the rest of time.

The genre of the poem from which Plato (*Meno* 81b) quotes these verses is unknown; it is frequently assigned, but without compelling reason to the *Dirges* (see above, Chapter 2). The fragment has attracted much attention for its early exposition of the doctrine of metempsychosis.[62] According to these verses, a class of 'men swift in strength' (4–5 *σθένει κραιπνοὶ . . . ἄνδρες*) are among those who 'are called by men holy heroes for the rest of time'. There is no difficulty in identifying the other two classes who are specified: *βασιλῆες ἀγαυοί* are 'kings', and *σοφίᾳ . . . μέγιστοι ἄνδρες* are 'the wise' (the term *σοφοί* can embrace both 'poets' and 'sages'). As for the class of *σθένει κραιπνοὶ . . . ἄνδρες*, we can say that it must include athletes, even if it is not made up only of athletes.[63] There is evidence independent of this fragment for the

[62] For commentary on the fragment, see Cannatà Fera 1990: 219–31.

[63] Lloyd-Jones 1990*c*: 94 (makes 'one . . . think of athletes, but . . . surely not only of athletes'); cf. Wilamowitz 1922: 251 'Könige, Athleten und Dichter'; Hampe 1952: 63.

heroization of kings, poets, and sages.[64] It appears that Pindar in this poem took athletes likewise to be a category of persons who could be heroized after death.

Empedocles gives a similar list of types of men whose souls become 'gods' (not 'holy heroes', as in Pindar). He lists 'seers and poets and healers and chiefs' (31 B146 *VS* *μάντεις τε καὶ ὑμνοπόλοι καὶ ἰητροί | καὶ πρόμοι*).[65] The first three classes—'seers and poets and healers'—are comprised in Pindar's category of 'men greatest in wisdom'. The last class—'chiefs'—corresponds to Pindar's category of 'haughty kings'.[66] A class comprising athletes is therefore noticeably absent from Empedocles' list. The reason for this omission is unclear; it may be related to the antagonistic attitude to athletes we find in other thinkers of the fifth century.[67]

The athlete legends

We may now consider the perspective offered on the athlete heroizations by the athlete legends.[68]

Divine birth

Divine birth was claimed for several athletes. Theogenes was a son of Herakles (Pausanias 6.11.2).[69] Diagoras was a son of Hermes (Σ *O.* 7 Inscription a). Euthymos was the son of the river god Kaikinos (Pausanias 6.2.4). Glaukos' ancestry was traced back to the sea divinity Glaukos (Pausanias 6.10.1). An otherwise unknown athlete Attalos, of perhaps the second century AD , was fathered by the river Maiandros (Pseudo-Aeschines, *Epistles* 10.8).

[64] For the heroization of Spartan kings, see below, Ch. 11. For heroized 'sages', cf. the lawgivers Chilon (Paus. 3.16.4), Lykourgos (Hdt. 1.66.1), and the 'philosophers' Pythagoras (Justin 20.4.18), Empedokles (Heracl. Pont. fr. 83 Wehrli), Ameinias (Sotion fr. 27 Wehrli). For heroized poets, cf. Archilochus (*SEG* xv. 517. A col. ii. 1–19 = Gerber pp. 16–19). In general for the heroization of *σοφοί* (encompassing both poets and sages), cf. Alcidamas in Aristot. *rhet.* 1398^{b}10–20.

[65] Quoted by Clem. *strom.* 4.150 *φησὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τῶν σοφῶν τὰς ψυχὰς θεοὺς γίνεσθαι ὧδέ πως γράφων·* (there follows 31 B146 *VS*).

[66] Cf. Cannatà Fera 1990: 229; Riedweg 1995: 44–5.

[67] Cf. Xenophanes 2 *IEG*; Diogenes in Dio Chrys. *or.* 8.11–14; Eur. fr. 282 Nauck.

[68] There are still useful remarks on the athlete legends in Rohde 1925: i. 191–4.

[69] The name 'Theogenes', given its widespread distribution in Greece, can hardly have been bestowed on the athlete in anticipation of the legend of his birth: cf. Masson 1994: 695–6.

Divine or heroic birth was also claimed for historical persons other than athletes. Pythagoras was claimed to be a son of Apollo (Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras* 7), Demaratos a son of the Spartan hero Astrabakos (Herodotus 6.69.1–3), Aristomenes the son of a '*daimon* or god in the likeness of a snake' (Pausanias 4.14.7–8), Plato a son of Apollo (Speusippos and others in Diogenes Laertius 3.2), and Alexander a son of Zeus Ammon (Pausanias 4.14.8, Strabo 17.1.43 814).

Extraordinary feats

Several athletes are said to have performed extraordinary feats. As a nine-year-old child, Theogenes carried a bronze statue of god from the marketplace to his home and brought it back again (Pausanias 6.11.2–3). Euthymos carried an enormous stone and placed it before his door; he also fought hand to hand with the Hero of Temesa, and overpowered him (Aelian, *Historical Miscellany* 8.18; Pausanias 6.6.7–10). Milon carried his own statue into the Altis at Olympia, and was credited with various shows of strength (Pausanias 6.14.6–7). Poulydamas killed a lion on Mt Olympus with his bare hands, held a great bull fast by the hoof, and brought a speeding chariot to a standstill with one of his hands (Pausanias 6.5.4–6). Invited to Sousa by Dareios II, Poulydamas fought single-handed with three of the King's special bodyguards, and killed them all (Pausanias 6.5.7).[70] In so doing, it seemed that Poulydamas provided a Greek retort to the boast ascribed by Herodotus to Xerxes in 480 BC: 'among the Persians in my bodyguard, there are some who shall wish to fight with three of the Greeks at the same time' (Herodotus 7.103.5). A double of Taurosthenes announced his success in Aegina on the day of his victory at Olympia (Pausanias 6.9.3).[71] Such miraculous happenings are typical for a person who is more than human.[72]

Extraordinary deaths

Many athletes met their end in extraordinary circumstances. Milon was said to be devoured by wolves (Pausanias 6.14.8; Strabo 6.1.12 263). Poulydamas was reputedly killed when the roof of a cave collapsed

[70] For an alleged interest of the Persian King in Greek athletes, cf. already Dareios I and Milon: Hdt. 3.137.5.

[71] See Fontenrose 1968: 90. For such bilocation, cf. Pythagoras: Aristot. fr. 173 Gigon; Aristeas: Hdt. 4.14.2. See Burkert 1972: 141 and n. 118.

[72] Cf. Burkert 1972: 141–61.

(Pausanias 6.5.8–9). Timanthes allegedly immolated himself on a pyre (Pausanias 6.8.4). The corpses of Kleomedes and Euthymos are said to have disappeared (Pausanias 6.9.7; Aelian, *Historical Miscellany* 8.18).

On the athlete legends

It was not uncommon for exceptional historical Greeks to be assimilated to mythical heroes: there was a process of mythologization that often accompanied actual heroization.[73] The same motif could be attached to different persons, so that one can speak of a 'roving anecdote'.[74] The motifs could be of considerable antiquity and could jump cultures; the *Lives* of Christian saints in turn employ motifs that were told of both mythical and historical Greeks.[75] The motif of death, inflicted on others or brought upon oneself, in a collapsing building or cave was applied to various strong men of antiquity: Kleomedes (Pausanias 6.9.6), Poulydamas (Pausanias 6.5.8–9), Skopas (Simonides 510 *PMG*), and Samson (Judges 16:25–30). We may also compare Milon, who saved himself and his companions from a collapsing building (Strabo 6.1.12 263). A barehanded fight with a lion is common to Poulydamas (Pausanias 6.5.5), Herakles (*LIMC* v.i.16–34), and Samson (Judges 14: 5–6).[76] These are 'prestige myths', whose 'function is to invest the birth and exploits of a popular hero with an aura of mystery and wonder'.[77]

There is a good chance that many of these athlete legends go back to the fifth century BC (see above); several motifs, at least, which are found in the athlete legends may be securely paralleled for non-athletes in the fifth century. The story of the vanishing of Aristeas' corpse is attested in the fifth century (Herodotus 4.14.3), as is that of the hero Astrabakos begetting Demaratos (Herodotus 6.69.1–3).[78] Both motifs are clearly intended to imbue a historical person with heroic status. Divine birth is typical for a man who is more than human; in this vein Aristotle,

[73] Pfister 1909–12: 186–7, 528–9; Brelich 1958: 315–16, 320; Fontenrose 1968: 87 n. 21; Brillante 1990: 103–4.

[74] On the 'roving anecdote', see Hornblower 1983: 51; id. 1994: 17, 22–4.

[75] In general, cf. Gould 1989: 32–3. On saints' *Lives*: Delehaye 1998: 20–5 esp. 24, 143, 147–8; Hadas and Smith 1965: 101–258.

[76] In general, see Weinreich 1928: 74–85, esp. 80–3.

[77] Hooke 1963: 14–15. Something like this concept of a 'prestige myth' was current in v BC: cf. Hdt. 1.122.3 '[Kyros'] parents spread abroad the rumour that a feral bitch reared Kyros after he had been exposed, in order that it might seem to the Persians that their son had survived in a more godlike way (*θειοτέρως*)'; cf. 1.204.1. This upbringing of Kyros is another 'roving anecdote': compare the rearing of Romulus and Remus by a wolf (see Binder 1964).

[78] Burkert 1965: 175 dates the story of Demaratos' birth to 480 BC.

in his discussion of the 'godlike man' (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1145ª18–30), quotes Priamos' words in the *Iliad*, '[Hektor] did not resemble the son of a mortal man, but of a god' (24.258–9 *οὐδὲ ἐώικει (sc. Ἕκτωρ)| ἀνδρός γε θνητοῦ πάϊς ἔμμεναι, ἀλλὰ θεοῖο*).[79] A divine parent helps to account for a person's superhuman qualities.[80] Such stories of the divine birth of historical persons could meet with both belief and disbelief: a good illustration is Plutarch's report of the birth of an alleged son of Apollo, Seilenos, in Pontus towards the end of the fifth century BC: 'many, as was reasonable, disbelieved it, but many too heeded it' (*Life of Lysandros* 26.1 *πολλοὶ μέν, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν, ἠπίστουν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ προσεῖχον*). In Plato's *Lysis*, the story that an ancestor of Lysis was a son of Zeus is dubbed as 'things which old women sing of' (205d1–2 *ἅπερ αἱ γραῖαι ᾄδουσι*).[81] Extraordinary deaths, especially involving the vanishing of the corpse, are a hallmark of heroes.[82] Stories of the disappearance of the body of an historical person were also often controversial: this is shown by the case of Empedokles (Diogenes Laertius 8.67–72: see below, Chapter 14). Plutarch once again makes the rationale of such stories of disappearing corpses explicit: '[people] tell many such stories . . ., immortalizing the mortal parts of [a person's] nature' (*Life of Romulus* 28.7 *πολλὰ τοιαῦτα μυθολογοῦσι . . . ἐκθειάζοντες τὰ θνητὰ τῆς φύσεως*). The vanished person may be assumed to have joined the gods or heroes.

Emulation by athletes of heroes

The athlete legends put us in touch with apparently oral narratives in which the athletes were assimilated to mythical prototypes. Apart from these narratives it seems that some athletes themselves emulated heroes in real life. Milon, we are told, went into battle 'wreathed with his Olympic crowns and wearing the garb of Herakles with lionskin and club' (Diodorus 12.9.6).[83] Poulydamas fought with a lion 'in emulation of the exploits of Herakles' (Pausanias 6.5.5). Theogenes' motive

[79] Cf. Rohde 1925: ii. 355 and n. 2. This passage of Aristot. *EN* is discussed below (Ch. 9).

[80] Explicit at e.g. Ps.-Aeschin. *ep.* 10.8, where the exceptional strength of the athlete Attalos is explained by the fact that his father is the river god Maiandros. Cf. Brelich 1958: 9.

[81] On old women's stories, cf. Bremmer 1987.

[82] See in general *RAC* XIV.867; Brelich 1958: 88–90; Lacroix 1988. For the vanishing of the corpse, cf. Herakles (Diod. 4.38.5); Jesus: Matth. 28: 5–6. For vanishing into a river, see Currie 2002. For death by fire, see below, Ch. 14.

[83] Fontenrose 1968: 88; Burkert 1972: 153 n. 184; Detienne 1994: 42–3; Kurke 1993: 134–5. Not an isolated occurrence: cf. Nikostratos (*c.* 350 BC): Diod. 16.44.3; Athen. 7.289b.

for competing in the *dolichos* in Phthia was 'emulation of Achilleus' (Pausanias 6.11.5). Theogenes' aspiration to win the crown for boxing and pankration at the same Olympic festival might be explained as emulation of Herakles (Pausanias 6.6.5).[84] Timanthes' death on the pyre emulated Herakles' (Pausanias 6.8.4; see below, Chapter 14). It is possible that Euthymos' fight with the Hero of Temesa for the hand of the Temesan maiden was a conscious attempt to reproduce Herakles' combat with Acheloos for Deianeira's hand, or alternatively Herakles' contest with Thanatos to rescue Alkestis.[85] We should probably see this emulation of heroes as something the athletes actually engaged in, rather than something legend merely ascribed to them. It is obvious that Herakles was the model *par excellence* for athletes.[86]

Athletes could claim parity with heroes in a more drastic way still: by clashing with them physically. Thus Euthymos fought with and overpowered the Hero of Temesa. The Hero of Temesa was, according to myth, a former member of Odysseus' crew; in cult he enjoyed the possession of a sanctuary and temple at Temesa and the annual tribute of a girl's virginity (Pausanias 6.6.4–11). Euthymos' physical encounter with the Hero, a figure of myth and cult, is extraordinary; an argument for taking it literally is other stories of persons of the sixth and fifth centuries who were said to have had very real encounters with heroes on the battlefield: Phormion and Leonymos (or Autoleon) at the battle of Sagra (540s BC?), and Epizelos at the battle of Marathon (490 BC).[87] Euthymos fared much better than these others against their heroic adversaries. (It is interesting to note the Locrian context of three of these four stories: Phormion and Leonymos [Autoleon] were fighting against Locri, and Euthymos was a Locrian.) Euthymos' fight with the Hero was apparently conceived as a deliberate attempt to give him heroic status.[88] It seems that this bellicose attitude of athletes to heroes might occasionally be reflected in epinician poetry. Simonides claimed

[84] Cf. Paus. 5.8.4, where Herakles wins in wrestling and pankration. See Serwint 1987: 19, 50 nn. 50–1. This feat was not achieved before Kapros of Elis, 212 BC: Euseb. *chron.* I Ol. 142 = p. 209 Schoene. It conferred the title *δεύτερος Ἡρακλῆς* (on which cf. Nock 1928: 35 and n. 73).

[85] Modelled on Herakles–Acheloos: Currie 2002. Modelled on Herakles–Thanatos: Fontenrose 1968: 81; Visintin 1992: 105.

[86] See e.g. Sinn 1996: 84–9 esp. 88–9.

[87] Leonymos (Autoleon): Paus. 3.19.12; Conon *FGrH* 26 F1.xviii; see Burkert 1972: 152–3. Phormion: Cratinus fr. 238 *PCG*; Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F392; see Burkert 1972: 152. Epizelos: Hdt. 6.117.3; see Kearns 1989: 44.

[88] See Currie 2002.

playfully that not even Polydeukes or Herakles would hold up their fists against Glaukos (509 *PMG*). Two centuries later Theocritus could make fun of this kind of athlete braggadocio in his fourth *Idyll* (verses 8–9):

ΚΟΡΥΔΩΝ·	*φαντί νιν Ἡρακλῆι βίην καὶ κάρτος ἐρίσδειν.*
ΒΑΤΤΟΣ·	*κἤμ' ἔφαθ' ἁ μάτηρ Πολυδεύκεος ἦμεν ἀμείνω*
KORYDON:	They say that [Milon] is a match for Herakles in might and strength.
BATTOS:	And my mother used to say that I was better than Polydeukes.

The story of Skopas' displeasure at Simonides for distributing praise equally between him and the Dioskouroi might also be seen in the context of this rivalry between athletes and heroes in the early fifth century BC (510 *PMG*). The antiquity of the story is not known, but it goes back at least to the Hellenistic period.[89] We could suppose that the Thessalian boxer resented sharing the limelight of his encomium with the sons of Zeus; the story has them reassert their superiority, with catastrophic consequences for Skopas and his friends. Perhaps the same background may be glimpsed again at Pindar *O.* 9.29–41, where we have an allusion to Herakles' contests with Poseidon, Apollo, and Hades; however, the Pindaric laudator quickly pulls back from any suggestion of 'reviling the gods and boasting beyond due measure'.[90] We may compare, and contrast, the claims that were made on behalf of the war dead to be at least as good as the heroes (see above, Chapter 7).

Heroic imitation

Athletes' emulation of heroes can be set in a more general context of emulation of heroes by historical persons. 'Such emulation . . . shaped much of the behaviour of the great figures of the ancient world, and should not be minimized.'[91] The clearest case of heroic imitation is Alexander the Great in the fourth century BC.[92] He was anticipated,

[89] It is presupposed by Call. *aet.* fr. 64.9–14 Pfeiffer. There are also traces of it in an unpublished papyrus of probably ii–i BC (P. Princeton inv. AM 87–59): I am grateful to Dirk Obbink for bringing this to my attention.

[90] On this passage, cf. Race 1989: 206–7 n. 21, citing Miller.

[91] Hornblower 1983: 268–9, 279. Cf. Weinreich 1968: esp. 313–23 (*divine* imitation); Buxton 1994: 194–6; Henrichs 1999: 240–8.

[92] See Brunt 1976: 464–6; Hornblower 1983: 268–9; Castriota 1992: 181, 183; Bosworth 1994: 872. Apelles painted Alexander with the thunderbolt, Zeus' attribute: Plut. *de Alex. magn. fort.* 2 335a, *de Is. et Os.* 24 360d. Alexander and Herakles: Alexander wears a lionskin

however, by Agesilaos, imitating Agamemnon in 396 BC.[93] Statues of Dionysios I in the first half of the fourth century BC showed him with the attributes of Dionysos.[94] The fourth century provides several examples.[95] But there are also examples from the Archaic and Classical periods. Peisistratos in the sixth century may have imitated Herakles.[96] Kimon apparently modelled himself on Theseus.[97] The comparison of historical persons to mythical heroes came naturally to Greeks.[98] According to an anecdote preserved by Plutarch, the audience of the *Seven Against Thebes* at the Great Dionysia of 467 BC referred Aeschylus' verses on Amphiaraos to Aristeides, who was present in the theatre ('he doesn't wish to seem the best, but to be so': 592–4).[99]

Assimilation into divine cults / divine personalities

Athletes' emulation of heroes has a startling corollary: in cult they could apparently be associated with heroes or gods. Hipposthenes allegedly received cult in Sparta 'as Poseidon'.[100] Euthykles' statue was honoured by the Locrians 'equally to that of Zeus'.[101] Theogenes' cult may have been closely linked to that of Herakles.[102] Locrian herms show Euthymos as a bull with a man's face: this has been taken variously to show a fusion of the heroized Euthymos with the river god Acheloos,

helmet on the Alexander sarcophagus (end iv BC). Hölscher 1973: 184, 191; Burkert 1985*a*: 211; Cohen 1997: 36–7 and fig. 20. On coins: cf. Price 1991: 33. Alexander and Achilleus: Arr. *ana.* 7.14.4 *ζῆλον τὸν Ἀχιλλέως, πρὸς ὅντινα ἐκ παιδὸς φιλοτιμία αὐτῷ ἦν*, cf. 1.12.1; cf. Hegesias *FGrH* 142 F5.

[93] Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.3, 3.5.5, 7.1.34; Paus. 3.9.3–4; Plut. *Agesil.* 6.4–6, *Pelopid.* 21.4. Cartledge 1987: 212, 357; Castriota 1992: 180.

[94] Dio Chrys. 37.21. For Dionysos as a model for heroization, see Nock 1928: 38; Hadas and Smith 1965: 19–22.

[95] Nilsson 1967–74: ii. 138 (Menekrates, Nikostratos, etc.). Demetrios Poliorketes and Dionysos: Plut. *Demetr.* 2.3.

[96] Hdt. 1.60.5. Boardman 1972; id. 1975b; id. 1989*b*; Slater 1984: 260 and n. 108; Connor 1987: 42–7; Castriota 1992: 237–8 n. 4; Sinos 1993. Differently, Osborne 1983/4: 65–9; Cook 1987; cf. Ferrari 1994–5.

[97] Plut. *Thes.* 36.2–3, cf. *Cim.* 8.5–7. See Castriota 1992: 7 and 238–9 nn. 8–10. For Miltiades and Theseus, see Castriota 1992: 81.

[98] Some examples: *P.* 4.289; Andoc. 1.129; Plat. *symp.* 221c6–7; ithyphallic hymn to Demetrios Poliorketes (Powell 1925: 173–5).

[99] Plut. *Aristid.* 3.5. See Braswell 1998: 40–1 n. 48. Cf. Plut. *Philopoem.* 11.3.

[100] Burckhardt 1998: 176; Brelich 1958: 131; Hodkinson 1999: 166–7 (suggesting a political reason for the assimilation). Differently, Deneken 1884–90: 2528.36–45; Wide 1893: 38–9, 277; Moretti 1957: no. 61 (arguing for a clumsy confusion of the athlete with a hypostasis of the god); followed by Bentz and Mann 2001: 232.

[101] *Diegesis* II.5 to Call. frr. 84–5 Pfeiffer.

[102] Salviat 1956: 154 n. 3.

with the god of the river Kaikinos, or with the Hero of Temesa.[103] The pattern is striking and persistent enough to call for interpretation. Difficult questions are raised: were these heroized athletes being put on a par with established recipients of cult, or were they actually being identified with specific deities?[104]

Newly made gods or heroes could be integrated into cults for established deities. This seems to have been common practice in the early Hellenistic period.[105] But there is evidence for it also in the Classical period. Demosthenes says to the Athenians in *On the False Embassy* of 343 BC 'you have made [Harmodios and Aristogeiton] partners in the libations and mixing-bowls in all the temples after the sacrifices, and hymn and honour them on a par with the heroes and gods' (280 *οὓς . . . ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις σπονδῶν καὶ κρατήρων κοινωνοὺς πεποίησθε, καὶ ᾄδετε καὶ τιμᾶτ' ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς ἥρωσι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς*).[106] In Aristophanes' *Birds* of 414 BC, the birds are to receive sacrifice, not after, but before the gods (561–9). This was a way of expressing the newcomers' status vis-à-vis the gods: parity or even (in the case of Aristophanes' birds) superiority to the gods could be claimed. On Samos in 404 BC Lysandros' festival, the Lysandreia, apparently replaced the Heraia (Plutarch, *Life of Lysandros* 18.2–4), and in Athens in the early third century BC the Demetria festival in honour of Demetrios Poliorketes was closely associated with the Dionysia (Plutarch, *Life of Demetrios* 12.2).[107]

In the Hellenistic period it was not uncommon for the statue of a historical person to be closely associated with a deity's altar, statue, or temple. Philippos II of Macedon had a statue in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus (Arrian, *Anabasis* 1.17.11). Attalos I had a statue next to Apollo's in the agora of Sicyon (Polybius 18.16).[108] In Peiraeus in the second century BC, the heroization of a deceased priest of Dionysos

[103] For the iconography, see Costabile 1991: 195–226. For a fusion of Euthymos with Acheloos, see Isler in *LIMC* I.i.35 s.v. 'Acheloos'. With Kaikinos: Weiß 1984: 68. With the Hero of Temesa: Currie 2002.

[104] Cf., on the association of Hellenistic kings with deities, Nock 1928: 30–8, esp. 32 'It is not easy to draw a line between comparison and identification.'

[105] Cf. Hughes 1999: 170 'On the strength of surviving evidence it seems likely that in the early Hellenistic period such hero cults were usually associated with, and subordinated to, divine cults.'

[106] Cf. Nilsson 1967–74: ii. 140.

[107] On the Lysandreia, see below, Ch. 9. As regards the Demetria, note that epigraphical evidence has suggested an association rather than a substitution of the festivals: see Nock 1972: i. 249; Parker 1996: 259 n. 13; Mikalson 1998: 93.

[108] Cf. Attalos III as *σύνναος* of Asklepios: *OGIS* 332.8–9. See Deneken 1884–90: 2544.54–62; Nock 1930.

involved placing his statue in the sanctuary alongside that of the god (*IG* II².1326.45–6 *φροντίσαι δὲ τοὺς ὀργεῶνας ὅπως ἀφηρωϊσθεῖ Δι[ο]-| νύσιος καὶ ἀ[ν]ατεθεῖ ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι παρὰ τὸν θεόν*, 'the *orgeones* are to see to it that Dionysios is heroized and [*sc.* his statue] is dedicated beside [*sc.* the statue of] the god in the sanctuary'). But this practice also occurred in the Archaic and Classical periods. A statue (*ἀνδριάς*) of Aristeas stood next to the cult image (*ἀγάλματι*) of Apollo in Metapontum (Herodotus 4.15.4; compare 4.15.2). An image (*εἰκόνιον*) of Themistokles stood in the temple of Artemis Aristoboule (Plutarch, *Life of Themistokles* 22.3).[109] Against this background, the statement that Euthykles' statue was honoured equally to Zeus' has intriguing, if unclear, implications.

In the Hellenistic period, again, deified historical persons could be closely associated, even identified with gods.[110] This too had Archaic antecedents. Pythagoras was called a 'Hyperborean Apollo' (Aristotle frr. 156 and 173 Gigon).[111] In the fourth century BC, a 'Zeus Philippios' is found at Eresus on Lesbos (*OGIS* 8.*a*.1.4–5 = Rhodes and Osborne 2003: no. 83.*γ*.front.§ii.4–5). The interpretation of this epithet is controversial, but parallels suggest that it should mean 'Zeus [worshipped] in conjunction with [the heroized / divinized] Philippos', as this is the implication elsewhere when the name of a deity is coupled with an adjective formed from the name of a hero, heroine, or deity.[112] A comparable association in cult may be implied for Hipposthenes with Poseidon.

Emulation of heroes in athletes' lifetimes and association with gods in their cults are evidently two sides of the same coin: both seem to be strategies to integrate athletes into the company of the divine. But whereas the first emanates from the athletes, the second comes from the cities: that is, the phenomenon is not to be dismissed as just athletes'

[109] Cf., on Philippos II (iv BC) Hornblower 1983: 278 'an unusual religious manifestation in the prehellenistic world'. For victor statues in the Altis, see below.

[110] Aphrodite Leaina/Lamia: Demochares *FGrH* 75 F1. Arsinoe Aphrodite: Habicht 1970: 197 and n. 28. Pythionike Aphrodite (Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F253). Cf. perhaps Juppiter Iulius in Rome: Dio 44.6.4. On the Roman emperor, see Price 1984: 103–4.

[111] See Burkert 1972: 117, 141 and nn. 114, 144.

[112] On 'Zeus Philippios', cf. Bosworth 1988: 281 'The precise meaning . . . cannot be recovered, but it seems certain that Philip was deeply associated in the cult of Zeus, and the sacrifices to Zeus were also in a sense offered to Philip.' Also Badian 1982: 41; id. 1996: 13; Hornblower 1983: 278–9. On Philippos' cult, cf. Fredricksmeyer 1979. We find later 'Zeus Seleukios', and other similar formulations. See Nock 1928: 41–2; Wilamowitz 1931–2: ii. 263 n. 1. Cf. 'Herakles Diomedonteios' ('Herakles of Diomedon': *SIG* 1106.A.2, Cos *c*.300 BC). For parallels, compare Athena Iasonia (A.R. 1.960; see Farnell 1921: 410 no. 77); Zeus Hekaleios (Plut. *Thes.* 14.2; see Kearns 1989: 95, 121–2, 157–8); Athena Aiantis (Paus. 1.42.4); Aphrodite Aineias (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1.50.4, 53.1). There is also e.g. Zeus Heraios, Zeus Areios, Zeus Aphrodisios, Zeus Damatrios, Athena Areia, Athena Hephaistia.

megalomania. Where the athlete emulates or is associated with more than one heroic or divine figure we may suspect a general elevation to the divine plane, rather than identification with a specific god.[113] The heroes whom the athletes are said to have emulated (Herakles, Achilleus) are generally distinct from the deities with whom they are associated in cult.

Athletes' honours

Another significant indication of the status athletes enjoyed in the fifth century is the honours they received.

Eiselasis

It was usual for an athlete victorious in the Panhellenic games to be conveyed in a procession into their city by chariot (*εἰσέλασις*).[114] A special saffron-coloured (or purple) tunic, *ξυστίς*, is mentioned as

[113] At Ar. *av.* 586, 716, the birds' claim to divine status is expressed through equation with multiple gods. On the Hellenistic ruler, see Smith 1988: 44 'single [*sc.* divine] attributes might sometimes have implied a cult association with the relevant god, but this was probably not normally the case . . . [C]ompound divine attributes . . . cannot be intended to signify complex syncretic assimilations of the king with various gods but rather indicate different aspects of his godlike power through the known vocabulary of divine equipment.' We should note, though, that there was throughout antiquity a preparedness to allow that the gods might act on earth in a concrete human form. Cf. Versnel 1987*b*: 44–6. See, in Homer: *Od.* 6.280–1, 17.484–7. In tragedy: Eur. *Ba.* 4–5; cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1500–1. In real life: Xerxes as Zeus (V BC): Hdt. 7.56.2; cf. Gorgias 82 B5a *VS*. Octavian as Mercurius (I BC): Hor. *carm.* 1.2.41–4; Nisbet and Hubbard 1970: 35. Barnabas and Paul as Zeus and Hermes (AD I): Acts 14:11–18; Hollis 1970: 108–9. Anthia as Artemis (AD II): Xen. Eph. 1.2.5–7; Weinreich 1968: 312 and n. 27; Connor 1987: 44; Sinos 1993: 83–4. Sostratos in AD II was 'called and thought to be Herakles': Lucian *Demon.* 1. See Harrison 2000: 86–7.

[114] Ar. *nub.* 69 *ὅταν σὺ μέγας ὢν ἅρμ' ἐλαύνῃς πρὸς πόλιν*, 'when you are grown-up and drive your chariot to the city [or "acropolis"]'. Ael. *v.h.* 12.58 *Διώξιππος Ὀλυμπιονίκης ἀθλητής, ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἐσήλαυνε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας κατὰ τὸν νόμον τῶν ἀθλητῶν*, 'Dioxippos, an Olympic athletic victor, was driving his chariot into Athens, according to the custom of athletes' (IV BC: Moretti 1957: no. 458). Vitruvius *de arch.* 9 praef. 1 *nobilibus athletis, qui Olympia, Pythia, Isthmia, Nemea vicissent, Graecorum maiores ita magnos honores constituerunt, uti… cum revertantur in suas civitates cum victoria, triumphantes quadrigis in moenia et in patrias invehantur*, 'the ancestors of the Greeks have decreed such great honours for noble athletes, who had won the Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian, or Nemean games that . . . when they return to their cities with their victory, they are carried in triumph in chariots within the city walls and within their fatherland.' Diod. 13.82.7 (*sc. τὰ Ὀλύμπια*) *νικήσαντος Ἐξαινέτου Ἀκραγαντίνου, κατήγαγον αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐφ' ἅρματος, συνεπόμπευον δ' αὐτῷ χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων συνωρίδες τριακόσιαι λευκῶν ἵππων*, 'when Exainetos the Acragatine had won [the Olympic games], they conveyed him to the city in a chariot, and apart from the others, three hundred two-horsed chariots of white horses escorted him.' This return of Exainetos (who won the *stadion* in 412 BC) is clearly on an exceptional scale; Diod. describes it to show the contemporary opulence of Acragas. In

being worn by a victor on this occasion.[115] This combination of arrival by chariot and wearing of a *xystis* is otherwise found with kings in the tragic theatre.[116] Dionysios I, tyrant of Syracuse who may have received divine cult in his lifetime, also adopted the *xystis*.[117] In Athens in 415 BC Diokleides, the false informant on the mutilators of the herms, was before his exposure conveyed in a chariot to the *prytaneion* 'as if he were the saviour of the city' (Andocides, *On the Mysteries* 45 *ὡς σωτῆρα ὄντα τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ ζεύγους ἤγον εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον*). These are revealing indications of the status imparted to the victorious athlete in the ceremony of his return.[118]

Another striking feature of this ceremony was the tearing down of a part of the city wall to permit the victorious athlete to enter there.[119] When the Emperor Nero returned to Rome in AD 68 after winning the chariot races at Olympia, he entered the city in a chariot through a breach in the wall, following an ancient 'custom' for victors in the crown-bearing games.[120] This extraordinary custom seems to mark out the victor as imbued with special power.[121]

general on the athlete's return, see Versnel 1970: 155–61, 384–96; Lonis 1979: 299–307; Slater 1984: 244–7; Kurke 1993: 133–4. More generally for such returns or arrivals, see Peterson 1930; Alföldi 1970: 88–93; MacCormack 1981: 17–89 esp. 19, 281 n. 14. See further below, Ch. 9.

[115] Ar. *nub.* 70 *ξυστίδ' ἔχων*, 'with a *xystis*'. Cf. Σ Ar. *nub.* 70a *ξύστις τὸ κροκωτὸν ἱμάτιον, ὃ οἱ ἡνίοχοι φοροῦσι μέχρι τοῦ νῦν πομπεύοντες*, 'the *xystis* is a saffron-coloured tunic, which chariot-drivers wear to this day in processions'. Σ Ar. *nub.* 70b gives the colour as *πορφυροῦν*, 'purple'. Nero wears a 'purple garment' (*veste purpurea*) at his *eiselasis* at Rome (Suet. *Ner.* 25.1). It is unclear whether the wearing of the *xystis* would have been confined just to chariot victors.

[116] For tragic kings and the chariot, cf. Agamemnon's return to Argos: Aesch. *Ag.* 906, 1039. See Taplin 1977: 303 'a particularly triumphant entry'; MacCormack 1981: 19. For tragic kings and the *xystis*, see Σ Ar. *nub.* 70a *α*, *β*.

[117] Duris *FGrH* 76 F14; cf. Baton of Sinope *FGrH* 268 F4. For the chariot in addition, cf. his son Nysaios, Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F187. An argument for a divine cult of Dionysios is made by Sanders 1991.

[118] See further Sinos 1993: 74–8.

[119] According to Serwint 1987: 11–12, this was 'exceptional' in V–IV BC. Lonis 1979: 301–2 argues that the entry was through a special, walled-up gate, which was demolished for the purpose.

[120] Suet. *Nero* 25.1 [*sc. Neapolim, Antium, Albanum, Romam*] *albis equis introüit disiecta parte muri,* ***ut mos hieronicarum est***, 'He entered [Naples, Antium, Albanum, Rome] in a chariot drawn by white horses after a part of the wall had been dismantled, as is the custom for victors in the sacred games.' Dio Cassius *hist. Rom.* 63.20 *ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσήλασε, τοῦ τε τείχους τι καθηρέθη καὶ τῶν πυλῶν περιερράγη,* ***νενομίσθαι*** *τινῶν λεγόντων ἑκάτερον* ***τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων στεφανηφόροις γίνεσθαι***, 'when [Nero] arrived at Rome, a part of the wall was torn down and a part of the gates was broken, as certain persons said that it had been the custom for each of these to be done for those who bore crowns from the games'. Cf. Plut. *quaest. conv.* 2.5.2 639e.

[121] See Versnel 1970: 155–62, followed by Kurke 1993: 134 (the victor has 'magical' or 'talismanic' power). Compare the breaching of the walls of Troy to bring the supposedly

Garlanding, tainiai, *and* phyllobolia

It was usual for the victorious athlete to receive crowns (*στέφανοι*) and ribbons (*ταινίαι*), and to be showered with leaves or fruit (*φυλλοβολία*) by an admiring public.[122] The description of the treatment of two non-athletes in the fifth century BC shows that this treatment was standard for athletes. First, the treatment of Perikles in Athens in 439 BC: after his *Funeral Oration* delivered on the dead of Samos, '[Athenian women] clasped his hand and fastened crowns and ribbons on his head, like a victorious athlete' (Plutarch, *Life of Perikles* 28.4 *ἐδεξιοῦντο καὶ στεφάνοις ἀνέδουν καὶ ταινίαις ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴν νικηφόρον*). Second, the reception of Brasidas in Scione in 423 BC: 'they bound him with ribbons and approached him just like an athlete' (Thucydides 4.121.1 *ἐταινίουν τε καὶ προσήρχοντο ὥσπερ ἀθλητῇ*). The practice of *phyllobolia* is alluded to in victory odes of Pindar (*P.* 9.123–4) and Bacchylides (11.18–21).[123] A scholion on Euripides' *Hecuba* explains that 'Polyxena is showered with leaves, as if she had won in the games; for people were showered with leaves after victory' (Σ Euripides, *Hecuba* 573 *φυλλοβολεῖται δὲ ἡ Πολυξένη, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀγῶνι νικήσασα. ἐφυλλοβολοῦντο γὰρ μετὰ τὸ νικῆσαι*). The crowns and the *tainiai* seem to confer on the victor an almost sacred character.[124] As for the *phyllobolia*, Pythagoras was said to have 'urged people to compete in the games, but not to win, on the grounds that it was necessary to undertake the toils, but to avoid the envy arising from victory, for it transpired in various ways that those who won and were showered with leaves were not holy' (Porphyry, *Life of Pythagoras* 15–16 *καίτοι γε προϊὼν τῇ σοφίᾳ ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἀθλεῖν μὲν παρῄνει, νικᾶν δὲ μή, ὡς δέον τοὺς μὲν πόνους ὑπομένειν, τοὺς δ' ἐκ τοῦ νικᾶν φθόνους φεύγειν· συμβαίνειν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως μηδ' εὐαγεῖς εἶναι τοὺς νικῶντας καὶ φυλλοβολουμένους*). The arousal of 'envy', including from the gods, and the 'unholy' nature of the athlete who was so honoured, reveal the potential religious significance of the action. In myth, heroes

talismanic Trojan horse inside: *Ilias parva* p. 53.29–30 *EGF*; Virg. *Aen.* 2.234, with Austin's note ad loc. Differently, Lonis 1979: 302 (the victor is being treated like a god in being made to enter through a special gate).

[122] On the crowns, see Blech 1982: 145–53 esp. 151; Kurke 1993: 131–2, 137–41. On *tainiai*, see Blech 1982: 113–14; Slater 1984: 245–7. On *phyllobolia*, see Buhmann 1975: 104; Blech 1982: 112–14; Serwint 1987: 12–13.

[123] Cf. Plut. *quaest. conv.* 8.4.1 723c for pelting victors with 'apples and pomegranates'.

[124] On the quasi-religious implications of the crown, cf. Lonis 1979: 30; Hornblower 1996: 385. Differently, Serwint 1987: 13. On the religious implications of *tainiai*, see Hsch. s.v. *ταινία(ι)· στέμματα τῶν ἱερέων, διαδήματα ἀρχιερατικά, ἢ ζῶναι, ἢ στέφανοι, κόσμοι, ἢ δεσμοὶ ἱεροί.*

may be so honoured after they have just accomplished heroic feats: Iason after yoking the fire-breathing oxen of Aietes (*P.* 4.239–40), Orestes and Pylades after killing Aigistheus (Euripides, *Elektra* 880–9), and Theseus after fighting the Marathonian bull (Callimachus, *Hekale* fr. 69.11–15 Hollis). Crowns and *phyllobolia* were appropriate for heroes. In Pindar's eighth *Pythian* the laudator can say, 'I shower [the hero] Alkmaion with crowns' (57 *Ἀλκμᾶνα στεφάνοισι βάλλω*).[125] Historical persons other than athletes could receive these honours in the Archaic and Classical periods: Aristomenes in Andania (Pausanias 4.16.6, seventh century BC?), Empedokles in Sicily (Empedokles, 31 B112 *VS*, mid-fifth century BC), Themistokles in Sparta (Herodotus 8.124.2, 480 BC), Brasidas in Scione (Thucydides 4.121.1, 423 BC), Alkibiades in Athens (Plutarch, *Life of Alkibiades* 32.3, 410/9 BC), and Dion in Syracuse (Plutarch, *Life of Dion* 29.1, 357 BC). A religious element seems to be present in these cases too (see further below, Chapter 9).

Sitesis

Athletic victors could be rewarded with the privilege of lifelong feasting in the prytaneion (*σίτησις*).[126] This was an exceptional honour (Cicero, *De Oratore* 1.54.232 *qui honos apud Graecos maximus habetur*).[127] The significance of this, when combined (as it was for athletes) with a chariot procession and garlanding, is well illustrated by Andocides' comment on the Athenians' treatment of Diokleides in 415 BC: 'they garlanded Diokleides and led him, as if the saviour of the city, in a chariot to the prytaneion and he would dine there' (*On the Mysteries* 45). Other recipients of *sitesis* in Athens were the descendants of the heroized Harmodios and Aristogeiton.[128] The honour of *sitesis* has been argued to have religious roots; it has been compared with the religious practice of calling gods or heroes to a civic feast (*theoxenia* or

[125] On crowns in hero cult, cf. Hdt. 6.69.3; *IG* XII.iii.330.188. The athletic victor could dedicate his crown to a local hero: cf. *O.* 9.112, *N.* 5.53–4, *N.* 6.17–18 (see above, Ch. 4).

[126] In Athens: *IG* I^3.131 (440–432 BC?); Eur. fr. 282.15 Nauck; Plat. *apol.* 36d6–11, *resp.* 465d2–7; Timocles 8.16–18 *PCG*; Ps.-Andoc. 4.31. Elsewhere: Xenoph. 2.14 *IEG*; Plut. *brut. rat. uti* 13 970b; Ael. *de anim.* 6.49; Callisthenes *FGrH* 124 F48. Paros: *IG* XII.v.274, 281, 289. Ceos: *IG* XII.v.1060. In general on *sitesis*, see: Bowra 1964: 185; Buhmann 1975: 111–12; Miller 1978*a*: 7–8; Osborne 1981; Henry 1983: 275–8; Serwint 1987: 13–15; Kyle 1987: 145–7; Schmitt Pantel 1992: 145–68; Kurke 1993: 159 n. 40.

[127] Ar. *eq.* implies that the honour of *sitesis* was devalued by being granted to Kleon after the Pylos campaign of 425 BC (verses 281, 573–6, 709, 766, 1404–5).

[128] See *IG* I^3.131; Isae. 5.47; Dinarch. 1.101. On the hero cult of the tyrannicides, see Kearns 1989: 55, 150; Garland 1992: 94–6; Parker 1996: 136 and n. 55 (sceptically).

heroxenia).[129] The custom of *sitesis* for athletic victors can be compared to the feasting at public expense of Spartan kings, who had something of a heroic status (Herodotus 6.57.1–2).[130] We might also compare the public feasting of the *basileis* in Homeric epic (*Iliad* 12.310–12).

The victor statue

According to the elder Pliny, it was the 'custom' for statues of all who had won at Olympia to be dedicated there (*Natural History* 34.16 *omnium qui vicissent* [sc. *Olympiae*] *statuas dicari mos erat*). This 'custom', however, cannot have been unvarying; Pausanias tells us that there were not statues of all Olympic victors in the Altis (6.1.1). The statues were generally in the *kouros* style; the material used was mostly bronze.[131] Olympic victors were apparently one of the first subjects of Greek monumental sculpture.[132] It has been suggested that such statues showed their subjects in a heroic light.[133] Gods and heroes were the regular subject of monumental statuary. According to Pliny, the Greeks did not make statues of men 'unless they had earned eternal preservation for some illustrious reason, especially victory in the sacred games, in particular Olympia' (*Natural History* 34.16).[134] He adds that the Athenians first granted public statues to Harmodios and Aristogeiton (*Natural History* 34.17).[135] The collocation of the statues of Olympic victors with those

[129] Krummen 1990: 121–2, esp. 121 '[religiöse und politische *xenia* lassen sich] keineswegs scharf trennen . . ., da der Brauch im Religiösen wurzelt'. Cf. Schultheß in *RE* s.v. '*Σίτησις*' 389.17–20 'Die Speisung [im Prytaneion] war nicht selten mit Opfern verbunden, wie denn überhaupt diese Bewirtung einen vorzugsweise religiösen Charakter gehabt zu haben scheint.'

[130] For the posthumous heroic status of Spartan kings, see Ch. 11. Spartan elders could also be publicly feasted: Plut. *Lyc.* 26.7.

[131] *Kouroi*: Lattimore 1987: 253–4. Bronze: Herrmann 1988: 121, 139–40 n. 17. In general on victor statues, see Burckhardt 1998: 179–80; Lippold 1923; Buhmann 1975: 59–67, 107–9; Lattimore 1987; Serwint 1987; Raschke 1988; Herrmann 1988; Kurke 1993: 141–9; Rausa 1994.

[132] Burckhardt 1998: 179; Lippold 1923: 2265.6–9; Buhmann 1975: 59; Herrmann 1988: 120. Paus. 6.18.7, ascribing the first victor statues at Olympia to Praxidamas and Phexibios (victors in 540 and 532 BC), may be in error. Cf. id. 6.15.8, a statue of Eutelidas, victor in 628 BC. See Lippold 1923: 2265.57–2266.9; Buhmann 1975: 59 n. 6; Herrmann 1988: 120. Differently, however, Hodkinson 1999: 165, 180–1 n. 39, arguing that Eutelidas' statue was only made in V BC.

[133] According to Spivey 1996: 109, the intentions of *kouroi* were 'always heroizing'; cf. id. 1995: 453; Raschke 1988: 39; Stewart 1990: i. 110; Vernant 1991*c*: 161; cf. Kurke 1993: 149; Golden 1998: 84. Differently, Stewart 1990: i. 78, 79.

[134] Cf. Dio Chrys. 31.94 (*sc.* *εἰκὼν οὐ δίδοταί τινι*) *ἐπὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς οἷόν τε ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις*, '[a statue is not granted to someone] for just any deeds, but for the greatest ones possible'.

[135] Cf. Aristot. *rhet.* 1368a17–18.

of the tyrannicides is consistent with the view that the former were being shown as heroes.[136] The *kouroi* of Kleobis and Biton which were dedicated by the Argives at Delphi in the first half of the sixth century were probably meant to show these paragons of Argive virtue as heroes (Herodotus 1.31.5).[137] The voting of a public statue for a historical person may often have had an implication of heroization.[138]

For the significance of the victor statue, a distinction made by Pausanias is of importance (5.21.1).[139] This is the distinction between those statues at Olympia dedicated to a divinity (*ἀναθήματα*) and those honouring humans (*ἀνδριάντες*, *εἰκόνες*). Pausanias denies this distinction for the Athenian acropolis, claiming that there all statuary, *andriantes* included, were dedications. In the Olympian Altis, by contrast, the *andriantes* of the victors were not dedicated to a divinity, but were accorded the victor 'as an additional form of prize'. Scholars are divided on whether Pausanias' distinction holds for the Archaic and Classical periods.[140] Opinions have diverged on two crucial questions: (1) who it was that the victor statues honoured: (a) the victor or (b) the god of the Olympic sanctuary (Zeus); and (2) who it was that the statues portrayed: (a) the victor or (b) an athlete in general? To settle on both (1)(b) and (2)(b) would entail that victor statues at Olympia were in the early fifth century BC ordinary *anathemata*: then Pausanias' distinction fails. The alternatives must be weighed.

The fact of the statues' location in Zeus' sanctuary has been taken as an argument for (1)(b). On this view, statues placed in Zeus' sanctuary must serve to honour Zeus.[141] This argument is apparently supported by the presence of *ὁ δεῖνα ἀνέθηκε*, 'so-and-so dedicated [it]', found on some early fifth-century BC statue bases.[142] These inscriptions would apparently indicate that the statues were 'dedicated' to the god. In

[136] On the association of tyrannicides and athletes, see Rausa 1994: 16; cf. *IG* I³.131.4–18; Lycurg. *in Leocr.* 51.

[137] See Kurke 1993: 154; Rolley 1994: i. 168–70; Spivey 1996: 108–9.

[138] Cf. Dio Chrys. 31.98 *μὴ . . . ἡγεῖσθε . . . τῶν . . . παρ' ὑμῖν* (*sc.* *εἰκόνι*) *τετιμημένων μηδένα θεοφιλῆ εἶναι μηδὲ ἥρωα*, 'of those who have been honoured in your city [with a statue], don't think that none is dear to the gods or a hero'.

[139] See Lippold 1923: 2266.47–2267.35; Rolley 1994: i. 22–3.

[140] The distinction holds, according to Lattimore 1987: esp. 248, 255; Golden 1998: 85; Hodkinson 1999: 174–5. The distinction does not hold, according to Amandry 1957: 69–70; Gross 1969: 64; Herrmann 1988: 134, 147 n. 75.

[141] Herrmann 1988: 134.

[142] For these *ἀνέθηκε*–inscriptions, see Ebert 1972: no. 14 (Tellon, 472 BC), no. 16 (Euthymos, after 472 BC), pp. 251–5 (Kleombrotos, 1st half vi BC). See Amandry 1957: 70 and n. 29; Lattimore 1987: 250–2; Herrmann 1988: 147 n. 75.

further support of (2)(b), it has been alleged that the inscriptional formulation *ἀνδριὰς τοῦ δεῖνος*, 'a statue of so-and-so', originally meant not 'a statue portraying X' (the way Pausanias and others took it), but 'a statue dedicated by X'.[143] Victor statues, moreover, as votives to the god, have been argued to portray generic athletic scenes rather than the victor himself.[144] This argument has been bolstered by the view that as *kouroi* as a whole lack individualizing characteristics, they lend themselves more to universalization than to particularization.[145]

However, it would be strange if Pausanias' distinction were refuted by the mere presence of *ἀνέθηκε* on statue bases. Pausanias will himself have seen many more *ἀνέθηκε*-inscriptions than are now extant, and he will have expected his readers to have opportunity to do likewise. There is a valid contrast to be made between 'honorific statues', *εἰκόνες* (publicly decreed to honour a human and set up in public places), and 'dedications' or 'votives', *ἀναθήματα* (set up by a state or individual in a sanctuary to honour a deity).[146] But there is a danger of oversimplification. Pausanias recognizes for the Altis a category of 'statues (*εἰκόνας*) dedicated (*ἀνατεθείσας*) not in honour of a deity, but as an accolade to the men themselves' (5.25.1). These, then, are in Pausanias' eyes public statues honouring men, but nevertheless situated in a sanctuary and dedicated. Pausanias lumps these together with the victor statues: 'I shall mix them up in my discourse on the athletes' (5.25.1 *λόγῳ σφᾶς τῷ ἐς τοὺς ἀθλητὰς ἀναμίξομεν*). At 5.21.1, Pausanias probably does not intend to deny that victor statues are dedications; his claim is not then invalidated by their location in the Altis and the presence of *ἀνέθηκε* in their inscriptions. Probably he intends that, although technically dedications to the god, these statues served in practice to glorify a human: a state of affairs which could not obtain on the Athenian acropolis.[147] Elsewhere Pausanias suggests

[143] So Amandry 1957: 69; cf. Gross 1969: 64.

[144] See Gross 1969: 70; Rausa 1994: 17.

[145] See Boardman 1991: 22; Stewart 1990: i. 109; Osborne 1998: 79.

[146] For the contrast, cf. Dio Chrys. 31.57 *ταῦτα . . . ἐστὶν ἀναθήματα· αἱ δὲ εἰκόνες τιμαί. κἀκεῖνα δέδοται τοῖς θεοῖς, ταῦτα δὲ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν*, 'these are *anathemata*; but the *eikones* are honours. The former are given to the gods, but the latter to great men.' *Eikones* are located in civic spaces, *anathemata* in religious spaces: ibid. 53 *τῶν εἰκόνων . . . ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ κειμένων*, 'the *eikones* placed on land which is public property'; 57 *τὰ . . . ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀναθήματα*, 'the *anathemata* in the temples'. *Eikones* feature again as 'honours', *τιμαί*, at Aristot. *rhet.* 1361a36.

[147] Nock 1972: i. 204 recognizes a category of *eikones* which were 'in practice meant to honour the ruler', but were 'at the same time in theory intended as a votive offering to the divinity'; Ebert 1972: 17–18. Hekatomnos' *εἰκών* was one of the *ἱερὰ ἀναθήματα* of the Carian city Mylasa: Tod 1948: no. 138.20–5 (367–354 BC).

that the victor statues are a subset of 'dedications' (6.1.2 *ἀναθημάτων . . . ἄλλων τε καὶ εἰκόνων*, 'the other *anathemata* and *eikones*'). Therefore, statues dedicated in a divine sanctuary might honour a human. They could apparently also represent him. Pliny takes victor statues to be 'of' the victor and still to be 'dedicated'.[148] This combination of features seems also to be Archaic and Classical. Several examples from those periods illustrate the possibility of a statue which (i) honours a person, (ii) represents that person (where *εἰκὼν τοῦ δεῖνος* denotes the person represented not the dedicator), (iii) is situated in a divine sanctuary, and (iv) has been 'dedicated'.[149] The individuals honoured in this way (Kleobis and Biton, Aristeas, Themistokles, Alkibiades, Lysandros, Konon) are a select group who at the very least may be said to come close to heroization. Such, then, is the company Olympic victors are in. The absence of such statues from the Athenian Acropolis is also consistent with this interpretation, given that Athens in the fifth century was more than usually resistant to heroizing historical persons.[150]

A high level of identification seems to have been possible between victor statue and victor (contrast (1)(b) above).[151] Kurke has called the victor statue the victor's 'talismanic double'.[152] The statue meticulously reproduced the victor's proportions (Lucian, *Pro Imaginibus* 11).[153] The

[148] At Plin. *h.n.* 34.16, *effigies hominum* means 'statues *representing* men'. In the same chapter, Pliny speaks of 'statues [of victors] being dedicated', *statuas… dicari*.

[149] Kleobis and Biton: Hdt. 1.31.5 *Ἀργεῖοι δέ* **σφεων** *εἰκόνας ποιησάμενοι* **ἀνέθεσαν** *ἐς Δελφούς*, 'the Argives made *statues of them* and *dedicated* them at Delphi'. Aristeas: Hdt. 4.15.4 *ἕστηκε ἀνδριὰς ἐπωνυμίην ἔχων* **'Αριστέω** *παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ ἀγάλματι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος*, 'there stands a statue with the label '*of Aristeas*' by the side of the very statue of Apollo'; cf. Hdt. 4.15.2. Themistokles: Plut. *Them.* 22.3 *ἔκειτο δὲ καὶ* **τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους** *εἰκόνιον ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἀριστοβούλης. καὶ φαίνεταί τις οὐ τὴν ψυχὴν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἡρωϊκὸς γενόμενος*, 'there was a little statue *of Themistokles* in the temple of [Artemis] Aristoboule, and he has the air of someone who is heroic not only in his soul but also in his appearance'. Alkibiades: Paus. 6.3.15 *εἰκὼν* **Ἀλκιβιάδου** *χαλκῆ παρὰ τῇ Ἥρᾳ* [*τῇ*] *Σαμίων ἐστὶν* **ἀνάθημα**, 'a bronze statue *of Alkibiades* by the side of Hera is a *dedication* of the Samians'. Lysandros: Paus. 6.3.15 *Σάμιοι μὲν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν . . ., Ἐφέσιοι δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν . . . τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος* (*sc.* **ἀνετίθεσαν τὸν Λύσανδρον**), 'the Samians *dedicated* [*a statue of*] *Lysandros* at Olympia and the Ephesians at the temple of Artemis'. Konon and Timotheos: Paus. 6.3.16 **Κόνωνα ἀνακείμενον** *χαλκοῦν καὶ* **Τιμόθεον** *ἐν Σάμῳ τε ἔστιν ἰδεῖν παρὰ τῇ Ἥρᾳ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παρὰ τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ θεῷ*, 'it is possible to see a bronze [*statue of*] *Konon* and [*of*] *Timotheos* which has been *dedicated* in Samos by the side of Hera and similarly in Ephesus by the side of the Ephesian goddess'. Statue of Skylli(a)s as an *anathema* of Amphictyones at Delphi: Paus. 10.19.2. Statue of Astylos of Croton in the sanctuary of Hera Lakinia: Paus. 6.13.1. Cf. Lonis 1979: 308.

[150] Differently, Herrmann 1988: 147 n. 75, who disputes the difference between the Olympian Altis and the Athenian Acropolis.

[151] See Lattimore 1987: 248. Note the use of the first person of the victor in the epigrams: Kurke 1993: 147–8. In general, see Vernant 1991*c*: 162–3.

[152] Kurke 1993: 146, 149.

[153] Cf. the epigram Ebert 1972: 251 *Fίσο(μ)μâκός τε πάχος τε*. It seems that at Σ *O.* 7 Inscr. b (= Aristot. fr. 586 Gigon) Diagoras' size was calculated from his statue.

lack of iconographic individualization is no obstacle to the victor statues representing an individual victor, especially when he was named in the inscription.[154] *Kouroi* and other *eikones* could characterize to varying degrees.[155] An especially high degree of identification between victor statue and victor is attested for three-time Olympic victors. According to Pliny, these received 'iconic' statues in which 'the likeness was fashioned from the limbs of the athletes themselves' (*Natural History* 34.16).[156] Realistic portraits existed in Greek statuary from at least the mid-fifth century BC.[157] Idealizing and realistic representations coexisted: it seems that it was the function or purpose of the representation which determined the choice between the two, rather than art-historical factors.[158] It is tempting to see extreme realism as indicating a heightened interest in the person portrayed; this interpretation would suit both the three-time Olympic victors and Pindar, the subject of the earliest extant realistic portrait, as well as the recipient of a posthumous hero cult.[159] This interpretation would also suit the portraits of Pausanias the Regent and Lysandros.[160]

Athletes could also be voted a public statue in their hometown, often in the agora.[161] Athens again provides a contrast, for alone of Greek cities Athens did not erect statues of *στεφανῖται* (victors in the crown-conferring games) in its agora (Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates* 51).

[154] See Burckhardt 1998: 179.

[155] It has been suggested that the *kouroi* of Kleobis and Biton were characterized by their ankle boots: Raschke 1988: 39; Stewart 1990: i. 109; Spivey 1996: 109. Plut. *Them.* 22.3 seems to imply an attempt by the artist to convey the heroic spirit and appearance of Themistokles. For the realistic representation of *ἦθος* in V BC, see Xen. *mem.* 3.10.3–5; Aristot. *pol.* 1340^{a}37–8, *poet.* 1450^{a}27–8.

[156] On Pliny's phrasing and the meaning of 'iconic', cf. Rausa 1994: 19–29 (differently, Gross 1969). Miltiades, Kallimachos, Datis, Ataphernes receive 'iconic' portraits in the Stoa Poikile of *c.*460 BC: Plin. *h.n.* 35–57.

[157] Pindar's portrait: Himmelmann 1993; Zanker 1995: 13 and Figs 7–8, 27–8.

[158] Himmelmann 1993: 56. (Contrast Cartledge 1987: 86.)

[159] Himmelmann 1993: 57 sees this portrait of Pindar rather as an expression of *γνῶθι σεαυτόν*. But for Pindar's extraordinary status, cf. below Ch. 13 (honours at Delphi, before and after his death). Pindar's special status is also shown by the treatment of his house when Thebes was sacked in 479 and 335 BC: *vit. Pind.* I.2.10–14 Drachmann, *vit. Thom.* I.5.11–16 Drachmann, *vit. metr.* I.9.13–15 Drachmann, Eustath. *prooem.* 28 = III.300.13–19 Drachmann; Arr. *ana.* 1.9.9–10; Plin. *h.n.* 7.29; Dio Chrys. 2.33. The notice posted on Pindar's house, *Πινδάρου τοῦ μουσοποιοῦ τὴν στέγην μὴ καίετε* can be compared to Peukestas' notice on a priest's house at Saqqara, *c.*331–323 BC: *μὴ παραπορεύεσθαι μηδένα· ἱερέ{ι}ως τὸ οἴκημα* (Turner and Parsons 1987: 136). Pindar's sanctity as *μουσοποιός* was akin to that of a *ἱερεύς*: Arr. *ana.* 1.9.9–10; Plut. *Alex.* 11.12. Compare the sanctity of Pythagoras' house: Iambl. *vit. Pyth.* 143; Timaeus *FGrH* 566 F131.

[160] Cartledge 1987: 85–6, 342. See below Ch. 9 for Lysandros and Pausanias.

[161] Buhmann 1975: 107.

Before Konon was so honoured in 394 BC, the tyrannicides were the only historical persons in Athens thus honoured (Demosthenes, *Against Leptines* [20] 70). To receive a statue in the agora brought one close to heroization.[162] Athens' reluctance to erect statues of contemporaries in the agora is therefore consonant with her reluctance to heroize contemporaries in the Classical period.[163]

Statues could have numinous qualities in antiquity.[164] Ancient statues could be felt, in the fifth century BC and later, to have 'divine' qualities.[165] Athletes' statues often became a focus for cultic attention, and were sometimes ascribed miraculous powers.[166] Cult was performed at the statues of Theogenes and Euthymos.[167] Olympic victors from Achaea garlanded the statue of Oibotas (Pausanias 7.17.14). Euthykles' statue was honoured equally to Zeus' (*Diegesis* II.5 to Callimachus *Aetia* 3.84–5). The statues of Poulydamas and Theogenes in Olympia worked cures (Lucian, *Council of the Gods* 12; Pausanias 6.11.9).[168] An extant athlete statue of the third–second century BC, the so-called 'Terme Boxer', shows traces of having been rubbed in antiquity, evidently for its numinous powers.[169] Theogenes' statue supposedly killed his enemy (Pausanias 6.11.6).[170] Euthymos' statues in Locri and Olympia were allegedly struck by lightning on the same day (Callimachus fr. 99 Pfeiffer).

The victory ode

The implications of the victory ode for the religious status of the athletic victor is the subject of this book as a whole; here only some very brief remarks will be offered. The celebrations attending an athletic victory have probable antecedents in those following a military

[162] e.g. Aristeas' statue in the agora at Metapontum: Hdt. 4.15.4. Statues of the tyrannicides in the Athenian agora: Parker 1996: 136. Statue of Mausolus in the agora at Erythrai: Hornblower 1982: 255, cf. 107 n. 4. See in general: Buhmann 1975: 109; Richter 1984: 15–17.

[163] See Deneken 1884–90: 2441–589; Foucart 1918: 116; Rohde 1925: ii. 361; Loraux 1986: 39; Parker 1996: 276 and n. 85.

[164] Clerc 1915: *passim* esp. 37–45; Mossman 1991; Spivey 1995; id. 1996: 7–11.

[165] Aesch. T114 *TGrF*; Paus. 2.4.5, 10.19.3.

[166] Farnell 1921: 362, 363; Raschke 1988: 39–40.

[167] Theogenes: see Salviat 1956: 156–9; Pouilloux 1994: 205. Euthymos: note the depiction on herms from Locri of a statue of Euthymos (as a man-faced bull) with the inscription *Εὐθύμου ἱερά* ('rites of Euthymos'?) on its base; a knife in the vicinity of the statue also indicates cultic acts: Costabile 1991: 195–238.

[168] Cf. Herakles' statue at Hyettos: Paus. 9.24.3.

[169] Himmelmann 1989: 20; Decker 1995: 130 and 131 Ill. 56. Date: Smith 1991: 62.

[170] Cf. Mitys' statue: Aristot. *poet.* 1452^{a}7–10, *mir. ausc.* 846a; Plut. *de ser. num. vind.* 8 553d.

victory.[171] The Achaeans sang a paean after the killing of Hektor (*Iliad* 22.391–2); in the fifth century, paeans were sung after the battle of Salamis (Timotheus 791.197–201 *PMG*); and in the fourth century, Philippos II celebrated a victory with sacrifices, feasting, and singing of paeans (Demosthenes, *On the False Embassy* [19] 128). By the fifth century, at the latest, there was a clear perception that victory in the games was an occasion for song: 'victory in the games especially loves a song' (*N.* 3.7 *ἀεθλονικία δὲ μάλιστ' ἀοιδὰν φιλεῖ*). Songs for victorious athletes were certainly being composed in the late sixth and early fifth centuries by Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides; it is possible moreover that Ibycus was already composing victory odes in the sixth century (S166, S220, S221).[172] The fifth-century practitioners of the genre could present the tradition as stretching back into the distant mythical past, so that songs celebrating victory in the games were as old as the games themselves (*O.* 10.76–7, *N.* 8.50–1).

Historical victory odes were probably performed in most cases by a chorus (see above, Chapter 1). Choral song, like statuary, regularly had gods and heroes as its subject: it was a typically religious mode of celebration.[173] Victory odes could be performed at the festival of a god or hero (see above, Chapter 1), and could praise the victor in conjunction with gods and heroes (e.g. *O.* 2.2, *N.* 1.8–9).[174] The victory ode could thus be seen as another means of putting the victor in the company of the divine.[175] Various formal features of victory odes seem to have been taken over from hymns to the gods.[176]

Athletes in battle

Victors in the crown-conferring games would sometimes assume a special position in the battle phalanx. In Sparta, victors in the crown-conferring games would fight near the king, who led the army out

[171] See Burnett 1985: 38, 43, 171–2 n. 3; cf. Buhmann 1975: 104. Pritchett 1971–91: iii. 186–92; Stehle 1997: 55–6. On the diachronic development of the victory ode, see Fränkel 1975: 434–5; Bernardini 1992: 968–72.

[172] Barron 1984: 20–2; Jenner 1986; Bernardini 1992: 969–71; Hutchinson 2001: 323, 327.

[173] See esp. Burkert 1985a: 103. Cf. Burnett 1985: 38; Pettersson 1992: 52–5; Lonsdale 1993: *passim*; Henrichs 1995: 59; Carey in *OCD* s.v. 'lyric poetry', p. 900.

[174] See Bowra 1961: 8–9; Fränkel 1975: 434–5.

[175] Cf. Pfister 1909–12: 555–7.

[176] See above, Ch. 1 (on *N.* 1.8). Note especially the address of the laudandus with the imperative *χαῖρε*, 'hail': *P.* 2.67; cf. Theoc. 17.135 (but it is probably a toasting formula, 'cheers', at *N.* 3.76: see below, p. 295). Used of heroes: *I.* 1.32; Sim. 11.19 *IEG*. Taken over by the epinicians from hymns: Bundy 1962: 46–7; Boedeker 1998: 235–7.

(Plutarch, *Table Talk* 2.5.2 639e, *Life of Lykourgos* 22.4). The Olympic victor Milon led the Crotoniates out to battle against the Sybarites (Diodorus 12.9.5–6). This is reminiscent of the heroes of epic, who would fight 'in the front ranks', ἐνὶ (μετὰ) πρώτοισι (*Iliad* 12.315, 321, 324, etc.). A hero of cult could likewise be believed to head the army of the city which worshipped him.[177] After the Crotoniate army headed by Milon had defeated the Sybarites, although outnumbered three to one, Milon was said 'to have been the cause of the victory and to have been marvelled at among his fellow-citizens' (Diodorus 12.9.6 αἴτιον δὲ γενόμενον τῆς νίκης θαυμασθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις). The cause of victory was customarily ascribed to the gods and heroes.[178] There was a general resistance (especially evident in Athens) to seeing an individual rather the collective citizenry as responsible for a victory.[179]

Athletes frequently played a prominent role in military action and there is a pervasive parallelism between warfare and athletics.[180] Many ancient voices in fact condemn athletic training as providing an ineffectual preparation for war, yet even this current of criticism reveals the basic expectation that athletic prowess should translate into effectiveness in battle.[181] It is striking how often literary sources find it worth mentioning the athletic credentials of persons who distinguished themselves in battle. Thus Herodotus tells us that Eurybates, an Argive who won the pentathlon at Nemea (Pausanias 1.29.5), was *strategos* of a non-official force of Argives in the 480s or 490s; he distinguished himself in three bouts of single combat before being killed (6.92.2–3). Hermolykos, an Athenian pankratiast, was awarded the ἀριστεῖον at the battle of Mykale in 479 BC; he died in action *c.* 472 BC, in a subsequent Athenian campaign against Carystos (Herodotus 9.105). Philippos of Croton, 'an Olympic victor and most beautiful of the Greeks

[177] Aias (Oiliades) defends a place in the (Epizephyrian) Locrian phalanx: Conon *FGrH* 26F1.xviii; Paus. 3.19.12. Theseus headed the Athenians at Marathon: Plut. *Thes.* 35.8. Abderos leads out the Abderites to war: Pind. *pae.* 2.104–6. Dioskouroi and Spartans: Sim. 11.29–32 *IEG*. Cf. Sosipolis: Paus. 6.20.4–5.

[178] Hdt. 8.109.3 τάδε γὰρ οὐχ ἡμεῖς κατεργασάμεθα, ἀλλὰ θεοί τε καὶ ἥρωες. The hero Aristomenes at Leuctra: Paus. 4.32.4 μάλιστα γενέσθαι τοῦ ἀτυχήματος Λακεδαιμονίοις αἴτιον. See Habicht 1970: 236; Kearns 1989: 44.

[179] Plut. *Cim.* 8.1 (Miltiades after Marathon, Kimon after Eion); Hdt. 8.125.1, Plut. *Them.* 18.5 (Themistokles after Salamis). Cf. Aymard 1967: 62, 64 and n. 1.

[180] Lonis 1979.

[181] Tyrt. 12.1–12 *IEG*; Eur. fr. 282.19–23 Nauck (*Autolykos*); Plat. *resp.* 403e–404b; *legg.* 796a–b. Cf. Solon in D.L. 1.55; Diod. 9.2.5; Plut. *Solon* 23.3. Alexander quips at the failure of the v-BC Milesian athletes whose statues he saw in Miletus to defend their city against the Persians: Plut. *reg. et imp. apophth.*: *Alex.* 8 180a.

of his time', died on the expedition of the Spartan Dorieus, son of Anaxandridas, against the Phoenicians in Sicily in 508/7 BC (Herodotus 5.47). Phayllus of Croton, three-time Pythian victor, commanded a ship at the battle of Salamis (Herodotus 8.47; compare Tod 1946: no. 21). The Rhodian Dorieus, son of Diagoras, played a major part in the Peloponnesian war, during which his athletic distinction earned him a special reprieve from the Athenians (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 1.5.19; Pausanias 6.7.4–5; compare Thucydides 8.35.1). The inscription on the statue in the Altis of Chilon of Patrai mentions not just his athletic victories, but also the fact that he died in battle (either at Chaironeia in 338 BC or in the Lamian war of 322 BC) and was given public burial by the Achaeans (Pausanias 6.4.6). Several epitaphs found it worthwhile to add to the information that someone died in battle that they had been an Olympic victor.[182] Analogous to the important role played by athletes in warfare is their appointment as leaders of colonizing ventures.[183]

The athlete's aura

The legends told of athletes, the honours they were awarded, and the general aura they enjoyed all convey an impression of the superhuman or heroic. In Lucian's *Anacharsis*, when Solon tries to explain Greek athletics to the mystified Scythian sage Anacharsis, he speaks of 'the victor being considered equal to the gods' (10 *τὸν . . . νικήσαντα . . . ἰσόθεον νομιζόμενον*). But it is not clear how durable such an aura was for athletes: were such adoring attitudes a response to the athlete's person, or just the fleeting product of certain ceremonies, which marked well-defined, punctual occasions—the moment of victory, the crowning, and the homecoming of the athlete? There are certainly parallels for the latter possibility. The wedding ceremony shared several features with the treatment of athletes: there was a song in which the bridal couple were compared to the gods and heroes, there was *makarismos* and *phyllobolia*, and there was a procession by chariot. This ceremony put the bridal couple symbolically on a par with the heroes, but, crucially, only for a day.[184] Likewise in the Roman triumph the *triumphator* was

[182] *IG* v.i.708 (a Laconian tombstone of iii BC) *Εὐρυάδης | Ὀλυμπιονίκας | ἐμ πολέμωι*. Cf. Xenophon's 'epitaph' on the Spartan Lakrates (died 403 BC): Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.33. Cf. (in Boeotia) *IG* VII.1888b9, 10. See Stupperich 1977: 68; Hodkinson 1999: 170.

[183] e.g. Chionis, multiple Olympic victor and co-founder of Cyrene in vii BC (Paus. 3.14.3). See in general Kurke 1993: 136–7; Hodkinson 1999: 169.

[184] See Oakley and Sinos 1993: 23–4 (songs), 27 (*phyllobolia*), 30 (chariot procession).

'deified for the day'.[185] However, there are reasons to think that the elevation of the athletic victor went beyond this. It is important to note, first, the proliferation of occasions at which the athlete's aura could be recognized: at the moment of victory, at his homecoming, when he entered battle, and so on. Second, there are various indications that the athlete's special status endured for life: *sitesis* was a lifetime prerogative; Plato speaks of 'the most blessed life which Olympic victors live' (*Republic* 465d2–3 *τοῦ μακαρίστου βίου ὃν οἱ Ὀλυμπιονῖκαι ζῶσι*); and various other sources speak of the victor's glory remaining for a 'lifetime'.[186] The statue provided a permanent focus of attention for the athlete, and the growth of a legend around the athlete served to make his whole life extraordinary, from the moment of his conception to the time of his death (or disappearance). The glorification of an athlete seems to have had something to do with his status and person, and not just to have been the function of a few isolated ceremonies.

Conclusion

In this chapter the heroization of athletes has been seen as intimately related to their status as athletes. Theories which reduce the heroization of athletes to the need of the city to reinvent its recent history (F. Bohringer) or to re-establish purity and solidarity in the city (D. Boehringer) seem to neglect two important factors. First, that posthumous heroic honours for athletes seem to arise out of a treatment of them in their lifetimes that approximated them to the heroes.[187] Second, that athletes themselves often seem to have taken an active role in promoting their own heroization.

The fact that not all Panhellenic athletic victors were heroized may be thought a difficulty for the view that athletic victory constituted a 'category of heroization', analogous to founding a city or death in battle. It has been argued that, if Olympic victory were a ground for heroization, all Olympic victors would have been heroized.[188] But this

[185] Beard et al. 1998: i. 44. Cf. ibid. 142 'the triumph was by definition a temporary state; if the general stepped into Juppiter's shoes, it was just for a day'.

[186] *O.* 1.97–9 *ὁ νικῶν δὲ* **λοιπὸν ἀμφὶ βίοτον** | *ἔχει μελιτόεσσαν εὐδίαν* | *ἀέθλων γ' ἕνεκεν.* Bacch. 13.58–66 esp. 59–63 *[Νίκας] φ[ϵ]ρ[ϵ]κυδέος ἀν-* | *[στεφθϵ]ῖσιν ἄ[ν]θϵα* | *[χρυσϵ]αν δόξαν πολύφαντον* **ἐν αἰ-** | **[ῶνι]** *τρέφει παύροις βροτῶν* | **[α]ἰεί**. Cf. Vitruvius 9 Praef. 1 *ere … publica* ***perpetua vita*** *constitutis vectigalibus fruantur.*

[187] So Taeger 1957: 84; Burckhardt 1998: 174 'The honours even outlasted life itself and sometimes turned into a heroic cult.'

[188] Cf. Hönle 1972: 104 n. 5.

is to make too high a demand of a ground for heroization. It is enough that a ground for heroization sometimes lead to heroization, it is not necessary that it always do so. (The thesis that smoking causes lung cancer is not impugned by the finding that not every one who smokes develops lung cancer.) In the case of athlete heroizations, other factors, essentially political, must have made the critical difference.[189] To concede this is not to make athletes' cults merely a function of politics. Every act of heroization had a political dimension, for the simple reason that hero cult was, at bottom, an institution of the *polis* (see above, Chapter 1). Even the cults of city founders and of the war dead were contingent on politics. A founder's claim to cult was recognized only so long as it coincided with the city's political interests: following changes in the political climate, the cults of Hieron at Aitna-Catana and Hagnon at Amphipolis were abolished (Strabo 6.2.3 268; Thucydides 5.11.1). The recognition that an ordinary hoplite who fell in battle deserved cult was also contingent on the political ideology of a state at a particular time: hence the evolution of the heroization of the war dead was different at Athens than at Sparta (see above, Chapter 7). Likewise, if athletes' cults depended on politics, that does not entail that their cults, when they were instituted, were not instituted in recognition of the athletes' status as athletes. We may speculate as to how the political climate may have affected the process.[190]

Some city-states may have been particularly favourably disposed to the heroization of athletes. It is notable that two of the attested athlete heroizations, those of Euthymos and Euthykles, come from Locri. The Western Greek cities placed an especially high premium on athletic success in the sixth and fifth centuries. There were numerous conflicts between the Italian city-states in this period, in which athletic victors seem to have played an important part.[191] In such circumstances, it may have served the interests of the city-state to recognize the exceptional status of its athletic victors by instituting a hero cult; it seems to have been sufficiently in the interests of Locri for them to take the extra-ordinary step of heroizing Euthymos in his lifetime. It is further possible that Thasos, Theogenes' city, had a propensity to

[189] Cf. Habicht 1970: 173, 209.

[190] Regional differences in the treatment of athletes in the Greek world are examined by Mann 2001.

[191] Milon's part in Croton's defeat of Sybaris: Diod. 12.9.6. Euthymos' involvement in Locri's capture of Temesa: Strab. 6.1.5 255. Euthymos was associated with the river Kaikinos (Paus. 6.6.4; Ael. *v.h.* 8.18), an important territorial marker between Locri and Rhegium: Thuc. 3.99, 3.103.3, 3.115.5; *FGrH* 577 F2.9.

heroize historical persons in the Classical period: it was this city which, at the turn of the fifth century, proposed to make Agesilaos a god (see below, Chapter 9).[192]

On the other hand, other cities may have opposed heroization of athletes. Athens, again, seems to have been generally reluctant to heroize historical persons.[193] The exception made there for the tyrannicides and the war dead (see above, Chapter 7) is not likely to have been extended to athletes. Unlike other city-states, Athens did not erect statues of athletic victors in the marketplace (Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates* 51).[194] The 'Old Oligarch' portrays the Athenian *demos* as hostile to the aristocratic pursuit of athletics (Pseudo-Xenophon, *Constitution of Athens* 1.13).[195] In Sparta, there will have been different factors to inhibit athlete heroizations: there, excellence in the games was generally subordinated to excellence in battle.[196] Nevertheless, we hear of a cult of the Spartan wrestler Hipposthenes.

Within a particular city-state, various forces must have conspired for and against an athlete's heroization. The athlete himself, his family, and his supporters may have contributed to the athlete's heroization: the athlete himself in part through heroic imitation; his family and friends by spreading stories of his divine birth or superhuman feats.[197] Such initiatives could find a mixed reception. They might sometimes be caught up in the imagination of a public disposed to idealize athletes.[198] Alternatively, such popular enthusiasm could be outweighed by political antagonism between the masses and the elite: Callimachus, recounting the story of Euthykles, speaks of 'the *demos* always choking with anger at the rich' (fr. 85.7 Pfeiffer [δῆ]μος [ἐπ'] ἀφνειοῖς αἰὲν ἀπαγχόμενος).[199] Hostility could also come from

[192] See Flower 1988: 128–9.

[193] Cf. Kearns 1989: 5.

[194] But see Raubitschek 1939; Lonis 1979: 26–7.

[195] Cf. D. L. 1.55: Solon curbed the honours for athletes in relation to the war dead. For the resentment caused by Alkibiades' Olympic chariot victory of 416 BC, cf. Thuc. 6.16.1 (ἐπιβόητος); Plut. *Alc.* 12.2.

[196] Cf. Tyrt. 12.1–2, 10–20 *IEG*; Plut. *quaest. conv.* 2.5.2 639e, *Lyc.* 22.4. See Hodkinson 1999: 167–70.

[197] For the family as a source for some of the athlete legends, cf. Paus. 6.10.1–2 (Glaukos and his father). Demaratos' mother was the authority for the story of his heroic birth: Hdt. 6.69.1–5. Plato's nephew Speusippos told of Plato's Apolline birth: D.L. 3.2. Cf. in general Eur. *Ba.* 334–6, where Kadmos tells Pentheus he should put about the story that Semele bore the divine Dionysos to Zeus 'in order that honour might attach to us, the whole family' (ἵνα . . . | ἡμῖν . . . τιμὴ παντὶ τῷ γένει προσῇ).

[198] Cf. Xenoph. 2.6 *IEG*; *P.* 9.98–100, *P.* 10.57–9. See Slater 1984: 247–8.

[199] Cf. Boehringer 1996: 41, 46, 48.

aristocratic quarters, from political opponents of the athlete or of his family: the legend of Theogenes speaks of a political enemy (Pausanias 6.11.6; Dio Chrysostom, *Rhodian Oration* [31] 95–6, 99). Thus the heroization of athletes may have been a complex and unpredictable business, requiring a balancing of various forces. The activities of various athletes—in emulating Herakles, in their involvement in military and colonizing ventures—may perhaps be seen as part of a negotiation with the city; heroization was unlikely to ensue for an athlete who simply 'sat on his laurels'.

We may also consider the possible effect of interstate rivalry on the heroization of athletes. In the victory proclamation at Olympia, the city's name was proclaimed before participants at the festival from all over the Greek world; hence the ethnic (*Συρακόσιος*, etc.) with which the athlete had himself proclaimed was crucially important.[200] The city's name could be permanently recorded in the epigram accompanying the victor statue; the statue's expense was for precisely this reason often undertaken by the city.[201] Thucydides has Alkibiades addressing the Athenian assembly emphasize the value of his Olympic chariot victory to the city (6.16.2). Cities, that is, were acutely conscious of the potential of their athletes for their own self-advertisement. To be able to boast an Olympic victor who had on oracular authority become a hero must have been a still greater coup.[202] It is inherently likely that for some cities interstate competition had an inflationary effect on athlete heroizations. Other states, for example Athens, may have pointedly stayed aloof from such competition.

Naturally we would like to be able to quantify the athlete heroizations of the fifth century. It is often suggested that these cults were vanishingly rare: scholars point to just 5 or 9 heroized athletes out of a total of some 800 known Olympic victors.[203] But in such fractions both denominator and numerator are distorted. The figure 800 represents known Olympic victors from all antiquity, yet in our context we should be interested only in victors from the fifth century.[204] Generously

[200] Note the consequences of the Crotoniate runner Astylos having himself proclaimed a Syracusan (Paus. 6.13.1) and the significance of Hieron having himself proclaimed an Aitnaian rather than a Syracusan (*P.* 1.32–3; Σ *P.* 1 p.5.10–13 Drachmann; Σ *P.* 1 Inscr. b; Σ *P.* 1.58).

[201] Herrmann 1988: 119, 138 n. 4.

[202] Cf. on the Argive dedication at Delphi of the statues of Kleobis and Biton, Spivey 1996: 109 'with these statues, the Argives are sending out messages to other city-states'.

[203] Gardiner 1916–17: 96 (5 out of 800); Mylonas 1943–4: 289; Bohringer 1979: 9; Serwint 1987: 19 (9 out of 800); Kurke 1993: 149–50.

[204] Cf. Bentz and Mann 2001: 237.

reckoned, the numerator may be as high as twelve (see above): a very sizeable tally of known heroizations in the Classical period for any category of historical persons. We must remember, of course, that these are only known heroizations, and that the documentation for heroizations of historical persons as a whole probably falls significantly below the reality (see p. 87). Certainly, we are not entitled to assume that any Olympic victor for whom we lack notice of a cult did not receive one.[205] The fallibility of this argument from silence is obvious; it can be demonstrated from the text of Pausanias, our most informative source on athlete heroizations. Pausanias informs us of the cults of Hipposthenes, Orrhippos, Kleomedes, and Theogenes, but he does not tell us of those of Euthymos or Poulydamas, even though he treats these athletes at length; nor does he mention the story of Diagoras' divine birth, although he records those of Theogenes and Euthymos. The transmission of information about the athletes' cults was evidently a haphazard affair, even in a text like Pausanias' description of the Altis, where such information is thoroughly apposite. The conclusion also goes for other heroized historical persons.[206]

We should probably not attach too much weight to the argument from numbers for the heroization of athletes; but there is another consideration which should be allowed some weight. We have seen that a significant number of athletes of the fifth century emulated heroes; these include athletes for whom no cult is attested, such as Milon and Timanthes. Such emulation of heroes by athletes is plausibly interpreted as a bid on the part of those athletes for their own (posthumous) hero cult. This may in one sense be an even more significant datum than the mere tally of attested heroizations, for such behaviour seems to show that the athletes saw their own heroization as a real possibility, real enough to be worth striving for. Here the subjective aspect (see above, Chapter 1) of athlete heroizations has a crucial contribution to make to our evaluation of the whole phenomenon. Exclusive concentration on the objective aspect creates the impression that athlete heroizations occurred at the whim of the city; coupled with

[205] This argument from silence is sometimes implicit; cf. Bohringer 1979: 7 'on . . . accorda [à Milon] de nombreux honneurs, mais aucun culte'; Serwint 1987: 23.

[206] Loraux 1986: 371 n. 265 maintains that 'Herodotus . . . mentions any burial place that departs from the norm'. However, Hdt. 4.159.1 gives no indication of a cult of Battos; we depend instead on *P.* 5.95. Contrast, on the evidence for founders' cults, Malkin 1987: 190 'when we do possess testimony of any sort, it exists usually because the case at hand is exceptional and particular to such a degree that the ancient historian . . . found it necessary to adduce some details.'

an insistence on the paucity of the attested cults, this encourages the conclusion that athlete heroizations were both rare and unpredictable, certainly outside the athlete's control. Recognizing the subjective aspect, however, enables us to see how heroization could appear a viable prospect from the athlete's perspective, not purely a precarious and arbitrary event following his death. It is, finally, worth recalling that heroization as a generalized possibility for athletes accords with the implications of Pindar fr. 133 as interpreted above.

9

Theios aner
Religious Attitudes to the Living in the Fifth Century

Introduction

In our study of the heroization of athletes the possibility was raised that the process of heroization might begin in the athletes' own lifetimes. This raises all sorts of questions; in particular, it has implications for the widespread view that a cult of the living (in the form of ruler cult) became common only after Alexander the Great.[1] The reasons for this watershed in the cult of the living have been sought in both the religious and political domain.

On the religious side, it is sometimes argued that the traditional piety of the Archaic and Classical Greeks had been significantly eroded by the Hellenistic period, so that distinctions which had previously had a powerful religious significance lost their force: notably, the distinction between man and god and between the living and the dead. The religious attitude of the earlier period is held to be epitomized by such statements as Apollo's rebuke of Diomedes in the *Iliad*: 'take heed, son of Tydeus, and give ground, and don't wish to have thoughts equal to the gods, since the breed of immortal gods and of men who walk the ground is in no way alike' (5.440–2), or by the Pindaric *gnome* 'seek not to become god' (*O.* 5.24), or again by the Delphic wisdom 'know yourself' (cited by Plato, *Philebos* 48d, and elsewhere).[2] This piety is judged to have been eroded in the fifth century and to have lapsed by the Hellenistic age.[3] But the Classical period may present a more differentiated picture than is frequently allowed: this chapter will consider Greeks who arguably received a religious treatment in their lifetime in the fifth century. Besides, we should be wary of painting

[1] e.g. Bosworth 1988: 278, id. 1994: 871.

[2] Nilsson 1948: 47–8; on Pindar, cf. id. 1967–74: i. 748.

[3] Nilsson 1925: 287; id. 1948: 84–91, cf. 72–8; id. 1967–74: ii. 137; Fears 1988: 1010; Green 1990: 397–8.

an exaggerated picture of the Hellenistic period as an age of religious decline.[4]

On the political side, it has been argued that in contrast to the Hellenistic period the political structures of the Archaic and Classical periods prevented anyone from attaining that pre-eminence within a community which was a necessary condition for a cult of the living.[5] The Peloponnesian war has also been seen as a catalyst, disturbing the balance of power within cities so that powerful individuals might, exceptionally, receive cult. It is this war that provides the context for the cults of Lysandros on Samos and of Brasidas and Hagnon in the Chersonese (see below).[6] The nature and the cogency of these obstacles to the worship of the living in the fifth century will be considered in this chapter.

Lysandros' lifetime cult

Lysandros is traditionally regarded as the first Greek to have received cult honours in his lifetime. The ancient authority for this view is the local historian Duris, quoted by Plutarch, who claimed that Lysandros on Samos in 404/3 BC was 'the first of the Greeks' (*πρώτῳ . . . Ἑλλήνων*) to receive divine cult in his lifetime (Plutarch, *Life of Lysandros* 18.2–4 = Duris *FGrH* 76 F71).[7] Duris was himself a Samian, active in the fourth to third centuries BC. His testimony indicates the divine character of Lysandros' cult through such phrases as *βωμοὺς . . . ἀνέστησαν ὡς θεῷ*, 'they set up altars to him as a god', *θυσίας ἔθυσαν* 'they made (divine) sacrifices', and *παιᾶνες ᾄσθησαν*, 'paeans were sung'. Moreover, Lysandros' festival, the Lysandreia, supplanted the Heraia. It is clearly Plutarch's understanding that these divine honours were paid Lysandros in his lifetime, for he records an anecdote in which Lysandros presides at the festival renamed in his honour (*Life of Lysandros* 18.4). It has been argued that Plutarch here goes beyond Duris,

[4] Cf. Parker 1996: 236–7, 280; Mikalson 1998: 302–3, 309–11, 315, and n. 29. Contrast e.g. Nilsson 1967–74: ii. 182 'Es bleibt dabei, daß der Herrscherkult eine Verfallserscheinung der griechischen Religion ist, der es an wirklich religiösem Gehalt mangelt.'

[5] Edson and Price in *OCD* s.v. 'ruler cult, Greek', p. 1337 'In the aristocratic society of the Archaic age, as in the Classical *polis* of the 5th cent(ury), no person could reach a position of such generally acknowledged pre-eminence as to cause the granting of divine honours to be thought appropriate.' Cf. Price 1984: 25–6; Cartledge 1987: 86; Fears 1988: 1018.

[6] Price 1984: 26; Cartledge 1987: 86; Fears 1988: 1010.

[7] Cf. Duris *FGrH* 76 F26. For a defence of Duris' testimony, see Habicht 1970: 244–5, 271. Differently, Taeger 1957: 162–4.

who took Lysandros' honours to have been paid only posthumously.[8] However, the phrase *πρώτῳ . . . Ἑλλήνων* surely goes back to Duris, and it is highly unlikely that Duris saw Lysandros as the 'first of the Greeks' to receive posthumous divine cult, a title for which there were many earlier contenders.[9] A Samian inscription also bears witness to the Lysandreia, but it is debatable whether this shows that the festival was celebrated in Lysandros' lifetime.[10]

An important sidelight is thrown on Lysandros' Samian cult by the offer made nearly contemporaneously (perhaps around 394 BC) by the Thasians to honour Agesilaos with a divine cult (Plutarch, *Sayings of the Spartans* 25 210d).[11] The divine character of this proposed Thasian cult for Agesilaos is shown by such terms as *ναοῖς*, 'temples', *ἀποθεώσεσι*, 'deifications'. Unlike Lysandros, though, Agesilaos declined the cult.[12]

Hero cult and the cult of the living

For Plutarch and Duris, Lysandros was the first Greek to receive divine cult in his lifetime. This raises the question whether he was the first Greek to be worshipped at all in his lifetime. This follows axiomatically if one accepts that hero cult is in its essence an elevated form of the cult of the dead: then the living cannot receive heroic, but only divine cult.[13] Thus, if Lysandros was the first Greek to receive divine cult in his lifetime, he was the first to receive cult honours at all in his lifetime.[14] On this view, there can be no middle ground between posthumous hero cult and the cult of the living.[15] The cult of the living can

[8] Badian 1982: 33–8 and 1996: 14 and n. 20.

[9] *πρώτῳ . . . Ἑλλήνων* goes back to Duris: cf. Badian 1982: 35. Earlier recipients of posthumous divine cult include Herakles (see e.g. Arr. *ana.* 4.11.7); Lykourgos (see Hdt. 1.66.1; Paus. 3.16.6; Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F118; cf. Shipley 2000: 158); Theogenes (Paus. 6.11.9, and see above, Ch. 8); Epimenides (D.L. 1.114). In general, see Flower 1988: 132; cf. Pfister 1909–12: 582–3.

[10] The inscription reads *παγκρατίωι τετράκις Λυσάνδρεια* (Homann-Wedeking 1965: 440 and Fig. 10). According to Habicht 1970: 243, 271, the pankration victories in question were won within Lysandros' lifetime. Differently, however, Badian 1982: 34.

[11] See Flower 1988.

[12] On such refusals of cult, cf. Price 1984: 73–4.

[13] So Rohde 1925: i. 150; Hornblower 1982: 254; Burkert 1985*a*: 205, 430 n. 29; Malkin 1987: 234; cf. Habicht 1970: 201 n. 11.

[14] *KP* III.831.20–2; Habicht 1970: 206 n. 51, 237; Davies 1993: 142.

[15] Bosworth 1996: 127 'The hero cult was primarily a cult of the dead, and differed radically from the honours paid to the gods . . . For a living man the hero cult was a contradiction in terms . . .'; Taeger 1957: 259, cf. 154. Cf. Davies 1993: 168; Bremmer 1994: 94; Edson and Price in *OCD* p. 1337.

have no history prior to Lysandros, its emergence must be sudden and unheralded.[16] But the underlying assumption here, that hero cult is just a heightened form of the cult of the dead, is questionable. It is obvious neither that the notion 'dead person' enters into the meaning of the Greek word ἥρως, nor that the rituals performed in hero cult were derived from those performed in the cult of the dead.

It is often assumed that a hero is someone who 'lived and died'. The basic meaning of ἥρως is accordingly taken to be something like 'dead human invested with special power'.[17] But an alternative possibility is that ἥρως means something like 'supernatural being subordinate to a θεός'.[18] It is possible that 'dead human invested with special power' in most cases *fixes the reference of* ἥρως without *giving its meaning*; in other words, that 'dead human invested with special power' is not synonymous with ἥρως.[19] If so, we would expect to find cases where the categories 'dead human invested with power' and ἥρως diverge. This is in fact what we find.

First, not every being to whom ἥρως is applied is a dead human (here we are only interested, of course, in the religious usage of ἥρως; the secular use, in Homer and elsewhere, is discounted). In particular, the feminine form may be applied to beings with a non-human character. In Aristophanes' *Clouds* Strepsiades wonders whether the clouds are 'heroines' (315 ἡρῷναι). Even if Strepsiades has not yet grasped their identity as 'heavenly Clouds, great goddesses to men' (316), it seems unlikely that he imagines them to be women of former times, now dead.[20] Likewise, the 'heroines' (ἡρῷσσαι) of Libya who manifest themselves to the Argonauts in Apollonius' *Argonautica* are without a human history (4.1308, 1322).[21] In a hymn of the Elean women, moreover, Dionysos is invoked as 'hero Dionysos' (*Carmina popularia* 871 *PMG* ἥρω Διόνυσε). Here too it is doubtful whether the title is meant to imply that Dionysos was ever a human.[22]

Second, humans could be called ἥρως in their lifetimes. This usage

[16] Farnell 1921: 368; cf. Cartledge 1987: 83–4; Davies 1993: 168; Badian 1996: 14.

[17] So Burkert 1992*b*: 547. Cf. Rudhardt 1958: 128; Nilsson 1967–74: i. 185–6; Hornblower 1982: 254.

[18] Nock 1944: 162; see above, Ch. 5.

[19] The italicized terms are borrowed from Kripke 1980: 55–6.

[20] Cf. *nub.* 340–4. See Nock 1972: ii. 596 n. 81; Kearns 1989: 1 and n. 10. Differently, Larson 1995: 22; Lyons 1997: 15 and n. 30.

[21] Cf. Larson 1995: 23.

[22] Plut. *quaest. Graec.* 36 299b. There are doubts about the reading: see Campbell 1982–93: v. 254–5. Cf. Pickard-Cambridge 1927: 13 and n. 2; Brelich 1958: 365–8.

is attested late, in the first century BC. It was used of Nikias the tyrant of Cos and the Emperor Augustus, among others.[23] It has thus been assumed that this usage represents a debasement of the original usage, made possible by a weakening of the religious force of the word ἥρως at a time when the word had become little more than an honorific title.[24] Against this it can be argued that the word ἥρως retained religious force until very late.[25] Moreover, a preparedness to see living persons as 'heroic' can be glimpsed already in the fourth century. Aristotle speaks of persons manifesting in their lifetimes a 'certain heroic excellence' (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1145a19–20 ἀρετὴν ἡρωϊκήν τινα). It is possible, then, that the first-century BC applications of ἥρως to living persons exploit a capacity that was always inherent in the word. In that case, there was nothing in ἥρως that *meant* 'dead person'.

Cult practices, too, do not bear out the view that the heroes were intrinsically associated with the realm of the dead, and dissociated from the Olympian gods.[26] Scholarship is currently divided over whether 'destruction sacrifices' (ἐναγίσματα), which approximated the heroes ritually to the dead, or 'participatory sacrifices' (θυσίαι), which approximated heroes ritually to the gods, were the more usual in hero cult.[27] A hard-and-fast distinction—ἐναγίζειν to the heroes, θύειν to the gods—has become increasingly suspect.[28] It seems that, while the rituals performed for some heroes might assimilate them to the dead, those performed for others might assimilate them to the gods.[29]

[23] Nikias of Cos, *c.* 88 BC: Paton and Hicks 1891: nos 76–80. The Emperor Augustus, in 10–9 BC: P. Oxy. 3020 col. ii.1 Καῖσαρ ἀνείκητε ἥρως. Cf. *Acta Diogenis* Musurillo VA.41 ἡρωΐδα ψυχήν (of the Emperor Vespasian?). See Hughes 1999: 172 n. 32; also Rohde 1925: ii. 356–7; *RE* VIII.1139.49–57; Nilsson 1967–74: ii. 144 and n. 1; Habicht 1970: 204; Fraser 1977: 166–7 n. 451.

[24] Rohde 1925: ii. 356 'Dieser Missbrauch des auf Lebende angewendeten Heroenkultes'; Nilsson 1957: 215 'die geläufige Erscheinung des Verblassens religiöser Worte in späterer Zeit'; cf. Taeger 1957: 48–9, 154.

[25] See Graf 1985: 134 'auch noch in der Kaiserzeit [konnte] . . . dem Begriff ἥρως religiöser Inhalt zukommen'; Hughes 1999: 170–2.

[26] Contrast Nilsson 1967–74: i. 186, speaking of hero cult 'in seinen ursprünglichen Formen', 'im eigentlichen Sinn', and 188 'die richtigen Formen' of hero cult as being derived from the cult of the dead. Cf. too id. 1967–74: ii. 136, where hero cult is said to be 'den Verstorbenen vorbehalten'. But note the (revealing) qualification at id. 1967–74: ii. 137 'Der Unterschied [zwischen dem Heroenkult und dem Götterkult] war überhaupt nie so scharf, wie er in der theoretischen Erörterung erscheint.'

[27] The two sides of the controversy can be followed in Scullion 2000 and Ekroth 2002.

[28] See Nock 1944: 143–8; Habicht 1970: 203–4; Hägg 1987: 99; Kearns 1989: 4; Bremmer 1994: 15 and 24 n. 23, 29 and 35 n. 13; Kearns in *OCD* p. 694; Larson 1995: 14; Scullion 2000; cf. id. 1994: 114–15; esp. Ekroth 2002: 129–213.

[29] Cf. Ekroth 2002: 330–2. Ekroth, however, assumes that a hero was always a dead person, even though his dead status was not always reflected in ritual.

If the correlation between the heroes and the dead, however frequent, is a contingent and not a necessary one, there is no *a priori* obstacle to the living receiving cult as heroes.[30] In fact, this is attested for a handful of individuals in the fifth and fourth centuries. The clearest case is that of Dion, who was voted *τιμὰς . . . ἡρωϊκάς* in his lifetime at Syracuse in 356 BC (Diodorus 16.20.6).[31] Before him, in the 430s and 420s BC, Hagnon may have received cult as a hero in his lifetime at Amphipolis (Thucydides 5.11.1; see below). After Dion, Alexander the Great was in 325 BC 'honoured with heroic honours' by the Indian tribe of Sambastai (Diodorus 17.102.4 *τιμαῖς ἡρωϊκαῖς . . . ἐτιμήθη*).[32] At the end of the fourth century, Demetrios Poliorketes apparently received heroic honours in his lifetime in Sicyon (Diodorus 20.102.3 *ἐψηφίσαντο . . . αὐτῷ . . . ἀπονέμειν τιμὰς ὡς κτίστῃ*, 'they voted to apportion him honours as a founder': founders typically received hero cult).[33] Three satellites of Demetrios were similarly honoured in Athens: we hear of 'altars and hero shrines and libations of Bourichos and Adeimantos and Oxythemis' (Democharès *FGrH* 75 F1 *Βουρίχου καὶ Ἀδειμάντου καὶ Ὀξυθέμιδος . . . καὶ βωμοὶ καὶ ἡρῷα καὶ σπονδαί*).[34]

There are good grounds, then, to resist the equation of a cult of the living with divine cult, and also to concede the possibility that the living might receive hero cult. In that case, if Lysandros was the first Greek to receive divine cult in his lifetime, it does not follow that he was the first to receive cult in his lifetime at all. Duris' claim perhaps needs to be given the right emphasis: construed as the claim that Lysandros was 'the first Greek to receive cult in his lifetime *as a god*,' it leaves open the possibility that others before Lysandros had received cult in their lifetime which fell short of divine cult. What, in Duris' eyes, may have been novel with Lysandros' cult was the fact that honours for a living person had been raised to an unprecedented level: divine rather than heroic honours.[35]

We may consider whether there is any evidence of persons before Lysandros receiving cult, heroic cult, in their lifetime. Two persons in particular merit close attention, Hagnon and Euthymos.

[30] So Badian 1982: 43; id. 1996: 14 and n. 18, 15; Hornblower 1996: 454. Differently, Taeger 1957: 154.

[31] See Habicht 1970: 10, 245.

[32] See Bosworth 1996: 127–9. We do not need to assume, with Bosworth, that this was a non-Greek rite. Cf. Malkin 1987: 192 and n. 17 for non-Greeks sacrificing to Greeks in a Greek way.

[33] See Habicht 1970: 204–5.

[34] See Habicht 1970: 204 and n. 48; Price 1984: 34; Schröder 1999: 41; Mikalson 1998: 88.

[35] Cf. Habicht 1970: 204–5, 211, 212.

Lysandros' precursors

Hagnon

In 437 BC, the Athenian Hagnon founded Amphipolis on the river Strymon in Macedonia. Thucydides' notice of the original foundation does not mention any cult of the still-living founder (4.102.2). However, it seems to be assumed in a later passage, describing the transfer of Hagnon's honours to the Spartan Brasidas, that such a cult was paid (5.11.1). This transfer occurred in 422 BC, when Hagnon was still alive, so any honours paid to Hagnon before that date must have been paid to him in his lifetime.[36] This latter passage, describing the burial of Brasidas, the institution of his hero cult, and the transfer of Hagnon's honours to him, is as follows:

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν Βρασίδαν οἱ ξύμμαχοι πάντες ξὺν ὅπλοις ἐπισπόμενοι δημοσίᾳ ἔθαψαν ἐν τῇ πόλει πρὸ τῆς νῦν ἀγορᾶς οὔσης· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ Ἀμφιπολῖται, περιείρξαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ μνημεῖον, ὡς ἥρωί τε ἐντέμνουσι καὶ τιμὰς δεδώκασιν ἀγῶνας καὶ ἐτησίους θυσίας, καὶ τὴν ἀποικίαν ὡς οἰκιστῇ προσέθεσαν, καταβαλόντες τὰ Ἀγνώνεια οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἀφανίσαντες εἴ τι μνημόσυνόν που ἔμελλεν αὐτοῦ τῆς οἰκίσεως περιέσεσθαι, νομίσαντες τὸν μὲν Βρασίδαν σωτῆρά τε σφῶν γεγενῆσθαι καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἅμα τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ξυμμαχίαν φόβῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων θεραπεύοντες, τὸν δὲ Ἄγνωνα κατὰ τὸ πολέμιον τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως σφίσι ξυμφόρως οὐδ' ἂν ἡδέως τὰς τιμὰς ἔχειν.

After this, all the allies, attending Brasidas in their armour, gave him public burial in the city, in front of what is now the marketplace. The Amphipolitans henceforth segregated off his memorial, and they perform blood sacrifices for him as a hero and have accorded him the honours of athletic contests and yearly sacrifices. And they attached the colony to him, as their founder, tearing down the buildings of Hagnon and erasing whatever reminder of the latter's founding of the city was likely to survive, considering that Brasidas had become their saviour, and simultaneously cultivating an alliance with the Spartans, in their fear of the Athenians; and considering too that Hagnon, because of the hostility of the Athenians, would not have the honours with as much benefit to themselves nor as pleasurably.

Thucydides describes the Amphipolitans as 'considering that Hagnon would not have the honours with as much benefit to themselves nor as pleasurably', *sc.* as Brasidas would have them (5.11.1 *νομίσαντες . . . τὸν Ἄγνωνα . . . οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως σφίσι ξυμφόρως οὐδ' ἂν ἡδέως* **τὰς τιμὰς** *ἔχειν*). Here, *τὰς τιμάς* picks up the *τιμαί* accorded the dead Brasidas: *ὡς ἥρωΐ τε ἐντέμνουσι καὶ* **τιμὰς** *δεδώκασιν ἀγῶνας καὶ ἐτησίους θυσίας*

[36] Malkin 1987: 230; Hornblower 1996: 454–5.

(5.11.1 'they perform blood sacrifices for [Brasidas] as a hero and have accorded him the honours of athletic contests and yearly sacrifices'). The *τιμαί* conferred on the dead Brasidas were heroic honours.[37] If these were transferred from Hagnon to Brasidas, then the honours paid to the living founder Hagnon should also have been cult honours of heroic character.[38] It was customary for a dead founder to receive heroic honours. The present passage is highly significant for its suggestion that Hagnon received these honours in his lifetime.

The same passage refers to *Ἀγνώνεια οἰκοδομήματα*, which are best interpreted as cult buildings to Hagnon.[39] These buildings were, presumably, supplanted by the *μνημεῖον* erected shortly afterwards to Brasidas.[40] The latter was, clearly, a heroic sanctuary, situated within the city boundary in front of the (later) marketplace (*ἐν τῇ πόλει πρὸ τῆς νῦν ἀγορᾶς οὔσης*), comprising a segregated precinct (*περιείρξαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ μνημεῖον*), and providing the probable site for the games and annual sacrifices in Brasidas' honour (*ἀγῶνας καὶ ἐτησίους θυσίας*). Something similar may be inferred for the *Ἀγνώνεια οἰκοδομήματα*.[41] A suggestive parallel verbal formulation to *Ἀγνώνεια οἰκοδομήματα* is Plutarch's phrase *Κιμώνεια* (*Life of Cimon* 4.3, 19.5): these were grave monuments in Attica to the dead Kimon, and perhaps a focus for his cult there.[42]

Thucydides 5.11.1 seems to presuppose a civic cult of Hagnon in his lifetime at Amphipolis in the period 437–422 BC.[43] The cult was apparently heroic in character and was paid to Hagnon as founder.[44]

[37] *θυσίας* is thus unmarked (as at Hdt. 5.114.2). For the unmarked use of the *θυ-* stem, see Scullion 1994: 97 n. 57, and cf. Rohde 1925: i. 150 n. 1; Malkin 1987: 229 and n. 142. Differently, Ekroth 2002: 184–6.

[38] Malkin 1987: 231; Hornblower 1996: 455.

[39] Hornblower 1996: 453.

[40] Cf. *scriptoris incerti vita Thucydidis* 3 (see Luschnat's Teubner text of Thucydides, i. 14) *τὰ Ἀγνώνεια οἰκοδομήματα καθελόντες οἱ Ἀμφιπολῖται Βρασίδεια ἐκάλεσαν* (although *ἐκάλεσαν* sits oddly here with *καθελόντες*: if they destroyed them, they could hardly rename them). Hornblower 1996: 454.

[41] Hornblower 1996: 454.

[42] Suda s.v. *Κιμώνεια λείψανα· καὶ Κιμώνειον· ἱερὸν τοῦ Κίμωνος*. Malkin 1987: 231 and n. 155. Kimon received cult at Citium (Plut. *Cim.* 19.5), but there was no difficulty in a historical person receiving hero cult at separate locations (Pfister 1909–12: 230–8; differently e.g. Nilsson 1957: 215).

[43] For a somewhat sceptical view, see Badian 1996: 14 and n. 21.

[44] So, Malkin 1987: 231; id. 1994: 136; Hornblower 1996: 452. Differently, Taeger 1957: 153: only 'Anwartschaft auf den Kult als Heros Ktistes'; Habicht 1970: 186 n. 1 'Die Oikistenehren für Hagnon waren wohl noch keine Kultehren, da Hagnon noch lebte'; cf. Nilsson 1967–74: i. 719 n. 1 'Hagnon hatte keinen Kult, weil er damals noch lebte.' Contrast Hornblower 1996: 454 'we cannot rule out, *a priori*, cult for a living oikist'.

Hagnon may therefore be regarded as a precursor of Lysandros in receiving cult in his lifetime; but this was apparently a heroic cult.

Euthymos

The boxer Euthymos from Western Locri was victorious at Olympia in 484, 476, and 472 BC (see above, Chapter 8). According to Callimachus, as paraphrased by Pliny, the Delphic oracle ordained a cult of Euthymos, not just posthumously, but in his lifetime: 'he was consecrated while still living and sentient . . . the god [at Delphi] ordered that sacrifices be made to him, which was done both in his lifetime and when he was dead' (Callimachus fr. 99 Pfeiffer in Pliny, *Natural History* 7.152 *consecratus est vivos sentiensque… deumque iussisse sacrificari, quod et vivo factitatum et mortuo*).[45] Some scholars have been reluctant to take this notice of a cult for Euthymos in his lifetime at face value.[46] It is true that Callimachus was writing in Alexandria in the third century; but there is still a fair chance that he was drawing on local, and perhaps near-contemporary, sources (see above, Chapter 8). We cannot, without begging the question, reject as anachronistic the testimony of Callimachus (Pliny) simply because we discount the possibility of a living athlete receiving cult in the fifth century. This testimony regarding Euthymos in fact strikes a chord with testimonies for other figures of this period.

The character of Euthymos' cult is unclear. But the fact that Euthymos was closely associated with, and perhaps even substituted for, the 'Hero' of Temesa, may suggest that his cult was heroic rather than divine.[47] The river metamorphosis implied for Euthymos in his iconography and legend would be consistent with either heroization or deification, given that stories of people's metamorphosis into rivers or springs 'are analogous to heroization stories and use the same themes and motifs'.[48] At any rate, we are not entitled to assume that the cult must have been divine because it was performed in Euthymos' lifetime.[49] In view of his early date Euthymos has an important position in the history of the cult of the living.[50] But we must recognize too

[45] For the full text, see above, Ch. 8.

[46] e.g. Bohringer 1979: 15.

[47] The nature of the 'Hero' of Temesa is itself unclear. He is called both ἥρως and δαίμων by the sources. For the suggestion that he was originally a river deity who secondarily acquired a heroic identity, see Currie 2002.

[48] Larson 1995: 19.

[49] As e.g. Fontenrose 1968: 81 and n. 11.

[50] As emphasized by Currie 2002; cf. Lane Fox 1973: 440.

that Euthymos' cult was exceptional. Callimachus evidently expressed his amazement at the gods' having decreed a cult of Euthymos in his lifetime: 'I see that Callimachus marvelled as never before at the fact that the god ordered that sacrifices be made to him . . .' (Callimachus fr. 99 Pfeiffer *Callimachum ut nihil aliud miratum video deum… iussisse sacrificare…*).

In the cases of both Hagnon and Euthymos we have evidence of a fully-fledged civic cult being performed in a person's lifetime. We hear of 'honours' (*τιμάς*) for Hagnon, and of 'sacrifices' (*sacrificare*) for Euthymos; we hear of cult buildings for Hagnon (*Ἀγνώνεια οἰκοδομήματα*). With these we may compare and contrast certain other cases, which fall short of actual civic cult (that is, regular sacrifices sanctioned by a decree), but nevertheless show a living person being recognized as more than human. The first case, Empedokles, intervenes chronologically between Euthymos and Hagnon.

Empedokles

Empedokles claims in his own verse to be 'an immortal god', *θεὸς ἄμβροτος* (31 B112.4 *VS*).[51] The claim has sometimes been dismissed by scholars as poetic or eccentric.[52] Yet Empedokles' claims were accepted, he tells us, by 'all the people' whose towns he visits (31 B112.5, 7–8 *VS*). There was even a report in Empedokles' lifetime that he had 'become a god' (Diogenes Laertius 8.69 *φήμην . . . ὅτι γεγόνοι θεός*). Allegedly Empedokles attired himself so as to encourage belief in his divinity: 'he used to visit the cities with a golden wreath on his head and bronze shoes on his feet and Delphic wreaths in his hands, wanting the belief to prevail about himself that he was a god' (Suda *Ἐμπεδοκλῆς· . . . στέμμα ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς χρυσοῦν καὶ ἀμύκλας ἐν τοῖς ποσὶ χαλκᾶς καὶ στέμματα Δελφικὰ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπῄει τὰς πόλεις, δόξαν περὶ αὑτοῦ κατασχεῖν ὡς περὶ θεοῦ βουλόμενος*). It was to bolster this belief that Empedokles was said to have dived into the fires of Etna: 'he jumped into the fire wanting to confirm this opinion', *sc.* the belief of the Selinuntines in his divinity (Diodorus of Ephesus, in Diogenes Laertius 8.70 *ταύτην οὖν θέλοντα βεβαιῶσαι τὴν διάληψιν εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐναλέσθαι*).[53]

[51] Cf. 31 B115, 146 *VS*. See Taeger 1957: 75–8; Burkert 1972: 153–4; Panagitou 1983; Kingsley 1995: 296–7 n. 27; Riedweg 1995: 39–45.

[52] e.g. by Balsdon 1950: 364; Badian 1982: 31–2. Differently, Burkert 1972: 154; Kingsley 1995: 220 and n. 7. We may compare Aristeas of Proconnesus: Hdt. 4.13.1.

[53] Cf. D.L. 8.69.

Empedokles' claims are not to be dismissed as simply poetic or metaphorical. They meet, on his own evidence, with popular acceptance in concrete, religious acts: he was 'honoured', 'wreathed with ribbons and garlands', and 'worshipped' (31 B112.5 *VS* τετιμένος, 6 ταινίαις τε περίστεπτος στέφεσίν τε θαλείοις, 8 σεβίζομαι). The Selinuntines are said to have performed προσκύνησις before the living Empedokles and to have prayed to him 'as (if) a god', καθαπερεὶ θεῷ (Diogenes Laertius 8.70). The religious dimension of these acts, even though they stop short of an official regular cult, is clear. There was also a move to pay Empedokles a posthumous cult, apparently as a god, but we do not know if it was ever realized.[54]

The case of Empedokles suggests another case where a living person receives not an actual cult, but an extraordinary treatment for a human.

Brasidas

The Spartan general Brasidas (whose posthumous hero cult we have already considered) seems in a number of contexts to have received exceptional treatment in his lifetime.

(1) Scione. Scione revolted from the Athenian league and invited the Spartan general Brasidas into the city in 423 BC; the citizens of Scione then decorated Brasidas publicly (δημοσίᾳ) with a golden crown and honoured him privately with ribbons (ἰδίᾳ . . . ἐταινίουν), treating him 'like an athlete' (Thucydides 4.121.1).[55] This treatment, especially the *tainiai*, resembles the treatment of both victorious athletes (see above, Chapter 8) and Empedokles (31 B112.6 *VS* ταινίαις). Accordingly, this treatment of Brasidas seems to have a religious dimension.[56] The verb προσήρχοντο used by Thucydides (loc. cit.) has important, though unclear, implications.[57] The verb in question might be προσέρχομαι, 'go up to, approach'.[58] We might then compare Plutarch's description

[54] Heracleides of Pontus fr. 83 Wehrli in D.L. 8.68 (*sc.* ἔφη Παυσανίας τῶν Ἐμπεδοκλοῦς φίλων τις) θύειν αὐτῷ δεῖν καθαπερεὶ γεγονότι θεῷ. Contradicted by Timaeus in D.L. 8.71–2.

[55] The text in full: (*sc.* οἱ Σκιωναῖοι) τὸν Βρασίδαν τά τ' ἄλλα καλῶς ἐδέξαντο καὶ δημοσίᾳ μὲν χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀνέδησαν ὡς ἐλευθεροῦντα τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἐταινίουν τε καὶ προσήρχοντο ὥσπερ ἀθλητῇ, 'the people of Scione gave Brasidas a fine reception in other respects as well, and in particular they crowned him publicly with a golden wreath, as Greece's liberator, and in a private capacity they tied ribbons around him and approached him like an athlete.'

[56] Hornblower 1996: 380 'the honours by private persons . . . look like semi-cultic attention', 381 'These crowns and ribbons are semi-religious', 385 'rapturous and semi-religious treatment.'

[57] See Hornblower 1996: 380–5.

[58] For the form προσήρχοντο (not προσῆσαν), see Hornblower 1996: 383–4.

of Alkibiades' reception at Athens in 410/9 BC, where we find both προσιόντες and προσελθεῖν: the Athenians 'went up to' Alkibiades (*Life of Alkibiades* 32.4).[59] Alternatively, the verb might be προσάρχομαι, 'to offer first-fruits to'.[60] A parallel in that case might be the reception of Dion by the Syracusans in 357 BC, when they 'pelted him with first-fruits', προχύταις . . . βαλλόντων (Plutarch, *Life of Dion* 29.2).[61] However we are to understand Thucydides' προσήρχοντο, its religious overtones seem assured.

(2) Sparta. At the start of the Peloponnesian war in 431 BC, Brasidas was formally 'praised' in Sparta (Thucydides 2.25.2). This passage will shortly be handled below, so discussion may be postponed: it is arguable that Brasidas was here being regarded as more than human, a θεῖος ἀνήρ.

(3) The treasury 'of Brasidas and the Acanthians'. In 424 BC, Brasidas succeeded in persuading Acanthus to revolt from the Athenians (Thucydides 4.84–8). In the succeeding years, the Acanthians fought with Brasidas against the Athenians, and dedicated a treasury at Delphi with the inscription: 'Brasidas and the Acanthians (*sc.* dedicated this treasury) from (*sc.* the spoils of) the Athenians'.[62] The naming of Brasidas in the dedicatory inscription was an exceptional honour.[63] Known treasuries at Olympia bear inscriptions such as *ΜΕΓΑΡΕΟΝ*, '(a dedication) of the Megarians', or *ΣΕΚΥΟΝΙΟΝ*, '(a dedication) of the Sicyonians'.[64] It is commonly supposed that this honour was paid Brasidas only after his death in 422 BC.[65] However, once again we cannot, without begging the question, rule out that this honour was paid him in his lifetime.[66]

The case of Brasidas and the treasury of the Acanthians raises the

[59] On this reception of Alkibiades, see further below, this chapter.

[60] This seems linguistically problematic: see Hornblower 1996: 380–5.

[61] See further below (this chapter) on this reception of Dion. This seems a closer parallel than Aristomenes' reception in Andania, Paus. 4.16.6 (cited by Hornblower).

[62] Plut. *Lys.* 1.1, *de Pyth. or.* 15 401d, cf. 14 400f.

[63] Aymard 1967: 66–7; Hornblower 1982: 283–4; Cartledge 1987: 85.

[64] Similarly, Pausanias implies for the Geloan treasury the inscription: 'the treasury and the statues are the dedication of the Geloans' (6.19.5). See Dyer 1905: 296; Boardman 1991: 157. According to Dyer 1905: 301 treasuries 'stand for the glory not of any one dynast, but of every member of some one Greek Demos', and 308 'No individual's name could permanently attach itself to a house of this kind.' Cf. Rups 1986: 255 'Significantly, . . . no known treasury was ever dedicated by a private individual.' For vii-BC dedications of treasuries by tyrants, cf. Kypselos of Corinth, at Delphi (Hdt. 1.14.2; Plut. *de Pyth. or.* 14 400e); Myron of Sicyon, at Olympia (Paus. 6.19.1–2, 4).

[65] Pouilloux and Roux 1963: 69; Cartledge 1987: 85; cf. Aymard 1967: 66.

[66] Cf. Rups 1986: 98–9 and n. 370, 255 n. 1056.

question of the level of pre-eminence within the Greek city-state that could be attained by an individual in the fifth century. Brasidas was active in the turbulent years of the Peloponnesian war, but our next example takes us back to the first quarter of that century.

Gelon

After victory over the Carthaginians at Himera in 480 BC, Gelon, according to Diodorus, showed himself unarmed before an assembly of his troops, who 'with one voice all hailed him benefactor and saviour and king' (Diodorus 11.26.6 *μιᾷ φωνῇ πάντας ἀποκαλεῖν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ βασιλέα*).[67] These titles have a post-Classical ring: *εὐεργέτης* and *σωτήρ* later become standard in the Hellenistic ruler cult.[68] For this reason Diodorus has been suspected of anachronism.[69] However, it is likely that Gelon himself used the title *βασιλεύς*.[70] The title is used by Pindar of Hieron (*P.* 1.60, 68, *P.* 3.70), as well as by an Athenian ambassador to Gelon in 480 BC in Herodotus (7.161.1). Nor is it clear that the titles *εὐεργέτης* and *σωτήρ* are applied anachronistically to Gelon by Diodorus.[71] Pindar uses *εὐεργέταν* of another Sicilian king, Theron of Acragas (*O.* 2.94), and Pindar again closely paraphrases the concept of the *σωτήρ*, without using that word, in relation to Hieron (*P.* 2.18–20), in a context in which *εὐεργέταν* also appears (24) (see below, Chapter 12). The term *σωτήρ* was certainly current as a religious concept in the early fifth century: Danaos in Aeschylus' *Suppliant Women* says to his daughters, 'children, we must pray and sacrifice to the Argives and pour them libations as Olympian gods, as they are our saviours in no uncertain way' (980–2 *ὦ παῖδες, Ἀργείοισιν εὔχεσθαι χρεών, | θύειν τε λείβειν θ', ὡς θεοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις, | σπονδάς, ἐπεὶ σωτῆρες οὐ διχορρόπως*).[72]

[67] Diod.'s source here may have been Timaeus, according to Oost 1976: 230 n. 7; Hornblower 1983: 48. Differently, Sacks 1994: 214–15. Gelon received a statue which alluded to this event: Ael. *v.h.* 6.11, 13.37. Cf. Polyaen. 1.27.1. For the honours enjoyed by Gelon in his lifetime, see Diod. 11.25.5, 11.67.2.

[68] Hornblower 1983: 48. Cf. Plut. *Demetr.* 9.1 (Demetrios Poliorketes in Athens, 307–6 BC) *εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα προσαγορεύοντες*; *OGIS* 1.239, 301 (ii BC). On *εὐεργέτης*, see Habicht 1970: 156 n. 77. On *σωτήρ*, see Habicht 1970: 156 n. 76; Versnel 1970: 385–6 and 385 nn. 2–3. While *εὐεργέτης* could signify a cultic or profane distinction (Habicht 1970: 157, 211 n. 65), *σωτήρ* seems always to have indicated cult: Habicht 1970: 157 and n. 79.

[69] Cf. Berve 1967: i. 147; Hornblower 1983: 48; cf. Sacks 1994: 214–15.

[70] See Oost 1976: esp. 227–32; Lewis in *CAH* vi. 136–7 and n. 70; Hutchinson 2001: 349–50. Differently, Dunbabin 1948*a*: 385, 427–8; Hornblower 1983: 49; Price 1984: 25; Asheri in *CAH* v. 149.

[71] Cf. Hampe 1952: 51.

[72] Cf. Hornblower 1996: 455–6.

It would be not only with his salutation as 'benefactor and saviour and king' that Gelon would anticipate the Hellenistic kings: the exercise of power by Gelon, and other Sicilian rulers of the fifth century, variously anticipates that of the Hellenistic kings, in shifting around populations and founding cities.[73] In particular, Western Greek city-states often found themselves dependent on the powerful rulers for their survival: on Gelon at the battle of Himera, and on Hieron repeatedly—he answered pleas for help from Locri, Sybaris, and Cumae.[74] These are precisely the conditions—dependency of the city on a powerful outsider—which have been argued to have promoted the cult of the ruler in the Hellenistic period.[75]

Gelon received posthumous hero cult at Syracuse (Diodorus 11.38.5). So did other Sicilian rulers of the first half of the fifth century BC: Theron and Hieron (Diodorus 11.53.2, 11.66.4). It has been said that with the Sicilian tyrants we see the beginnings of a posthumous ruler cult.[76] But it may be that these self-styled 'kings' already exemplify an exceptional treatment of the living ruler. The popular attitudes to the living Gelon, Hieron, and Theron seem to anticipate Hellenistic ruler cult.[77] They pave the way for the extraordinary treatment of two other Syracusans in the first half of the fourth century BC: the adoption by Dionysios I of Dionysiac iconography in his statues (Dio Chrysostom, *Corinthian Oration* [37] 21) and Dion's receipt of heroic (less likely, divine) honours in his lifetime (Diodorus 16.20.6; compare Plutarch, *Life of Dion* 46.1).[78]

Thus it seems possible to trace in the fifth century BC certain concepts central to the ruler cult in the Hellenistic period.[79] There seem to have been various ways of treating a living person (sometimes stopping

[73] e.g. Thuc. 6.4.2, 6.4.6, 6.5.3. See Hornblower 1983: 48.

[74] Hieron and Locri (478–6 BC), see below, Ch. 12. Hieron and Sybaris (476 BC): Diod. 11.48.4 'when the Sybarites were being besieged by the Crotoniates and were asking [Hieron] to help . . .'; cf. Σ *O.* 2.29b, Σ *O.* 2.29d. Hieron and Cumae (474 BC): Diod. 11.51.1–2 'ambassadors came to [Hieron] from Italian Cumae and asked him to help them as they were being hard pressed by the Etruscans in war', cf. Σ *P.* 1.137c 'the Etruscans and the Carthaginians waged war against the Cumaeans; when the Cumaeans were on the point of being completely destroyed, Hieron came to the rescue and saved the Cumaeans and destroyed most of the Etruscans.'

[75] See Habicht 1970: 236.

[76] Nilsson 1967–74: i. 719.

[77] Compare (but also contrast) Sanders 1991: 279–80. Differently, Price 1984: 25.

[78] See Sanders 1991: 280–3 (on the possible divine cult of Dionysios I in his lifetime) and 285–6 (on the heroic or divine honours for Dion).

[79] Cf. Pfister 1909–12: 587–8; Weinreich 1926: 641 '[es ist] schwer zu glauben, das fünfte Jahrhundert sei nicht auch schon in gewissem Sinne eine Vorbereitung des hellenistischen Gottmenschenglaubens'; Sanders 1991: 277–8.

short of proper cult) which suggested that he was more than human. What religious and political inhibitions there were did not, apparently, prevent such behaviour. The traditional watersheds in the cult of the living—the death of Alexander the Great, Lysandros' honours on Samos, and the Peloponnesian war—are of limited use in explaining the evidence we have seen of a religious treatment of the living in the fifth century (a sign of the unsatisfactoriness of the proposed watersheds may already be seen in the fact that no fewer than three have been put forward).

The conceptual background: the *theios aner*

It seems to have been possible in the fifth century to regard someone as more than human. In modern scholarship, the more-than-human quality of a person is sometimes called 'charisma' (*χάρισμα*: a term attested only in Greek of the Christian era); persons endowed with the quality are called 'charismatic'.[80] In earlier Greek usage, such a person could sometimes be described as *θεῖος ἀνήρ*, 'a godlike man'.[81] Aristotle gives a useful discussion of the concept in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (1145^{a}18–30). Having identified three undesirable qualities of character—'baseness' (*κακία*), 'weakness of will' (*ἀκρασία*), and 'a bestial condition' (*θηριότης*)—he defines the opposites of the first two as, respectively, 'excellence' (*ἀρετή*) and 'strength of character' (*ἐγκράτεια*), and then discourses at some length on the opposite of the third:

πρὸς δὲ τὴν θηριότητα (sc. τὸ ἐναντίον) μάλιστ' ἂν ἁρμόττοι λέγειν τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἀρετήν, ἡρωϊκήν τινα καὶ θείαν, ὥσπερ Ὅμηρος περὶ Ἕκτορος πεποίηκε λέγοντα τὸν Πρίαμον ὅτι σφόδρα ἦν ἀγαθός, 'οὐδὲ ἐώικει | ἀνδρός γε θνητοῦ πάϊς ἔμμεναι, ἀλλὰ θεοῖο'. ὥστ' εἰ, καθάπερ φασίν, ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γίνονται θεοὶ δι' ἀρετῆς ὑπερβολήν, τοιαύτη τις ἂν εἴη δηλονότι ἡ τῇ θηριώδει ἀντιτιθεμένη ἕξις . . . ἐπεὶ δὲ σπάνιον καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἄνδρα εἶναι, καθάπερ οἱ Λάκωνες εἰώθασι προσαγορεύειν, ὅταν[82] *ἀγασθῶσι σφόδρα του ('σεῖος ἀνήρ' φασιν), οὕτω καὶ ὁ θηριώδης ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις σπάνιος.*

[80] On the concept of *χάρισμα* (or *χάρις*), see Pfister 1909–12: 611–12 and n. 340, cf. 528–31; Taeger 1957: 17–50; Burkert 1987*a*: 145 n. 4. Cf. Weber 1978: i. 241–6; ii. 1111–57. Sometimes the term 'mana' is employed in this connection (e.g. Rose 1949; Versnel 1970: 139–44 esp. 157, 371–84; Kurke 1993: 132–7), but for the problems with this term, cf. Lonis 1979: 301 and, more generally, Steiner 1956.

[81] See Pfister 1909–12: 531, 561; Bieler 1935: 9–20; Balsdon 1950: 365; Taeger 1957: 72–8; Fears 1981: 1131; Betz 1983: 236–8.

[82] Bywater reads: ⟨*οἱ*⟩ *ὅταν*.

It would be most fitting to call the opposite of the bestial condition that virtue which is beyond us, a heroic or divine one, just as Homer has shown us in his poetry Priamos saying of Hektor that he was exceptionally valiant 'and did not seem to be the son of a mortal man, but of a god'. Thus if, as they say, gods are engendered out of men owing to a superabundance of virtue, some such condition would clearly be the one opposed to the condition of bestiality . . . And, as it is rare for someone to be a godlike man—as the Spartans are wont to say whenever they admire someone exceedingly (they say: 'a godlike man')—so too the bestial man is rare among men.

'As they say' (*καθάπερ φασίν*, 1145^{a}23) shows that Aristotle takes himself to be summarizing popular belief – in accordance with his practice elsewhere of taking account of *τὰ λεγόμενα* (1098^{b}10, 1145^{b}20), *τὰ εἰρημένα* (1172^{b}7), *τὰ φαινόμενα* (1145^{b}3). He associates the practice of hailing someone as *θεῖος ἀνήρ* particularly with Sparta, an association attested already by Plato (*Meno* 99d8–9 *καὶ οἱ Λάκωνες ὅταν τινὰ ἐγκωμιάζωσιν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα, 'θεῖος ἀνήρ,' φασίν, 'οὗτος'*). Aristotle's wording suggests that there was no generally accepted label for this concept: here as elsewhere 'many things are nameless' (1107^{b}2 *πολλὰ δ' ἐστὶν ἀνώνυμα*). Aristotle plumps for a term which is famous from the Spartans' use of it; we should not jump to the conclusion that *θεῖος ἀνήρ* was a set expression for the Greeks.[83] However, the expression makes a striking appearance in the 'Days' section of Hesiod's *Works and Days* (731):

ἑζόμενος δ' ὅ γε **θεῖος ἀνήρ**, *πεπνυμένα εἰδώς* (*sc.* *οὐρεῖ*),

The godlike man who knows wise counsels [urinates] sitting down . . .[84]

Here, *θεῖος ἀνήρ* seems to denote someone (albeit captured here in a rather undignified position) who maintains a 'godlike' status by adhering to certain rules of conduct. This forty-line section of *Works and Days* (verses 724–64) prescribes a code of living with suggestive parallels to the Pythagorean one.[85] Common to both the Hesiodic and the Pythagorean codes of conduct seems to have been the aim at an approximation to the divine.[86] The translation of *θεῖος ἀνήρ* which

[83] Pfister 1909–12: 616; Weinreich 1926: 634; Betz 1983: 236. Note, however, the generality of Plat. *Meno* 99d7–8 *καὶ αἵ γε γυναῖκες δήπου, ὦ Μένων, τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας θείους καλοῦσι*, 'and women, I suppose, call brave men "godlike" '.

[84] For a defence of the authenticity of Hes. *op.* 724–59, see West 1978: 333–4.

[85] See Parker 1983: 291–2. In general on the 'Pythagorean life', see Burkert 1985*a*: 301–4; Riedweg 2002: 53, 89–93.

[86] On the 'Hesiodic life', note esp. Parker 1983: 292 'The ordinary individual can, it is implied, approach the condition of the godlike man by adherence to the rules.' The goal of the Pythagorean life is likewise approximation to the divine: see Iambl. *vit. Pyth.* 70, 106 *τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς οἰκειώσεως*, 'assimilation to the gods'; Photius *vit. Pyth.* = *bibl.* 249 438b.8–19

recommends itself here is therefore 'godlike man' (not 'godly man' or 'god-fearing man').[87]

For our purposes it is the concept of the 'more-than-human man' rather than its terminology that is important. At the outset it is desirable to try to establish two things. First, whether the Spartan custom referred to by Plato and Aristotle of hailing someone as *θεῖος ἀνήρ* is earlier than those authors: in particular, whether it was current in the fifth century. Second, whether the custom of hailing someone as a *θεῖος ἀνήρ* amounts to a religious treatment of the person in their lifetime.[88]

The antiquity of the Spartan practice

Since Plato and Aristotle allude to the hailing of *θεῖοι ἄνδρες* in Sparta as a custom in their time, it must have had a prior existence. It seems possible that it is this custom which is exemplified in the Spartans' treatment of two famous individuals of the fifth century BC, Themistokles in 480 and Brasidas in 431. Herodotus narrates how, after the battle of Salamis, Themistokles went specifically to Sparta in order to be honoured (Herodotus 8.124.2–3).[89] Thucydides tells us that Brasidas was praised in Sparta in the first year of the Peloponnesian war (Thucydides 2.25.2). There are two arguments in favour of associating this treatment of Themistokles and Brasidas, described by Herodotus and Thucydides respectively, with the Spartan custom of hailing the *θεῖος ἀνήρ*, described by Plato and Aristotle. First, we are dealing in each case with a distinctively Spartan phenomenon (Herodotus 8.124.2 **ἐς Λακεδαίμονα** *ἀπίκετο θέλων τιμηθῆναι*; Thucydides 2.25.2 *ἐπῃνέθη* **ἐν Σπάρτῃ**: compare Plato *Meno* 99d **οἱ Λάκωνες**; Aristotle *Nicomachean Ethics* 1145a28 **οἱ Λάκωνες**). Second, each constitutes an apparently formal ceremony of praise (Herodotus 8.124.2 **αἰνέσαντες** *πολλά*; Thucydides 2.25.2 **ἐπῃνέθη**: compare Plato *Meno* 99d **ἐγκωμιάζωσιν**; Aristotle,

εἰς δύναμιν ὁμοιοῦντας ἑαυτοὺς τῷ θεῷ, 'assimilating themselves to the best of their ability to the gods', 440b11–20. We may compare too the characterization of Hippolytos as a 'more than common man' (*περισσὸς . . . ἀνήρ*) at Eur. *Hipp.* 948: he consorts with a goddess (17–19, 85–6, 948–9, 1093, 1441) and practises an asceticism which Theseus can caricature as 'Orphic' (952–4).

[87] Cf. Richardson 1979: 171. Differently, West 1978: 336; du Toit 1997: 110 and n. 209.

[88] As assumed by Nock 1930: 56, 61; Pippidi 1984: 93. It is denied by Welwei 1991: 64; cf. Taeger 1957: 97.

[89] Cf. Thuc. 1.74.1; Plut. *Them.* 17.3. See Jordan 1988.

Nicomachean Ethics 1145[a]29 *ὅταν* **ἀγασθῶσι** *σφόδρα*).[90] Thucydides' statement that Brasidas was 'praised first among those [praised] in Sparta at the time of the [Peloponnesian] war' seems to imply the existence of a custom which is older than the Peloponnesian war (Thucydides 2.25.2 *πρῶτος τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπῃνέθη ἐν Σπάρτῃ*). This inference is not contradicted by Herodotus' comment that 'the Spartans gave [Themistokles] alone of all men I know a send-off' (8.124.3 *μοῦνον δὴ τοῦτον πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Σπαρτιῆται προέπεμψαν*), for Herodotus means that the Spartans' treatment of Themistokles was unique simply in that he was a non-Spartan. An Athenian speaker at Sparta reported by Thucydides makes this clear: 'you [Spartans] honoured [Themistokles], a foreigner, most highly of all those who have come to visit you' (Thucydides 1.74.1 *αὐτὸν . . . ἐτιμήσατε μάλιστα δὴ ἄνδρα ξένον τῶν ὡς ὑμᾶς ἐλθόντων*). It seems reasonable to suppose that the Spartans were hailing exceptional people as *θεῖοι ἄνδρες* by at least the early fifth century.

Theios aner as a religious concept

As well as establishing the antiquity of the Spartan custom of hailing the *θεῖος ἀνήρ*, it is important to establish whether the concept has religious significance. The contrary case is suggested by the fact that the adjective *θεῖος*, like its synonym *δαιμόνιος*, can mean just 'marvellous', rather than literally 'godlike'.[91] It is possible, then, to see the Spartan salutation of someone as a *θεῖος ἀνήρ* as devoid of religious significance, merely a rhetorical appellation.[92] It has, further, been denied that the term *θεῖος ἀνήρ* was meant to convey a state between man and god. On this view, 'the adjective *θεῖος* was applied to humans who were pious and were favoured by the gods, without meaning to imply that they were a god or a godlike being'; and further, 'expressions like *θεῖος ἄνθρωπος* and *θεῖος ἀνήρ* did not belong to a semantic field with lexemes like *ἄνθρωπος*, *δαίμων*, *ἥρως*, and *θεός*: the terminology in no way functions as an element of ancient anthropology'.[93]

[90] Cf. Lewis 1977: 42 n. 102 on Thuc. 2.25.2 'The language suggests some formal institutionalized *ἔπαινος*, for which I know of no Spartan parallel.' For institutionalized praise (and blame) in Sparta, see Plut. *Lyc.* 8.3–4, 14.5, 25.3, 26.6, esp. 26.3–4 (Spartan women *ἐγκωμιάζουσαι δι' ᾠδῆς*, and feasting at public expense), *Lys.* 2.2; Xen. *resp. Lac.* 9.1–6. See Loraux 1977: 109–10; Nagy 1979: 222; Gentili 1988: 107–8; Detienne 1996: 45–6.

[91] Men. *Epitr.* 433 *θεῖον . . . μῖσος*. LSJ I.3.b. Cf. *N.* 9.27 *δαιμονίοισι φόβοις*. Braswell 1988: 117.

[92] So Balsdon 1950: 365; Cartledge 1987: 83; Welwei 1991: 64.

[93] Du Toit 1997: 111, 402 (translated from the German). Differently, Betz 1983: 235–8.

A number of passages tell against this view. At Hesiod, *Works and Days* 159–60, θεῖος occurs alongside the words ἀνήρ, ἥρως, and ἡμίθεοι. At Pindar, *Nemean* 1.8–9, δαιμόνιος occurs alongside θεός and ἀνήρ. At Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1145[a]18–24 we find θεῖος alongside ἀνήρ, ἄνθρωπος, θεός, and ἡρωικός. It thus seems that θεῖος ἀνήρ did play a part in Greek 'anthropological' thinking. Aristotle, certainly, must have intended θεῖος ἀνήρ to convey a state between man and god: he could not very well otherwise have cited in his discussion of the θεῖος ἀνήρ the belief that 'gods are engendered out of men' (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1144[a]23–4).

It is worth considering the implications of such an 'anthropology', in which θεῖος ἀνήρ conveys a state between man and god. It seems that, on the one hand, the Greeks saw gods, *daimones*, heroes, men, and beasts as distinct categories of being.[94] On the other hand, these seem to have been not so much watertight categories as sets with blurred boundaries on a sliding scale.[95] There could be doubt into which category a being fell, and there could be movement up and down the scale.[96] Uncertainty where to place someone on the scale is evinced by an oracle delivered to Lykourgos, first attested in Herodotus (1.65.3), but doubtless older than the fifth century BC:

> δίζω ἤ σε θεὸν μαντεύσομαι ἢ ἄνθρωπον·
> ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον θεὸν ἔλπομαι, ὦ Λυκόοργε

I am in doubt whether to call you god or man; but I think rather god, Lykourgos.[97]

Pythagoreans also put Pythagoras in a twilight zone between men and gods. A Pythagorean teaching was τοῦ λογικοῦ ζῴου τὸ μέν ἐστι θεός, τὸ δ' ἄνθρωπος, τὸ δὲ οἷον Πυθαγόρας, 'of rational beings, one part is

[94] Note the listing of categories in the following texts: Pythagoras *apud* D.L. 8.23; Antiphon 1.27; Plat. *Crat.* 397c4–399c6e, *symp.* 202d13-e1, *resp.* 392a4–5, cf. *leg.* 717a6–b4; Plut. *de E apud Delphos* 13 390e, *de defect. orac.* 10 415b; Max. Tyr. 8.4. Cf. Lloyd 1983: 53–4.

[95] Cf. Nock 1928: 31; Taeger 1957: 47–8; Hadas and Smith 1965: 18; Habicht 1970: 268; Dover 1974: 80; Vermeule 1979: 126–30; Vernant 1980*b*: 107–8; Ekroth 1999: 156; ead. 2002: 330; Harrison 2000: 162–3. Cf., in Rome, Feeney 1998: 108 and n. 110; Beard et al. 1998: i. 141.

[96] Cf. Thalmann 1984: 79 'Kirke threatens to turn Odysseus into a beast, and Kalypso offers to make him divine.' The man–beast divide could be transgressed in myth (metamorphosis: see Vermeule 1979: 128–30), and occasionally in ritual (omophagy: see Vernant 1980*c*: 162). Metempsychosis (cf. Xenoph. 21 B7 *VS*) presupposes the soul's ability to become bestial or divine: see Vernant 1980*c*: 151–2, 161. In mystic eschatology the souls of the pious might become 'heroes' (Pind. fr. 133.5) or 'gods' (Emped. 31 B146.3 *VS*).

[97] Cf. Xen. *apol.* 15. Parke and Wormell 1956: ii. 14 'not likely to be later than the early sixth century'.

god, another man, another still the like of Pythagoras' (Aristotle fr. 156 Gigon).[98] We hear, further, that Pythagoreans 'believed that Pythagoras was someone godlike' (Hermippus fr. 20 Wehrli, in Diogenes Laertius 8.41 *ἐπίστευσαν εἶναι Πυθαγόραν θεῖόν τινα*) and that 'they numbered him among the gods' (Porphyry, *Life of Pythagoras* 20 *μετὰ τῶν θεῶν τὸν Πυθαγόραν κατηρίθμουν*). More generally, the sliding-scale conception seems to be presupposed in numerous phrases where the categories *θεός*, *δαίμων*, *ἥρως*, and *ἄνθρωπος* or *ἀνήρ* are combined.[99] All this points to the capacity for a blurring of the categories gods, heroes, and men.

The possibility of movement along the sliding scale is illustrated particularly well by a sentence in Plutarch's *Life of Romulus*: 'one must think that the virtues (*τὰς ἀρετάς*) and the souls [of the good] are borne up from men to heroes, from heroes to *daimones*, and from *daimones* to gods' (28.10). This does not seem to be a belief confined to the second century AD. Movement along the scale is also assumed in the popular belief cited by Aristotle that 'people become gods on account of a superabundance of excellence', *ἐξ ἀνθρώπων* **γίνονται θεοὶ δι' ἀρετῆς ὑπερβολήν** (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1145[a]23–4). This wording is echoed elsewhere, apparently confirming that we are dealing with a popular belief. Isocrates writes in the *Evagoras* 'if any of those of past generations have become immortal on account of excellence . . .' ([9] 70 *εἴ τινες τῶν γεγενημένων* **δι' ἀρετὴν ἀθάνατοι γεγόνασιν**). Diodorus says of the Spartan dead of the battle of Thermopylae, 'they have departed into immortality on account of their superabundance of excellence' (11.11.6 **διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς εἰς ἀθανασίαν μετήλλαξαν**). This wording may even be echoed in order to reject the belief in question. Pausanias states that 'men became gods then [in the heroic age] . . . but in my day . . . no man has any longer become a god, except in hearsay and flattery towards those in power' (8.2.4–5 **θεοὶ** *τότε* **ἐγίνοντο ἐξ ἀνθρώπων** *. . .· ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ . . . οὔτε* **θεὸς ἐγίνετο** *οὐδεὶς ἔτι* **ἐξ ἀνθρώπου**, *πλὴν ὅσον λόγῳ καὶ κολακείᾳ πρὸς τὸ ὑπερέχον*).[100] Yet even in distancing himself from the belief Pausanias seems to give further evidence of its currency. The belief was variously adapted by

[98] Cf. Iambl. *vit. Pyth.* 144. See Riedweg 2002: 98.

[99] Hes. *op.* 159–60 *ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος . . . | ἡμίθεοι*; Dareios in Aesch. *Pers.* is both *θεῖος* (651) and *ἰσοδαίμων* (634, cf. 620 *δαίμονα*, 856 *ἰσόθεος*); 'Eur.' *Rhes.* 971 *ἀνθρωποδαίμων*; Hes. *op.* 141 *ὑποχθόνιοι μάκαρες*, *op.* 122–3 *δαίμονες ἐπιχθόνιοι;* Isoc. 9.72 *δαίμων θνητός*; Lucian *dialog. mort.* 77.2 *τὸ θεῶν ἐκεῖνο ἡμίτονον*; Plat. *symp.* 203a5 *δαιμόνιος ἀνήρ*; Pind. *N.* 1.9 *ἀνδρὸς δαιμονίαις*; *N.* 3.22 *ἥρως θεός*.

[100] On the question of Pausanias' belief, cf. Veyne 1988: 11, 71–4, 95–102.

thinkers and philosophers.[101] The notion that men and gods were on a sliding-scale could, it should be emphasized, coexist with the conviction that there was a gulf between men and gods.[102]

Honouring the *theios aner*: a diachronic perspective

To recognize someone as a θεῖος ἀνήρ was not just a manner of speaking.[103] It had practical implications: the adoption of a particular attitude towards, and the performance of certain (ritualized) acts for, the person who was seen as more than human. We may see this best by taking a diachronic look at the treatment of θεῖοι ἄνδρες, beginning with the earliest examples which extant literature gives us: the heroes of epic poetry.

Homer and Hesiod

The heroes of epic are the 'godlike men' *par excellence*. Hesiod describes them collectively as 'the godlike race of men who are heroes' (*Works and Days* 159). Their resemblance, equivalence even, to the gods is expressed in various formulae: ἐπιείκελος ἀθανάτοισιν, δῖος, ἰσόθεος φώς, θεοειδής, ἀντίθεος, δαίμονι ἶσος.[104] The grieving Priamos says that Hektor 'was a god among men' (*Iliad* 24.258). Other heroes too are occasionally likened to, even mistaken for, gods.[105] People 'gaze upon them as a god', θεόν (θεούς) ὥς εἰσορόωσιν (*Iliad* 12.312; *Odyssey* 8.173).[106] They are 'honoured as a god among the people', θεὸς (δ') ὣς τίετο δήμῳ (*Iliad* 11.58; *Odyssey* 14.205).[107] They may be 'prayed to as a god', θεῷ ὣς εὐχετόωντο (εὐχετοώμην) (*Iliad* 22.394; *Odyssey* 8.467 = 15.181).[108]

[101] In Pythagoreanism, Iambl. *vit. Pyth.* 70, 106; Photius *vit. Pyth.* = *bibl.* 249 438b.8–19, 440b11–20 (see above). In other Presocratics (Empedokles, Heraclitus), see Gill 1995: 70–2. In Plato: Plat. *Tim.* 90c2–3, *resp.* 500c9-d1, 613a8-b1, *Theaet.* 176b1–2, *leg.* 716c6–d1. See Guthrie 1950: 114; O'Brien 1984; Morgan 1992: 230–2; Annas 1999: 52–71; Sedley 2000. In Aristotle: Aristot. *EN* 1177^{b}30–4.

[102] For these two 'strands' of belief, cf. Nock 1928: 31–2.

[103] Contrast Balsdon 1950: 365.

[104] See Vermeule 1979: 119; Griffin 1980: 82.

[105] Taken for gods: *Il.* 6.128 (Glaukos); *Od.* 6.149 (Nausikaa; cf. 6.102–9). See Connor 1987: 43–4. *Od.* 16.181–7. See Kearns 1982: 4–8.

[106] *Od.* 7.11 has θεοῦ δ' ὣς δῆμος ἄκουεν. Cf. 'Eur.' *Rhes.* 301 ὁρῶ δὲ Ῥῆσον ὥστε δαίμονα.

[107] θεὸς δ' ὣς τίετο δήμῳ is a more developed form: Hainsworth 1993: 30. See *Il.* 5.78, 10.33, 13.218, 16.605. θεὸν ὣς τιμήσουσι: *Il.* 9.155; θεὸν ὣς | τείσουσ': 9.302–3; cf. 9.603 etc.; cf. *Od.* 11.484. Cf. *Il.* 8.540, 13.827; Hes. *th.* 91–2; Ar. *eq.* 146–7. Cf. Nagy 1990*b*: 132–3.

[108] Cf. *Il.* 7.298, 11.761, *Od.* 13.231.

They can be 'received/welcomed as a god', *θεὸν ὣς | δηδέχατ'* or *θεὸν ὣς εἰσορόωντες | δηδέχαται μύθοισιν* (*Iliad* 22.434–5; *Odyssey* 7.71–2).[109] The expression 'to honour someone as a god' is formulaic.[110] It occurs in both Hesiod and Homer in two passages which have attracted plenty of attention.[111] First, there is the treatment of the king at Hesiod, *Theogony* 91–2:

> **ἐρχόμενον δ' ἀν' ἀγῶνα θεὸν ὣς ἱλάσκονται**
> **αἰδοῖ μειλιχίῃ, μετὰ δὲ πρέπει ἀγρομένοισι**

They propitiate him as a god when he goes to the assembly-place, with soft reverence, and he stands out among them as they assemble.

Second, there is Odysseus' description of the eloquent speaker at *Odyssey* 8.170–3:

> *οἱ δέ τ' ἐς αὐτὸν*
> *τερπόμενοι λεύσσουσιν, ὁ δ' ἀσφαλέως ἀγορεύει,*
> **αἰδοῖ μειλιχίῃ, μετὰ δὲ πρέπει ἀγρομένοισιν,**
> **ἐρχόμενον δ' ἀνὰ ἄστυ θεὸν ὣς** *εἰσορόωσιν*

They look upon him rejoicing; for his part he speaks unfalteringly, with soft reverence; and they regard him as a god when he goes about the town.

The language of these two closely related passages is traditional; it is older, therefore, than the Homeric and Hesiodic poems themselves.[112] We would dearly like to know whether the attitudes embodied in such language existed outside the poetry.[113] Yet the move from epic poetry to the society is a highly problematic one: the relationship of the Homeric poems to their society (which society?) is notoriously controversial.[114] Hesiod's poem, at least, purports to depict the contemporary, not the heroic world. It is highly suggestive, too, that many of the motifs just listed in epic poetry are paralleled in later history; although chronology permits us to put these parallels down to the influence of epic poetry,

[109] The mss have δειδέχ-. On this verb, its etymology, its meaning and its relationship to *δέχεσθαι*, see *LfgrE* ii. 226–8 s.v. *δειδέχαται*; Mallory and Adams 1997: 271 s.v. 'honor'; Frisk 1960–71 s.v. *δηδέχαται*; Chantraine 1958–63 s.v. *δηδέχαται*. Related are the adjective *ἀριδείκετος* ('famous, glorious') and Latin *decus*, 'honour'.

[110] Cf. Parry 1971: 224–9.

[111] See the discussions in West 1966: 183; Edwards 1971: 168–9; Lamberton 1988: 20–2; Hainsworth 1988: 356; Rosen 1997: 467–72.

[112] Rosen 1997: 471.

[113] Cf. Aymard 1957: 69 n. 3; Taeger 1967: 51–63; Weinreich 1926: 635–6.

[114] Cf. Taplin 1992: 49. See the chapters by Bennett, Morris, and Raaflaub in Morris and Powell 1997; also, Raaflaub 1998; Morris 2001 (esp. 90: we cannot 'move directly from epic to social history').

it is doubtful whether we should do so. It is more attractive to grant the real-life practices a long history, and to find them reflected in the Homeric poems and Hesiod. It is the real-life practices, particularly as they occur in the Classical period, which claim our attention now: they can be conveniently considered under the categories of 'praying to' and 'receiving' a living person.

Praying to living persons in the Classical period

It was possible in the Classical period to pray to a historical person 'as a god' (compare the epic formula *θεῷ ὣς εὐχετόωντο*). In the fifth century, the Selinuntines are said to have 'prayed to' Empedokles 'as if a god' when he appeared to them at a feast, after ridding them of a pestilence (Diodorus of Ephesus in Diogenes Laertius 8.70 **προσεύχεσθαι καθαπερεὶ θεῷ**). In the mid-fourth century, the Syracusan populace 'supplicated Dion as a god with prayers' when he returned to Syracuse (Plutarch, *Life of Dion* 29.2 *τῶν Συρακοσίων . . . προστρεπομένων* **ὥσπερ θεὸν κατευχαῖς**). At the end of the fourth century, the Athenians 'supplicated and prayed to' Demetrios Poliorketes (Democharesfrag. *FGrH* 75 F2 in Athenaeus 6.253 *δεόμενοι αὐτοῦ ἱκέτευον καὶ* **προσηύχοντο**). The 'ithyphallic song' sung to Demetrios on that occasion featured the verse 'it is to you we pray' (Duris *FGrH* 76 F13 in Athenaeus 6.253, verse 20 **εὐχόμεσθα** *δή σοι*). As early as the sixth century, the Athenians 'prayed' to a historical person, Phye (Herodotus 1.60.5 **προσεύχοντο**) —although this is a special case, as the Athenians took (or pretended to take) Phye to be an epiphany of Athena.

Two passages of fifth-century Attic drama are also relevant here. First, in Aeschylus' *Suppliant Women*, Danaos says to his daughters on being rescued by the Argives from the sons of Aigyptos, 'we must pray to the Argives and sacrifice to them and pour them libations as Olympian gods' (980–2 *Ἀργείοισιν* **εὔχεσθαι** *χρεών | θύειν τε λείβειν θ'* **ὡς θεοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις |** *σπονδάς*: cited also above, p. 170). Second, in a fragment of an unidentified comedy of Eupolis someone, perhaps the leader of a chorus of old men, bemoans the present state of government, contrasting it with the generals of old to whom they 'prayed as gods' (384.6 *PCG oἷς* **ὡσπερεὶ θεοῖσιν ηὐχόμεσθα**).[115] These dramatic passages seem to presuppose a cultural context where it was possible to pray to living persons in the fifth century BC.

[115] Old comedy is, however, a problematic source for social history: cf. Dover 1987*a*: i. 196, 280–2.

In the cases just considered we have been tracing the phenomenon as it is reflected on a lexical level, especially through the recurrence of the verb *εὔχεσθαι* and its derivatives. It should be emphasized, however, that we are not primarily interested in tracing a linguistic phenomenon, but the actions and the attitudes accompanying the words; the words give access to the actions.

Receiving living persons in the Classical period

Historical persons could also receive extravagant public 'receptions' (compare the epic formula *θεὸν ὣς* (. . .) | **δηδέχατ'/δηδέχαται**).[116] We have considered two examples of such 'receptions' already: that of Themistokles at Sparta in *c.*479 BC (Herodotus 8.124.2 *καλῶς* . . . **ὑπεδέξαντο**) and that of Brasidas at Scione in *c.*423 BC (Thucydides 4.121.1 *καλῶς* **ἐδέξαντο**). A later case which shows clearly the religious character of such ceremonies is the reception of Demetrios Poliorketes in Athens at the end of the fourth century BC: 'the Athenians received Demetrios as he came up to Athens from Leucas and Corcyra, not just by burning incense and garlanding him and pouring out wine, but there went to meet him also processional songs and choruses and bearers of erect phalluses with dancing and singing' (Democharesˑ *FGrH* 75 F2 *ἐπανελθόντα* . . . *τὸν Δημήτριον* . . . *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι* **ἐδέχοντο** *οὐ μόνον θυμιῶντες καὶ στεφανοῦντες καὶ οἰνοχοοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσόδια καὶ χοροὶ καὶ ἰθύφαλλοι μετ' ὀρχήσεως καὶ ᾠδῆς ἀπήντων αὐτῷ*). Earlier in that century, in 357/6 BC, Dion enjoyed an extraordinary reception in Syracuse after driving Dionysios II from the city: 'with the Syracusans watching and receiving them as if they were some procession of freedom and democracy, holy and befitting a god' (Plutarch, *Dion* 28.3 *θεωμένων τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ* **δεχομένων** *ὥσπερ ἱεράν τινα καὶ θεοπρεπῆ πομπὴν ἐλευθερίας καὶ δημοκρατίας*).[117] Comparable acts of reception were possible in the sixth century BC. There was, famously, Peisistratos' 'reception' on his return to Athens in *c.*550 BC accompanied by Phye attired as Athena: 'Athenians, receive Peisistratos with good mind', 'they received Peisistratos' (Herodotus 1.60.5 *ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι,* **δέκεσθε** *ἀγαθῷ νόῳ Πεισίστρατον* and **ἐδέκοντο** *Πεισίστρατον*); 'those

[116] Pfister 1909–12: 586 n. 279; Kleinknecht 1937: 296. Cf. the ceremonies of *ὑπάντησις, ἀπάντησις,* and *adventus* in the Imperial period: Peterson 1930; Alföldi 1970: 88–93; Versnel 1970: 387; MacCormack 1981: 17–22 esp. 19 (on the continuity of the ceremony). For the athletic victor's *eiselasis*, see above, Ch. 8. The verb *δέχεσθαι* also had other technical religious senses: see Nock 1972: ii. 919–24; Burkert 1985*a*: 392 n. 37 ('accept an omen').

[117] Cf. Diod. 16.11.2.

in the town received him, performing *proskynesis*, marvelling at him' ('Aristotle', *Athenian Constitution* 14.4 *οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει προσκυνοῦντες* **ἐδέχοντο** *θαυμάζοντες*).[118]

The religious dimension of such public receptions is apparent from other instances where the figure received is a god: then we find *θεὸν δέχεσθαι*, 'to receive the god' (or 'to receive so-and-so as a god'). In such cases, the 'reception' occurs in the context of a deity's epiphany to a community of worshippers. In Pindar's fifth *Nemean* we are told that, when Poseidon attends his festival at the Isthmus, 'festive crowds receive him, god that he is, with the cry of the pipe' (38 *ἔνθα νιν εὔφρονες ἵλαι σὺν καλάμοιο βοᾷ* **θεὸν δέκονται**).[119] In Callimachus' *Bath of Pallas* the girls are told to 'receive the goddess' Athena, whose epiphany is imminent (137–8 *ἀλλὰ* **δέχεσθε | τὰν θεόν**, *ὦ κῶραι*). These examples are concerned with the regular 'reception' of a deity at his or her festival; in addition a deity could be 'received' into the city at the inauguration of his or her cult. When Kimon brought the supposed relics of Theseus from Skyros to Athens in 476/5 BC to be housed in the newly-built Theseion, 'the Athenians, delighted, received these with splendid processions and sacrifices, as if it were Theseus himself coming up to the city' (Plutarch, *Theseus* 36.3 *κομισθέντων δὲ τούτων ὑπὸ Κίμωνος ἐπὶ τῆς τριήρους, ἡσθέντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πομπαῖς τε λαμπραῖς* **ἐδέξαντο** *καὶ θυσίαις ὥσπερ αὐτὸν ἐπανερχόμενον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ*).[120] In Euripides' *Bacchae* of 407–406 BC Pentheus is urged to 'receive' the new god Dionysos into Thebes (312 *τὸν θεὸν δ' ἐς γῆν* **δέχου**).[121] There was also a tradition according to which Sophokles in 421/0 BC 'received' Asklepios into Athens, for which he earned himself the name 'Dexion' ('Receiver'): 'Dexion. This is what Sophokles was called by the Athenians after his death; they say that the Athenians . . . called him "Dexion" after his reception (*dexiosis*) of Asklepios; for he received the god in his own house and erected an altar' (*Etymologicum Magnum* **Δεξίων**· *οὕτως ὠνομάσθη Σοφοκλῆς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν. φασὶν ὅτι Ἀθηναῖοι . . . ὠνόμασαν αὐτὸν* **Δεξίωνα**, *ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ* **δεξιώσεως**. *καὶ γὰρ* **ὑπεδέξατο τὸν θεὸν** *ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ οἰκίᾳ καὶ βωμὸν ἱδρύσατο*).[122] In these

[118] With the imperative *δέκεσθε* (Hdt. 1.60.5), cf. Call. *h.* 5.137; Aesch. *Ag.* 521; Ar. *av.* 1708 (quoted below).

[119] For a similar use of *δέχεσθαι* in Pindar, cf. perhaps *P.* 5.86: the Cyreneans 'receive with sacrifices' the Antenoridai, cult heroes in Cyrene (*δέκονται θυσίαισι*). Cf. Krummen 1990: 123–4; Malkin 1994: 53, 56, 66.

[120] On this episode, see McCauley 1999.

[121] Cf. 769–70 *τὸν δαίμον' οὖν τόνδ', ὅστις ἔστ', ὦ δέσποτα,* **| δέχου** *πόλει τῇδ'*.

[122] The story of Sophocles' 'reception' of Asklepios is rejected by Connolly 1998.

cases where the figure 'received' is a god (Poseidon, Athena, Dionysos, Asklepios) or a hero (Theseus), it is clear that their 'reception' involves recognizing their divine status and their entitlement to cult. The implication of extending such a 'reception' to a historical person is clear: they too were being cast as someone more than human and a fit object of veneration. Indeed, the model for historical persons seems to have been that of divine epiphany.

Fifth-century Athenian drama may once again be used to fill out the picture. First, there is the 'reception' of Agamemnon at his return to Argos as destroyer of Troy in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*: 'receive the king with honour' (521 **δέξασθε** *κόσμῳ βασιλέα*).[123] Agamemnon's more than human status is an issue later in the play, both in his entry by chariot and in the 'tapestry scene'.[124] Second, there is the 'reception' of Peisthetairos as the new king of the gods and bridegroom of Basileia at the end of Aristophanes' *Birds*: 'receive the king [tyrant] into his blessed home' (1708 **δέχεσθε** *τὸν τύραννον ὀλβίοις δόμοις*).[125] Peisthetairos' entry, which like Agamemnon's was probably effected by chariot, is modelled on scenes of divine epiphany.[126] Both these scenes from the Athenian theatre anticipate the treatment of Hellenistic rulers.[127]

Interpreting the diachronic picture

The cases we have been considering, of the treatment of a person who is regarded as more than human, show a remarkable degree of conformity despite the considerable chronological spread and the diversity of the sources. In several of these cases the 'reception' also included an act of 'praying'. This is the case with the Athenians' reception of Peisistratos and Phye (or 'Athena'), the Syracusans' reception of Dion, and the Athenians' reception of Demetrios. It should again be emphasized that we are not primarily interested in parallels on the lexical level: the value of these is chiefly heuristical, in enabling us to see the parallels

[123] Cf. 517 *στρατὸν* **δέχεσθαι**. Note also that Agamemnon is 'most worthy of all mortals of today to be honoured': 531–2 *τίεσθαι . . . ἀξιώτατος βροτῶν | τῶν νῦν*.

[124] Cf. 922–30, 937, 946–7 esp. 925 *λέγω κατ' ἄνδρα, μὴ θεόν, σέβειν ἐμέ*, cf. 530–2. See MacCormack 1981: 19; Slater 1984: 242–3; Hall 1996: 119. On the chariot entry, see above, Ch. 8.

[125] Cf. too 1728–30 *ἀλλ' ὑμεναίοις | καὶ νυμφιδίοισι* **δέχεσθ'** *ᾠδαῖς | αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν Βασίλειαν*.

[126] Chariot: Dunbar 1995: 751–2. Divine epiphany: Dunbar 1995: 745.

[127] MacCormack 1981: 19, 281 n. 14.

which really matter, in treatment and behaviour. No less relevant are those cases where our sources do not use any words for 'praying' or 'receiving', but where the same form of treatment is nevertheless in evidence. Such cases include the treatment alleged for Aristomenes in Andania in the seventh (?) century BC (Pausanias 4.16.6), Empedokles in the cities of Sicily in the mid-fifth century (31 B112 *VS*), and the Spartan Teleutias on Aegina in 389 BC (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 5.1.3). Especially interesting is Alkibiades' reception at Athens in 407 BC.[128] Plutarch tells us that when Alkibiades disembarked the people ignored all the other generals, 'but running up to [Alkibiades] shouted, welcomed him, escorted him, and approached him and garlanded him' (*Life of Alkibiades* 32.3 *πρὸς δ' ἐκεῖνον συντρέχοντες ἐβόων, ἠσπάζοντο, παρέπεμπον, ἐστεφάνουν προσιόντες*). Justin (Trogus) gives a similar description, adding that the whole populace 'looked upon him as if sent from heaven and as if he were Victory herself . . . they weighed him down not only with all human honours, but also with divine ones' (5.4.9–13 *hunc quasi de caelo missum et velut ipsam Victoriam contuetur… omnibus non humanis tantum, verum et divinis eum honoribus onerant…*). Aelian records Alkibiades as saying that 'when he enjoyed favour among the people, he was considered equal to the gods' (*Historical Miscellany* 13.38 *εὐημερήσας . . . ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἴσος θεοῖς νομίζεσθαι*). The treatment of fifth-century athletes at their homecoming is a subset of this general type (see above, Chapter 8).[129] Recurrent features are the ecstatic popular acclamation of an individual by the assembled community, the offering of garlands, and the performance of *phyllobolia*. These cases seem to show that the treatment of living persons as more than human has a long history, which extended long before and long after the fifth century.[130] In many cases we find it specified that a person is being treated 'as a god', *ὡς θεός* (or similar).[131] This qualification seems to make it clear that we are dealing with a religious treatment. But both terms in this expression—*ὡς* and *θεός*—raise problems which need to be considered.

[128] See Lonis 1979: 303–4.

[129] It is interesting in this connection to consider the use of *δέχεσθαι* in Pindar: *O.* 13.29, *P.* 12.5, *O.* 4.9, *O.* 6.98, *O.* 8.10, *P.* 5.22, *P.* 9.73, *?N.* 4.11, *?N.* 11.2. Cf. Schadewaldt 1928: 269, 274 (emphasizing its 'ritual' origin); Kurke 1993: 140; Hutchinson 2001: 364–5 and n. 8.

[130] Dover 1974: 81 'Deification of rulers in the Hellenistic period had very long and deep roots in the practices, concepts and language of earlier times'; MacCormack 1981: 19 'an impressive continuity'; Sanders 1991: 277. Cf. Charlesworth 1935.

[131] In Homer: *θεὸς (θεὸν / θεῷ) ὥς*, etc. Emped. 31 B112.10 *VS ὑμῖν θεὸς*, cf. D.L. 8.70 *καθαπερεὶ θεῷ*. Eupolis 384.6 *PCG ὥσπερεὶ θεοῖσιν . . .· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν*. Aesch. *suppl.* 980–1 *ὡς θεοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις*. Plut. *Dion* 29.2 *ὥσπερ θεόν*.

First, *θεός*. The implications of this term need not always be taken literally when it is applied to men: it may be a rhetorical exaggeration, as it often is in the phrase 'a god among men'.[132] Isocrates actually refers to this phrase as a 'hyperbole' employed by poets: 'if certain of the poets have used exaggerations concerning someone of past generations, saying that he was a god among men or a mortal *daimon* . . .' (*Euagoras* [9] 72 *εἴ τινες τῶν ποιητῶν περί τινος τῶν γεγενημένων ὑπερβολαῖς κέχρηνται, λέγοντες ὡς ἦν* **θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις** *ἢ δαίμων θνητὸς κτλ.*).[133] In the cases we have been considering, the use of the term *θεός* might be argued to show simply the high degree of honour which a person enjoyed, without intending that he was literally treated as a god.[134] In Homeric usage, the phrase *θεῷ ὣς εὐχετοώμην* has been called 'a traditional hyperbole' on the grounds that '[n]o living mortal, present or absent, is represented in Homer as receiving divine cultus'.[135] We must indeed recognize that the populace's perception of heroes in the epic as 'godlike' stops short of making sacrifices to them, as we might have expected if they were literally being seen as gods.[136] In the historical period, too, many persons honoured with 'prayers' and 'receptions' are not said to receive cult (e.g. a shrine or regular sacrifices), although such cult was possible, as the cases of Euthymos, Hagnon, Lysandros, and Agesilaos have shown. We are confronted, then, with a gap between language and practice. One way of accounting for the gap is to see *θεός* in all these contexts as a rhetorical hyperbole; that would anchor all the cases we have been considering in the secular domain.[137]

[132] Theog. 339 *χοὕτως ἂν δοκέοιμι* **μετ' ἀνθρώπων θεὸς** *εἶναι*, 'I would seem to be a god among men', *sc.* if Zeus were to grant to me the ability to requite my friends and enemies. Antiphanes (iv BC) 207.5–6 *PCG* **θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν** *ἦν | ἐκεῖνος*, '[the v–iv-BC dithyrambic poet Philoxenos] was a god among men', *sc.* in comparison with the musicians of Antiphanes' own day. Aristot. *pol.* 1284a10–11 *ὥσπερ γὰρ* **θεὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις** *εἰκὸς εἶναι τὸν τοιοῦτον*. Herodas 1.9 *τί σὺ* **θεὸς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους**;. See the note of Headlam 1922: 16.

[133] See, in general, Roloff 1970.

[134] Cf. Taeger 1957: 60, on the Homeric *θεὸς δ' ὣς τίετο δήμῳ*, etc.: 'Der Halbvers feiert allein den hohen Grad der Ehren und bezeugt göttlich-kultische Ehrungen nicht'.

[135] Hainsworth 1988: 377, on *Od.* 8.467. Similarly, Taeger 1957: 59; Carlier 1984: 194 n. 273. Differently, Nock 1928: 31; cf. Charlesworth 1935: 8–9.

[136] At *Od.* 16.183–5, Telemachos wonders whether Odysseus is a god and therefore deserves cult (*ἱρά*), and at *h. Hom.* 5.100–2 Anchises contemplates establishing a cult of the disguised Aphrodite.

[137] Cf. Balsdon 1950: 365 'Calling [NB] people gods in their lifetime, without paying cult to them . . .'; Bosworth 1988: 280 'It was one thing to describe a ruler as a god among men. It was quite another to offer him actual worship and the physical trappings of a cult'; similarly, Cartledge 1987: 83; Welwei 1991: 64. Cf. Price 1984: 213, on the reception of the Roman

However, some cases are resistant to such a move. With Empedokles and Demetrios Poliorketes, it is clear that the title *θεός* is literally meant.[138] Besides, the trappings of cult are not always absent. Sacrifices were made to Dion in 357/6 BC by the assembled populace as they welcomed him at Syracuse: 'the Syracusans placing sacrificial victims and tables and mixing-bowls by the road on each side and pelting [Dion] with first-fruits as he came to each of them and supplicating him with prayers as a god' (Plutarch, *Life of Dion* 29.1 *ἑκατέρωθεν παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τῶν Συρακοσίων ἱερεῖα καὶ τραπέζας καὶ κρατῆρας ἱστάντων, καὶ καθ' οὓς γένοιτο προχύταις τε βαλλόντων καὶ προστρεπομένων ὥσπερ θεὸν κατευχαῖς*). These spontaneous sacrifices are distinct from the 'heroic honours' subsequently voted for Dion in 356/5 BC by the Syracusan assembly (Diodorus 16.20.6). They were also evidently sacrifices *to* Dion, not just *on his behalf*.[139] A religious dimension seems clear in these cases. Moreover, we have seen that the ceremonial 'reception' of living persons was to treat them in a way appropriate to a divine or heroic epiphany, surely an indication of the nature of the treatment. The act of 'praying *to*' a person, which we find repeatedly in the sources, seems to belong indubitably to the religious sphere; 'praying to' is again a different matter from 'praying *for*'.[140] We should reject attempts to weaken the force of *εὔχεσθαι*/*εὐχετᾶσθαι* in Homer by translating it as 'call' rather than 'pray'.[141] That the basic meaning is 'pray' is shown by passages where a god is the indirect object of the verb.[142] When, moreover, at *Odyssey* 8.465–8 Odysseus says to Nausikaa, 'may Zeus grant that I return home . . . then I would even there pray to you as a god always for all my days, for you gave me life, girl', the meaning of *τῷ κέν τοι . . . θεῷ ὣς εὐχετοώμην* must be 'pray', for Odysseus cannot 'call' to Nausikaa from Ithaca.[143] Two Iliadic examples in particular suggest that the action involved admitting a man into a form of treatment usually reserved for gods. First, Hektor states that the Trojan women 'will go down to the assembly of the gods praying to [Hektor]' (7.298 *αἴ*

emperor in the provinces: 'Language sometimes assimilated the emperor to a god, but ritual held back'.

[138] On Demetrios, see Mikalson 1998: 75–104.

[139] On this difference, see Price 1984: 209–20.

[140] See again Price 1984: 209–10 on this difference. (The Aeginetans 'prayed for' Teleutias in the early fourth century: Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.3 *ηὔχοντο αὐτῷ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθά*.)

[141] Taeger 1957: 59, taking *εὐχετᾶσθαι* as 'rufen'.

[142] e.g. *Il.* 6.267–8, 8.346–7 = 15.368–9.

[143] *Od.* 8.467–8 *τῷ κέν τοι καὶ κεῖθι θεῷ ὣς εὐχετοώμην | αἰεὶ ἤματα πάντα· σὺ γάρ μ' ἐβιώσαο, κούρη*.

τέ μοι (*sc.* Ἕκτορι) εὐχόμεναι θεῖον δύσονται ἀγῶνα): the Trojan women here in some sense assimilate Hektor to gods, apparently praying to him when they enter the sanctuary of the gods.[144] Second, Nestor, reminiscing about his role in the battle between the Pylians and the Eleans, says: 'all [the Pylians] prayed to Zeus among the gods and to Nestor among men' (11.761 πάντες δ' εὐχετόωντο θεῶν Διῒ Νέστορί τ' ἀνδρῶν), where the close conjunction of a god and a human is revealing.[145] Both in Homer and in the historical cases, to pray to someone is to assimilate them to a god.

Given the close typological resemblance in the cases we have considered, it seems inadvisable to fragment the group by assigning some to the category of 'religious' and others to the category of 'secular' treatment. A sliding-scale approach seems more appropriate. Thus the recipients of such treatment seem to be styled as 'more than human', but the extent to which they were so regarded could vary. At one end of the scale, they might be approximated quite closely to gods (compare Empedokles' claims), and might receive cult hymns (Demetrios) or animal sacrifices (Dion). At the other end of the scale, awareness of their distance from the gods could be reflected by extending to them a treatment which, although religious in character, stopped short of the actual cult offered to θεοί strictly conceived. But rather than taking θεός in such cases as a rhetorical hyperbole, we might say that θεός was capable of taking either the precise signification 'god' or the vaguer, more inclusive one 'superhuman being'.[146] That is, θεός is capable of both a 'marked' and an 'unmarked' usage: marked when distinguishing a god from a *daimon*, hero, nymph, or other supernatural figure, unmarked when distinguishing all of these collectively from men.[147] In this way, the occurrence of θεός in the passages we have been considering will indicate a religious treatment. One could see the rhetorical use of θεός mentioned above (as in 'a god among men': Isocrates 9.72,

[144] For θεῖον . . . ἀγῶνα as 'sanctuaries' of the gods (the places where the gods 'assemble'), cf. Σ *Il.* 7.298a, b Erbse. On Hektor's godlike status for the Trojans, see further *Il.* 22.394 (*sc.* Ἕκτορα) ᾧ Τρῶες κατὰ ἄστυ θεῷ ὣς εὐχετόωντο, 24.258 ὃς θεὸς ἔσκε μετ' ἀνδράσιν. Cf. *Il.* 8.538–40, 13.825–7.

[145] See Muellner 1976: 50, 59 n. 82.

[146] For θεός used to encompass heroes as well as gods, cf. e.g. *O.* 7.79 (Tlapolemos); Perikles in Stesimbrotus *FGrH* 107 F9 (Athenian war dead); Soph. *OC* 65 (Kolonos); Diod. 5.83.3 (Tennes); *CEG* 854.6 (Naulochos of Priene, IV BC). On the capacity of the term θεός either to include or to exclude ἥρως, see Kearns 1989: 125.

[147] In general on the terms 'marked' and 'unmarked', see e.g. Nagy 1990*a*: 5–6. Compare above on θύειν, θυσία as marked and unmarked terms.

Theognis 339, etc.) as being parasitic on this literal use. It is typical of the literal use that it concerns a collective treatment from a whole community in which words are reinforced by actions (garlanding and *phyllobolia*, if not actual sacrifices). By contrast, the rhetorical uses are the utterances of a single voice and have no correlate in non-verbal behaviour.

We must now also consider the implications of the adverb ὡς, when used in a phrase like ὡς θεός. This adverb (and its synonyms: ὥσπερ, etc.) is ambiguous.[148] On the one hand, it could mean to treat someone 'like' something, where it implies that the person honoured was *not* such-and-such.[149] So in Hektor's monologue before facing Achilleus: 'he will kill me . . . *like* a woman', κτενέει δέ με . . . ὥς τε γυναῖκα, where Hektor is obviously not a woman (*Iliad* 22.124–5).[150] The ὡς clause in such cases often involves an ellipse: 'he will kill me like (one kills) a woman'.[151] On the other hand, ὡς can equate. In such a case, ὡς θεός would mean 'as a god' or 'in the capacity of a god', where it would be understood that the person honoured *is* a god.[152] Thus the *Iliad* calls Ares and Athena 'beautiful and tall, *as* gods', καλὼ καὶ μεγάλω . . . ὥς τε θεώ περ (18.518).[153] Often ὡς presents a subjective attitude: a person's belief, whether true or false, or their intention, real or pretended. Thus ὡς may convey the nuance 'taking somebody to be (or to be doing) something'.[154] An equivalent nuance to ὡς θεός may be conveyed by the use of a dative of a noun or pronoun: ὑμῖν θεός, 'in your eyes a god'.[155] In these cases the speaker imputes a subjective attitude to the person(s) being described. However, this does not imply that

[148] Cf. van der Ben 1975: 74–5.

[149] Taeger 1957: 60 'Überall findet sich ὡς, das die Identität ausschließt und nur die Ähnlichkeit ausspricht'. On treating someone 'like' a god, cf. Nilsson 1967–74: ii. 140–1; Habicht 1970: 196; Shipley 2000: 156–9.

[150] Similarly, Thuc. 4.121.1 (*sc.* Βρασίδᾳ) προσήρχοντο ὥσπερ ἀθλητῇ: Brasidas was not an athlete.

[151] Schwyzer 1939–53: ii. 667 §12; Monteil 1963: 333.

[152] Monteil 1963: 339 'ὡς "équatif" ', cf. ibid. 338–43. Similarly with ἅτε and οἷα: Hdt. 8.134.2 ἅτε μάντι χρᾶσθαι ἢ ἅτε συμμάχῳ, 'as a seer or as an ally'; *Od.* 3.73 οἷά τε λῃϊστῆρες 'as pirates'.

[153] Plut. *Cim.* 8.6 τιμᾶν (*sc.* Θησέα) ὡς ἥρωα (Theseus *was* a hero). Paus. 3.1.8 (*sc.* Θήρᾳ) οἱ Θηραῖοι . . . ἐναγίζουσιν ὡς οἰκιστῇ (Theras *was* oikist of Thera). Diod. 11.26.6 τυχεῖν τιμωρίας ὡς τύραννος (Gelon *was* tyrant).

[154] Xen. Eph. 1.2.7 προσεκύνησαν ὡς Ἄρτεμιν, 'taking her to be Artemis'. Compare Hdt. 1.60.5 πειθόμενοι τὴν γυναῖκα εἶναι αὐτὴν τὴν θεὸν προσεύχοντο, 'believing the woman [Phye] to be the goddess [Athena] herself they prayed to her' (this is exactly the sense which is being claimed here for ὡς Ἀθηναίην προσεύχοντο).

[155] Emped. 31 B112.10 *VS*. For similar datives, cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 711; Ar. *av.* 720, 722; Virg. *ec.* 1.7. See Nock 1928: 31 and nn. 51–2.

their view must differ from the speaker's view, or from reality.[156] Thus an expression like τῷ δεῖνι θύειν ὡς θεῷ will not imply that the person who receives sacrifices is not in the writer's view a θεός; it will imply, however, that the worshippers take him to be one.

Of these two uses of ὡς, where it does equate and where it does not, the former seems to be normal in expressions like ὡς θεός. The one use, however, goes over readily into the other. Sometimes a non-identity between the two terms or the elliptical construction is apparent.[157] Nevertheless, the 'equating' use of ὡς can be regarded as normal; ὡς θεός and its equivalents typically characterize the mindset of the participants in the action. It follows that the correct translation of τιμᾶν τινα ὡς θεόν is 'to honour someone *as* a god'; that is, taking them to be a god (not 'to honour someone *like* a god' or 'to honour someone *as one honours* a god').[158] We should probably be wary of a hard and fast distinction between 'to pay someone the same honours as a god' and 'to regard someone as a god'.[159] The slipperiness of this distinction for the Greeks is suggested by the fact that νομίζειν θεούς combines the notions of 'to pay the gods the customary honours' and 'to believe in the gods'.[160] Accordingly, with νομίζειν τινὰ θεόν it is hard to disentangle 'to treat someone as a god' from 'to believe that someone is a god'. In Aristophanes' *Birds*, for instance, the birds are both to be treated as gods and to be believed to be gods.[161] There is a tendency for scholars of Greek and Roman religions to privilege what was done (ritual) over what the participants believed.[162] Here, however, we seem to have an instance where the Greek language inextricably blends belief and practice: a community extended religious treatment to an individual *because* it believed that he was more than human.

[156] Cf. (on ὡς with participles) Smyth 1956: §2086a 'implies nothing as to the opinion of the speaker or writer'.

[157] Elliptical construction made apparent: Hdt. 6.38.1 (*sc.* Μιλτιάδῃ) Χερσονησῖται θύουσι ὡς νόμος οἰκιστῇ. Cf. Ekroth 2002: 208–12.

[158] Scullion 2000: 169.

[159] Contrast e.g. Shipley 2000: 156–7.

[160] Burkert 1985*a*: 275; Parker 1996: 201 n. 8.

[161] Cf. Ar. *av.* 571 πῶς ἡμᾶς νομιοῦσι θεοὺς ἄνθρωποι;, 723 ἦν . . . ἡμᾶς νομίσητε θεούς. Cf. Ar. *eq.* 1338 ἐμὲ γὰρ νομίζοις ἂν θεόν (the Sausage Seller).

[162] e.g. Price 1984: 11 'Ritual is what there was'; id. 1999: 3 'Practice not belief is the key'; Linder and Scheid 1993; North 2000: 83–4. Differently, stating the need to 'reclaim' belief for Greek religion, Harrison 2000: 18–22.

Religious attentions for an individual

The argument so far has been that these ceremonies of receiving and/or praying to a person had a religious character. There is the additional question whether the religious treatment of the persons concerned was confined to the duration of that ceremony (as with the Roman triumph), or whether the persons concerned were considered to be of a character that made them generally suitable for such a treatment (compare the question asked of the treatment of athletes in the previous chapter).

We may note, first, that the honouring of the *βασιλεύς* by the people 'as a god' in Homer and Hesiod is a regular, not a one-off, occurrence. The Phaeacians are said to 'look upon [queen Arete] as a god . . . *whenever* she goes about the town' (*Odyssey* 7.71–2 *ὅτε στείχῃσ' ἀνὰ ἄστυ*). The rapturous treatment of historical persons is often also not confined to a single time or place. Themistokles received exceptional treatment in his lifetime at both Sparta and Olympia, as well as posthumous cult at Magnesia and Lampsacus (Herodotus 8.124.2–3; Thucydides 1.138.5).[163] Empedokles tells us he received a rapturous reception in 'all the cities' he visits, and we hear of exceptional treatment of him both by the Selinuntines and at Olympia (31 B112.5 *VS*; Diogenes Laertius 8.66, 70). Brasidas received exceptional honours in his lifetime at Sparta, Scione, and Acanthus, and posthumously received hero cult at Amphipolis (Thucydides 2.25.2, 4.121.1, 5.11.1; Plutarch, *Life of Lysandros* 1.1). A similar situation is presented by athletes, whose special aura is manifest on several different occasions (see Chapter 8). These individuals were not just special to a certain community at a certain time; they were apparently seen as special in themselves. The fact that they might attract attention at a Panhellenic gathering (the Olympic festival) is especially significant.[164] We have here an important corrective to those views of heroization which focus exclusively on the role of the community, and which emphasize the working of abstract forces (such as a need to promote solidarity in the *polis*) in the establishment of hero cults.[165] In a fifth-century Greek's experience of history, the role of powerful individuals might have been much more palpable than it is to us.[166]

[163] Cf. *IGSK* VI.3.12–14; Plut. *Them.* 17.4, 32.3.

[164] Themistokles: Plut. *Them.* 17.4. Empedokles: D.L. 8.66.

[165] e.g. Boehringer 1996.

[166] For a reminder of the importance of individuals in V-BC Greek history, cf. Gould 1989: 67, 114–15; Griffin 1998: 57–8.

Conclusion

This chapter provides the wider context in which to set the conclusions of the previous chapter about the treatment of athletes in their lifetimes. It is possible now to see athletes as a distinctive subset of θεῖοι ἄνδρες: men who were recognized as more than human in their lifetimes. (It is indicative of this overlap of focus that Euthymos has been treated in both chapters.) Some of the distinctive features of the treatment of athletes—the reception at their homecoming, their decoration with *tainiai* and *phyllobolia*—are found with many of the persons considered in this chapter. Moreover, a comparison with athletes is sometimes made explicit in our sources (Thucydides 4.121.1; Plutarch, *Life of Perikles* 28.5). A significant finding of the previous chapter was that athletes' posthumous hero cults often came as the apparent culmination of a treatment of them in their lifetimes that already raised them into the heroic sphere. It is a striking fact also that many of the individuals considered in this chapter received posthumous hero cult, as well as extraordinary treatment in their lifetimes. We hear of posthumous hero cults for Aristomenes, Gelon, Themistokles, Euthymos, Brasidas, and Empedokles.[167] This is a fact which deserves more attention than it has received.[168] It would be very significant if the conclusion of the previous chapter was more generally valid, and posthumous hero cult frequently appeared as a culmination of the religious treatment that a person received in his lifetime. In this chapter we have seen two ways in which posthumous hero cult could be anticipated before a person's death.

First, a full anticipation. A few individuals seem to have received full hero cult in their lifetime: Euthymos and Hagnon in the fifth century, and Dion in the fourth. Here, the community did not wait for the person's death before instituting a cult for them. It is perhaps an extension of this practice, on a more extravagant scale, when we

[167] Aristomenes: Paus. 4.24.3; *IG* XII.i.8.4 (Rhodes); Paus. 4.32.3–4 (Messenia). Gelon: Diod. 11.38.5 (Syracuse). Themistokles: Thuc. 1.138.5; Nepos *Them.* 10.3; Plut. *Them.* 32.4, cf. 34 (Magnesia). Note the portrait of Themistokles, accompanied by the legend ΘΕ, on a coin of Magnesia, *c.*460 BC (Cahn and Gerin 1988; Cahn and Mannsperger 1991): an extraordinary honour, close to heroization. Euthymos: herms from Locri from the later iv BC: Costabile 1991: 195–226. Brasidas: Thuc. 5.11.1 (Amphipolis). Empedokles: Heracleides of Pontus fr. 83 Wehrli.

[168] But cf. Hornblower 1996: 385 'It is remarkable that Brasidas, [who received] posthumous cult at Amphipolis . . ., should also get rapturous and semi-religious treatment at Skione during his lifetime.' Cf., also on Brasidas, Habicht 1970: 206 n. 51.

find divine cult being offered to living persons at the turn of the fifth century (Lysandros, Agesilaos). In the Archaic period, divine cult had apparently also been granted to dead persons as a more elevated alternative to heroic cult (for instance, to Lykourgos: Herodotus 1.66.1, etc.). In a few rare cases, then, in the fifth and fourth centuries, a person's posthumous cult could be anticipated by his receiving cult in his lifetime; it may not have made a categorical difference whether that cult was heroic or divine.

Second, a partial anticipation. The other way in which a posthumous hero cult might be anticipated in a person's lifetime was for them to receive not a full cult, but various types of treatment of a religious character. Though not amounting to a full cult (which would require regular religious attentions), the religious character of the treatment in question is nevertheless clear when sacrifices were made to a person (as they were to Dion), or when a person is prayed to (as was Empedokles), or when a person is 'received' in a manner appropriate to a divine or heroic epiphany (as were Peisistratos and various others). The recipient of such treatment was, typically, being seen as more than human: a status that is reflected both in the treatment itself and in the terminology used to describe that treatment (especially phrases like *θεῖος ἀνήρ* and *ὡς θεός*).

One reason for seeing such treatment as a 'partial anticipation' of a posthumous cult is the fact that in several sources the exceptional treatment which a person received in his lifetime is paired with the hero cult which he received after his death. Thus Battos, the founder of Cyrene, was 'blessed' while he was alive and was 'a hero worshipped by the people' after his death (*P.* 5.94–5 *μάκαρ μὲν ἀνδρῶν μέτα | ἔναιεν, ἥρως δ' ἔπειτα λαοσεβής*). Tennes, the founder of Tenedos, 'received great favour while he was alive, and after his death was deemed worthy of immortal honours: they established a sanctuary for him and honoured him with sacrifices as a god' (Diodorus 5.83.3 *ζῶν μὲν μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἐτύγχανε, τελευτήσας δ' ἀθανάτων τιμῶν ἠξιώθη· καὶ γὰρ τέμενος αὐτοῦ κατεσκεύασαν καὶ θυσίαις ὡς θεὸν ἐτίμων*). Theron 'both while he was alive used to receive great favour among the citizens and after his death received heroic honours' (Diodorus 11.53.2 *καὶ ζῶν μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἐτύγχανε παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις καὶ τελευτήσας ἡρωικῶν ἔτυχε τιμῶν*). Of Diokles we hear that 'the Syracusans not only marvelled at this man while he was alive, but also after his death honoured him with heroic honours and built a temple at public expense' (Diodorus 13.35.2 *οὐ μόνον δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ζῶντα ἐθαύμασαν οἱ Συρακόσιοι,*

ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτήσαντα τιμαῖς ἡρωικαῖς ἐτίμησαν καὶ νεὼν ᾠκοδόμησαν δημοσίᾳ). In these cases, the treatment of the living person and their posthumous cult are nicely balanced (note the conjunctions . . . μὲν . . . δὲ . . ., καὶ . . . καὶ . . ., οὐ μόνον . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ . . .). The treatment these persons received in their lifetime is both associated with and distinguished from the posthumous cult they received: both the comparison and the contrast are important. Sometimes the contrast comes through very strongly. Thus, according to Xenophon, '[the] honours that have been granted to the living [Spartan] king [do not differ] in any great respect from the honours of private citizens; . . . but as for those honours which have been granted to the king after his death, here the laws of Lykourgos mean to show that they privilege the kings of the Spartans not as men, but as heroes' (*Constitution of the Spartans* 15.8–9 αὗται μὲν οὖν αἱ τιμαὶ [[οἵκοι]] ζῶντι βασιλεῖ δέδονται, οὐδέν τι πολὺ ὑπερφέρουσαι τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν· . . . αἱ δὲ τελευτήσαντι τιμαὶ βασιλεῖ δέδονται, τῇδε βούλονται δηλοῦν οἱ Λυκούργου νόμοι ὅτι οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρώπους ἀλλ' ὡς ἥρωας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς προετιμήκασι).[169] Further, we are told that Hieron founded Aitna 'desiring . . . to have heroic honours' (Diodorus 11.49.2 σπεύδων . . . τιμὰς ἔχειν ἡρωϊκάς), but it was only after Hieron died that he actually 'received heroic honours' (Diodorus 11.66.4 Ἱέρων . . . ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τῇ Κατάνῃ καὶ τιμῶν ἡρωϊκῶν ἔτυχεν). For all that they associate a special treatment of the living person with his posthumous cult, then, the sources often insist that the posthumous cult is distinct from, and surpasses, the treatment that the person received in his lifetime. However, the distinction which the sources insist on should probably not be understood in terms of a distinction between 'secular' and 'religious' honours. In this chapter we have seen reasons to question the view that in the fifth century all honours paid a person in their lifetime were secular honours and that all religious honours were posthumous. Instead, we may go some way towards accounting for the difference between the honours paid a person in his lifetime and those paid to him after his death by considering who it was that paid the honours.

The religious treatment of living persons which we have been considering is, typically, an ecstatic reaction from an assembled crowd. Gelon

[169] This text is also discussed below in Ch. 11. In the view of Cartledge 1987: 335–6 '[Xen. *resp. Lac.* 15.8] says, disingenuously or at least inexactly . . .', cf. 109 'the Spartan kings were regarded in their lifetime too as somewhat above or at least apart from the ordinary mortal estate'. Flower 1988: 127 raises the possibility that Xenophon's religious scruples may have led him to downplay the honours of the living Spartan kings.

was exalted by his assembled army (Diodorus 11.26.6), Empedokles by the thronging Sicilians (31 B112.7–8 *VS*), Brasidas by the people of Scione (Thucydides 4.121.1), Peisistratos by the Athenians (Herodotus 1.60.5), Alkibiades by the Athenians (Plutarch, *Alkibiades* 32.3, etc.), and Teleutias by the Aeginetans (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 5.1.3). The reception of athletes also conforms to this pattern. Such attitudes of popular enthusiasm to extraordinary living persons seem to have been deeply ingrained in the culture, given its reflections in Homer and Hesiod.

In contrast to the informality of this treatment, hero cult was formally decreed by the official decision-making bodies of the cities (compare above, p. 5). This difference—between honours which came by the decree of the political authority and attentions lavished informally by the populace—sometimes emerges from our sources. Brasidas was given a golden crown 'by the state' of Scione (δημοσίᾳ), but given *tainiai* by people 'on their own initiative' (ἰδίᾳ) (Thucydides 4.121.1). Dion had sacrifices made to him by the Syracusan people (Plutarch *Dion* 29.1), but a year later had 'heroic honours' voted him by the Syracusan assembly (Diodorus 16.20.6). The kind of religious treatment of living persons which falls short of cult was an unregulated expression of popular enthusiasm, over which the state had little direct control (the Spartan ceremony praising the θεῖος ἀνήρ seems, exceptionally, to have been a regulated and formalized version of this). By contrast, any honours voted through by the assembly received the sanction of the state. The difference in who paid the honours (the people informally, or the state) might help to explain the difference in the character of the honours conferred. The state alone had the resources and organization to institute a full cult comprising regular animal sacrifices. Attentions coming from ordinary people, on the other hand, would be infrequent, and seldom on the scale of animal sacrifice (they were, though, in the case of Dion: Plutarch, *Dion* 29.1). On these grounds we can suggest an explanation of why many sources both compare and contrast the exceptional treatment a person received in his lifetime with the cult he received posthumously: both of these may be seen as essentially religious, but the latter surpasses the former in being decreed by the state. If the popular treatment of living persons as 'more than human' shows what was acceptable to popular Greek religious feeling, the cults that were voted through the assembly show us what was deemed also to be politically acceptable. Cults of living persons were rarely (much more rarely than cults of dead persons) judged to be sufficiently in the city's interests to be decreed by the city. The readiness to make such decrees is

associated particularly with the Hellenistic period; but we found it also in the Classical period with Euthymos, Hagnon, Lysandros, Agesilaos, and Dion. Most of the time, though, political opposition prevented the decree of a cult to a person who was still alive.

The political opposition seems to have been informed by the danger, explicitly acknowledged in a number of sources, of making the recipient of the cult a potential tyrant. According to Aristotle, '[situations of civic unrest are produced] whenever someone is great and capable of becoming still greater, in the hope of becoming sole ruler, just as Pausanias seems [to have done] in Sparta' (*Politics* 1307^{a}2–5 (*sc.* *γίνονται αἱ στάσεις*) *ἐάν τις μέγας ᾖ καὶ δυνάμενος ἔτι μείζων εἶναι, ἵνα μοναρχῇ, ὥσπερ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι δοκεῖ Παυσανίας*).[170] Xenophon states likewise that Lykourgos' laws granted the Spartan kings heroic honours only posthumously, 'for [Lykourgos] did not want to create a tyrannical frame of mind in the kings' (*Constitution of the Spartans* 15.8 *οὐ γὰρ ἐβουλήθη* (*sc.* *Λυκοῦργος*) *οὔτε τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τυραννικὸν φρόνημα παραστῆσαι* . . .). The case of Pausanias in Sparta will be considered presently; for the time being we may add that the unaccustomed 'grandeur' of both Alkibiades in Athens and Lysandros in Sparta aroused the fear among their respective citizens that they were aiming at a tyranny.[171] That fear of promoting tyrannical ambitions vanished, of course, once the person was dead; hence cities were readier to grant official cult to dead persons than to living ones.

Thus the reasons why a full cult was, with rare exceptions, granted to dead persons but not to living ones seem to be more political than religious. It is true that opponents of a cult for a living person might argue the impiety of such a cult in traditional religious language (Arrian, *Anabasis* 4.11; Philippides fr. 25 *PCG*).[172] But this does not show that a cult of living persons was perceived on the whole as an affront to Greek religious feeling: the actual point of controversy in most cases seems to have been whether a particular candidate for cult deserved to be seen as a god or as a man. The claims and counter-claims made often centred on the strengths of an individual's claims to divinity: those who opposed his cult might ultimately point to the fact of his death, advancing the argument that 'death refuted him' (*ὁ θάνατος*

[170] Cf. ibid. 1284a3–b34. Cf. (also speaking of 'great men') Solon 9.3–4 *IEG* **ἀνδρῶν** *δ' ἐκ* **μεγάλων** *πόλις ὄλλυται, ἐς δὲ μονάρχου | δῆμος ἀϊδρίηι δουλοσύνην ἔπεσεν.*

[171] Pausanias' alleged tyrannical ambitions: Thuc. 1.128.3, 1.128.7; cf. Hdt. 5.32. Alkibiades: Thuc. 6.15.4, cf. 6.27.3, 6.60.1. Lysandros: Plut. *Lys.* 24.5–25.1, 33.3.

[172] Parker 1996: 261 n. 21.

ἤλεγξε); that argument might be met by denying the physical evidence of death, owing to the disappearance (ἀφάνισις) of the person's body.[173] Here we have another exemplification of the principle that 'Scepticism in one area may . . . actually reinforce belief in another: to condemn one diviner as a fraud, for example, presupposes that there are others whose insights are genuine'.[174] In Rome, Seneca's ridicule of Claudius' apotheosis in the *Apocolocyntosis* (*Pumpkinification*) does not entail that Seneca opposed the apotheosis of emperors as a whole.[175] In fifth-century Greece, it does not seem that there were *general* religious scruples to inhibit a religious treatment of persons in their lifetimes.

The political factors too were doubtless complex. Following P. Cartledge, we may take Pausanias the Spartan regent as our test case for the political situation in the first half of the fifth century.[176] In the wake of the victory over the Persians in 479 BC, Pausanias assumed great airs, modelling himself apparently on the Persian king. 'He used to go forth . . . wearing Median attire, he had Median and Egyptian bodyguards when he travelled . . ., he had Persian victuals set before him . . ., he made himself difficult to approach' (Thucydides 1.130.1–2 σκευάς τε Μηδικὰς ἐνδυόμενος . . . ἐξήει καὶ . . . πορευόμενον αὐτὸν Μῆδοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐδορυφόρουν τράπεζάν τε Περσικὴν παρετίθετο . . . δυσπρόσοδόν τε αὐτὸν παρεῖχε). In so doing, he was setting himself up as a suitable object of religious attention, given that the Greeks saw the attitude of Persians to their King as equivalent to religious devotion.[177] The significance of this behaviour of Pausanias can be gauged from two comparisons. In Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* of 458 BC, Agamemnon on his return to Argos is honoured by Klytaimnestra with *proskynesis*, and induced by her to acquiesce in honours such as the Trojan potentate whom he has vanquished would have enjoyed.[178] The second example is historical, but postdates Pausanias by one and a half centuries: Alexander the Great imitated Persian dress and in 327 BC attempted to

[173] 'Death refuted him': see Habicht 1970: 198 n. 34. Disappearance: cf. Aristeas: Hdt. 4.14–15; Hamilkar: Hdt. 7.167.1–2; Kleomedes: Paus. 6.9.7; Euthymos: Ael. *v.h.* 8.18; Empedokles, D.L. 8.69; Alexander: Arr. *ana.* 7.27.3. See Lacroix 1988: 189–90.

[174] Harrison 2000: 14.

[175] Price 1984: 115; North 2000: 60.

[176] Cartledge 1987: 84–5.

[177] See Balsdon 1950: 375 nn. 66–7; Hornblower 1983: 277–8; Badian 1996: 15–16; Hall 1996: 121.

[178] *Proskynesis*: Aesch. *Ag.* 919–20. Slater 1984: 242–3; Hall 1996: 119. Agamemnon's honours to match Priamos': Aesch. *Ag.* 935–6. For the comparison between Agamemnon and Pausanias, see Fraenkel 1950: i. 373; Dover 1987*b*: 156–7; S. West 1992: 117–18.

have himself voted the honour of *proskynesis*.[179] With Agamemnon and Alexander both the 'barbarian' character and the religious character of the honours is emphasized.[180] Pausanias' adoption of Persian ways and his 'inability any longer to live in the established way' (Thucydides 1.130.1) were a means of laying claim to a more than human status: 'he aroused much suspicion of not wishing to be equal to those around him' (Thucydides 1.132.2).[181]

The resentment caused by this conduct of Pausanias is seen with the two dedicatory epigrams he had inscribed, one on the golden tripod dedicated by the Greeks collectively to Delphian Apollo, the other on a bronze krater dedicated to Poseidon near Byzantium. In these epigrams Pausanias called himself 'leader of the Greeks' and referred to the Greek victory over the Persians at Plataea as if it were his own personal achievement ('Simonides' *FGE* 17a.1–2 *Ἑλλήνων ἀρχαγὸς . . . Παυσανίας* and 'Simonides' *FGE* 39.2 *Παυσανίας ἄρχων Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόρου*).[182] It was seen as an outrage for Pausanias to be claiming personal glory with these two dedications; it was both a departure from normal practice and a mark of arrogance.[183] Thucydides says the Spartans 'promptly' (*εὐθύς*) erased the epigram at Delphi (1.132.3). Contrasting the case of Pausanias in the first half of the fifth century with that of Lysandros at the end of the Peloponnesian war, Cartledge

[179] Dress, etc.: Arr. *ana.* 4.7.4, 4.9.9, 7.9.9; Diod. 17.77.4–5; Plut. *Alex.* 45.1–4, 51.3; Curt. 6.6.4. Balsdon 1950: 374 n. 55; Hornblower 1983: 283. *Proskynesis*: Arr. *ana.* 4.10.5–12.6. Balsdon 1950: 375; Badian 1982: 48–54; Hornblower 1983: 278, 287–8; Walbank 1992: 38–9, 42–3.

[180] 'Barbarian' character of the honours: Aesch. *Ag.* 919 *βαρβάρου φωτὸς δίκην* (Agamemnon); Arr. *ana.* 4.11.7 *βαρβαρικὰ . . . φρονήματα* (Alexander). Cf. Aristot. *rhet.* 1361^{a}36–7 *τὰ βαρβαρικὰ οἷον προσκυνήσεις*. Religious character: Aesch. *Ag.* 922–30, 937, 946–7 esp. 925 *λέγω κατ' ἄνδρα, μὴ θεόν, σέβειν ἐμέ*, cf. 530–2 (Agamemnon); Arr. *ana.* 4.10.6–11.9 esp. 4.10.7 *θείαις τιμαῖς*, etc. (Alexander).

[181] Sanders 1991: 281 suggests Dionysios I's initiatives to promote a divine cult of himself involved adopting the regalia of the Persian king, though this does not emerge clearly from the sources.

[182] Cf. Thuc. 1.132.2 *ἠξίωσεν ἐπιγράψασθαι* **αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ** *τὸ ἐλεγεῖον τόδε*, 'he saw fit to inscribe, himself to his own personal credit, the following couplet'. 'Dem.' 59.97 *ὡς* **αὐτοῦ** *τοῦ τε ἔργου ὄντος καὶ τοῦ ἀναθήματος*, 'as if the achievement and the dedication were personally his'. Nymphis of Heracleia *FGrH* 432 F9 *ἐτόλμησεν ἐπιγράψαι ὡς* **αὐτὸς** *ἀναθείη*, 'he dared to inscribe that he was the dedicator personally'.

[183] Departure from normal practice: Thuc. 1.130.1, 132.2 *ἀνεσκόπουν εἴ τι που ἐξεδεδιήτητο τῶν καθεστώτων νομίμων*. Nymphis of Heracleia *FGrH* 432 F9 *τὰ τῆς Σπάρτης ἐξελθὼν νόμιμα*. Arrogance: Thuc. 1.130.1 *πολλῷ τότε μᾶλλον ἦρτο*, 132.3 *ἀδίκημα*. Nymphis of Heracleia *FGrH* 432 F9 *εἰς ὑπερηφανίαν ἐπιδούς*, ibid. *διὰ τρυφὴν καὶ ὑπερηφανίαν ἐπιλαθόμενος αὐτοῦ*. 'Dem.' 59.97 *φυσηθείς*.

concluded: 'The message was clear: such overweening boastfulness (*hyperêphania*) was intolerable—as yet'.[184]

Five years after Cartledge's discussion of Pausanias, the elegy composed by Simonides on the Greek victory at Plataea was made available to scholars for the first time (10–18 *IEG*).[185] This long elegy, running perhaps to several hundred verses, was probably publicly performed at a festival, and may have been commissioned by the Spartans.[186] Pausanias alone of the Greeks is named in the extant fragments, and features as the 'best' and the 'leader' of the Greeks (11.33–4 *IEG* [τοὺς δ' υἱὸς θείοιο Κλεο]μβ[ρ]ότου ἔξ[α]γ' ἄριστος | . . . Παυσανίας). The language of this publicly performed poem is remarkably similar to that of the epigrams at Delphi and Byzantium. (Pausanias in Simonides' elegy is also compared, implicitly, to Achilleus.[187]) The elegy thus suggests that the promotion of Pausanias was not confined to Pausanias' private initiative, but enjoyed the connivance of the Spartan state, at least initially.[188] The publication of Simonides' elegy also calls for re-evaluation of the advice which, according to an anecdote, Simonides addressed to Pausanias at a symposium: 'remember you are a man' (Aelian, *Historical Miscellany* 9.41 μέμνησο ἄνθρωπος ὤν).[189] *We* should remember in this connection that Philippos II (who represented himself as a 'thirteenth' Olympian god and probably enjoyed cult in his lifetime) is also said to have had a slave call out to him three times in the morning to remind him 'you are a man' (Aelian, *Historical Miscellany* 8.15 Φίλιππε, ἄνθρωπος εἶ).[190] 'Reminders' of a person's mortality

[184] Cartledge 1987: 85.

[185] *Editio princeps*: Parsons 1992.

[186] Length: cf. Bowie 2001: 55. On the public performance of the Plataea elegy, see Parsons 1992: 6; Aloni 1994: 19, 21 (suggesting performance at the Eleutheria in Plataea); Boedeker 1995: 220–5; Rutherford 2001*b*: 40–1; Bowie 2001: 60. In general on publicly performed narrative elegy, see Bowie 1986: 33–5. For the likelihood of a Spartan commission, cf. Aloni 2001: 102–4; cf. Rutherford 2001*b*: 38–40.

[187] So Parsons 1992: 32. Differently, West 1993: 6 n. 15. Cf. the likely parallel between Miltiades and Theseus in the paintings of the Stoa Poikile and the Marathon monument at Delphi: Castriota 1992: 80–1. The designation of Pausanias as ἄριστος (Sim. 11.33 *IEG*) also encourages comparison with Achilleus: cf. *Il.* 2.268–70, 16.271–2, 17.164–5. Pausanias was actually awarded the prize for individual ἀριστεία after Plataea (Diod. 11.33.1).

[188] Simonides' elegy probably dates from shortly after the battle: Boedeker 1995: 225. Pausanias may for some time after the battle still have operated under the auspices of the Spartan state: Rhodes 1970: 389–92. Aloni 1994: 21 suggests that Pausanias was involved in commissioning the elegy (differently, Boedeker 1995: 224–5). Involvement of the Spartan state in the Delphic epigram (contrast Thuc. 1.132.2 ἠξίωσεν ἐπιγράψασθαι **αὐτὸς** . . . τὸ ἐλεγεῖον) may be suggested by their being fined by the Amphictyonic council: 'Dem.' 59.98.

[189] Cf. Cartledge 1987: 85 'No wonder Simonides, who knew Sparta and Greek aristocracy generally well, saw fit to remind Pausanias of his mortality'.

[190] Thirteenth Olympian god: Diod. 16.92.5, 16.95.1. Lifetime cult: see Bosworth 1988: 281.

are, arguably, most at home when that person's mortality has precisely been called into question.[191] The implication of addressing such a 'reminder' to Pausanias would be that he was already far advanced on the 'sliding scale' leading from men to gods (see above). The political attitude to Pausanias in Sparta seems to have been complex and ambiguous. It is not even clear (despite Thucydides 1.132.3) that the Spartans did rush to erase Pausanias' self-advertising inscription: they may have responded reluctantly to pressure applied by other Greek states.[192] The backlash against Pausanias in Sparta was probably a later development, the result of Pausanias' enemies gaining ascendancy in Sparta.[193] The reaction to Pausanias' advancement thus seems to indicate political tensions much more than religious ones; and these tensions may have been quite finely balanced.

From Simonides we move on at last to Pindar. The conclusions of this chapter lend support to the view that the posthumous heroization of the laudandus may be anticipated in the victory ode performed in the laudandus' own lifetime (cf. above, Chapter 1). This chapter has offered some justification for seeing that anticipation in the victory ode in the context of other anticipations, full or partial, in a person's lifetime of a posthumous cult. It remains an open question whether the performance of the victory ode should be seen itself as an act of religious significance (cf. Pfister cited above, Chapter 1). The political sensitivity which we have seen to attach to the religious treatment of a living person may be relevant to the sensitivity shown by the epinician laudator in his exaltation of the laudandus. A further feature of Pindar's odes which especially deserves remarking in this context is their tendency to associate the more-than-human treatment of someone in their lifetime (the laudandus) with the heroic honours received by a person after their death (either the hero of the myth or a heroized

[191] Griffin 1980: 168 '"Remember that you are not a god" was the most regular and most typical of all expressions of Greek wisdom; it would not have been, if Greeks had not been tempted to forget it, and to think that they were, or could be, gods'. Cf. Stewart 1977: 564–5. In the Roman triumph (in which the triumphator was approximated to gods) the triumphator was told, 'look behind you; remember that you are a man' (*respice post te, hominem memento te*: Epictetus *diss.* 3.24.85; Tertull. *apol.* 33.4). See Versnel 1970: 57, 70, 380.

[192] According to 'Dem.' 59.98, the Spartans were 'forced' by the Plataeans on behalf of the Greeks to erase the epigram, and the Spartans hated the Plataeans on this account. Hornblower 1991: 218–19. Cf. Thuc. 3.57.2.

[193] For Pausanias' enemies, cf. Thuc. 1.132.1 *οἱ ἐχθροί*; cf. 1.95.5 *τῶν . . . ἰδίᾳ πρός τινα ἀδικημάτων*. These enemies are the likely source of Thuc. 1.128.3–134.4: see Rhodes 1970: 389 n. 11; Cawkwell 1971: 49–51.

relative of the laudandus). This tendency in Pindar's odes to establish an analogy between the living laudandus and a dead recipient of hero cult has already been remarked; it will be a recurring theme in our study of selected odes of Pindar, which will occupy the third part of this book.

PART III

Five Odes of Pindar

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Five Odes of Pindar

The third part of the book will be devoted to a study of five odes of Pindar. The odes to be considered are *Isthmian* 7, *Pythian* 5, *Pythian* 2, *Nemean* 7, and *Pythian* 3. The chapters are arranged in order of increasing length and complexity. The concerns of the first four chapters are closely related: in each of the four odes considered, the laudandus is compared to a dead person who is the recipient of a hero cult. In the first two odes treated, *Isthmian* 7 and *Pythian* 5, the laudandus is compared with a deceased relative of the laudandus who has apparently been heroized. In *Pythian* 2 and *Nemean* 7, on the other hand, it is a mythical hero who provides the comparison with the laudandus. The implications of this comparison will in each case be explored.

The study of *Pythian* 3, the last of the five odes to be considered, is motivated by slightly different considerations. This ode provides an opportunity to assess the importance in Pindar of a poetic rather than a literal form of immortality (compare above, Chapter 6). This ode also provides opportunity to consider the relationship between the eschatology of hero cult and that of the mysteries. This necessarily impinges on another Pindaric controversy: to what extent *Olympian* 2, with its mystical leanings, ought to be seen as anomalous within the epinician corpus.

With all the five odes treated, a similar approach will be followed: Pindar's poems will be interpreted with recourse to miscellaneous 'texts' (broadly conceived) which are independent of Pindar's poetry. This will involve frequent discussion of phenomena external to Pindar's odes, in accordance with the view espoused above in the introduction (Chapter 1) that comparison of Pindar's odes to an external reality is as vital for the proper understanding of the odes as are comparisons drawn from within the epinician corpus.

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10

Isthmian 7
Pankration Victor and War Dead

Date and occasion of the ode

Isthmian 7, at three triads in length, is one of Pindar's shorter and more accessible odes. It celebrates the Isthmian victory of a Theban pankratiast, Strepsiades (verses 21–2). Its date is unknown.[1] Verses 25–36 refer to a battle fought by Thebes in which the victor's uncle, also called Strepsiades, fell, but the battle cannot be identified.[2] We do not need to suppose that it was recent history when *Isthmian* 7 was composed.[3] The ode was performed at Thebes: the eponymous nymph of the city is invoked in verse 1, and there is obvious Theban colour in verses 1–15 and 27–39.

A cult of the fallen Strepsiades

Our first concern in this chapter will be with the laudandus' dead uncle. He is presented as a casualty of war; we must consider whether he is also presented as a recipient of cult. The crucial verses are 25–30:

> *χάλκασπις ᾧ πότμον μὲν Ἄρης ἔμειξεν·*
> *τιμὰ δ' ἀγαθοῖσιν ἀντίκειται.*
> *ἴστω γὰρ σαφὲς ὅστις ἐν ταύτᾳ νεφέλᾳ χάλα-*
> *ζαν αἵματος πρὸ φίλας πάτρας ἀμύνεται,*

[1] Thummer 1968–9: i. 74 n. 50, ii. 114; Young 1971*a*: 8–9, 12, 15; Privitera 1982: 103; Willcock 1995: 61.

[2] Σ *I.* 7.34a says, vaguely but sensibly, *τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πόλεμον* (meaning the 'First Peloponnesian war', 461–446 BC). This would be compatible with any of the battles of Tanagra, Oenophyta, or Coroneia. Tanagra is argued for by Mezger 1880: 303; Bury 1892: 120; cf. Young 1971*a*: 8; Oenophyta by Bowra 1964: 153; Willcock 1995: 61, 65–6. In general, see Young 1971*a*: 3–14; Privitera 1982: 103. Similarly unidentifiable is the Theban battle at *I.* 4.16–17: see Krummen 1990: 73 n. 45.

[3] Young 1971*a*: 34 n. 111.

λοιγὸν ⟨ἀντὰ φέρων⟩[4] ἐναντίῳ στρατῷ,
ἀστῶν γενεᾷ μέγιστον κλέος αὔξων[5]
ζώων τ' ἀπὸ καὶ θανόν

to whom [the laudandus' uncle, Strepsiades] Ares of the bronze shield dealt death; but honour is the return for the brave. For, whoever wards off the hailstorm of blood from his dear country under such a cloud, bringing destruction to the opposing army, let him know well that he increases the fame of his family to the utmost among the citizens, whether he lives or dies.

Here, we find terminology appropriate to the cult of the war dead (26 *τιμά*, *ἀγαθοῖσιν*); but the exact the sense of the words in context is not easy to determine. Although in Pindar *ἀγαθός* may mean simply 'the good' or 'the noble' (as at *N.* 7.63), *ἀγαθοῖσιν* in verse 26 must mean 'brave *fighters*', given the connection of verse 26 with 25, and the application of 35 *ἄριστοι* to fighters.[6] Even so, an ambiguity remains: *ἀγαθός* may be used either of a living warrior or a dead one, including one who was heroized.[7] Equally, *τιμή* can denote either a secular honour or a religious honour (in the latter case, 'cult': a meaning specifically attested in connection with the war dead: above, Chapter 7). An exclusive decision between these alternatives, however, seems to be prohibited by verse 30, 'whether he lives or dies'. Clearly, we are interested in both the living and the dead warrior. Our interpretation of 26 *τιμὰ δ' ἀγαθοῖσιν ἀντίκειται* must be correspondingly inclusive: '*honour or cult* is the return for *living or dead* brave warriors'.

Another ambiguity is presented in verse 29 *ἀστῶν γενεᾷ μέγιστον κλέος αὔξων*. This may be construed in three ways:

(1) 'He increases the repute of his citizens to the utmost.'[8] Here

[4] An emendation of Thiersch (followed by Thummer, Willcock, Race), for the manuscripts' *ἀμύνων*. The emendation receives strong support from Σ *I.* 7.37a *ἐναντίον φέρων ὄλεθρον*. Cf. *N.* 1.24–5 *φέρειν | ἀντίον*; Aesch. *Ag.* 1414 *ἐναντίον φέρων*.

[5] This, *ἀστῶν . . . αὔξων*, is the word order of the manuscripts. Hartung proposed the transposition *αὔξων . . . ἀστῶν*. This is misreported in many critical apparatuses (Snell 1959: 184; Thummer 1968–9: I.189; Privitera 1982: 113). See, for clarification, Gerber 1976: 139; id. 1985: 5–6.

[6] See Rumpel 1883: s.v. 1).c); Young 1971*a*: 19 n. 65. In context, therefore, *ἀγαθοῖσιν* is not 'referable both to the athlete and to the warrior' (Privitera 1982: 220).

[7] Of a living warrior: *Il.* 13.313–14 (and often in *Il.*); Tyrt. 10.2, 12.10, 12.20 *IEG*; Hdt. 5.109.3, 6.117; Ar. *Acharn.* 698. Of a dead warrior: Sim. 531.6 *PMG*; Heracl. 22 B29 *VS* *οἱ ἄριστοι*; *SIG* 1225.1 (Rhodes, iii BC). Of the heroized war dead: *LSS* 64.10–11 (Thasos, end v BC); Dem. 18.208; *SEG* XXVII.65.21–2 (Plataea, mid–iii BC); Plut. *Aristid.* 21.5; cf. *ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος* in the Athenian funeral oration (Loraux 1986: 99 and n. 126). See Stupperich 1977: 62 n. 3. According to *NCIG* p. 107, the Thasian inscription *LSS* 64 provides the first attestation of *ἀγαθοί* as 'soldats morts pour la patrie'. Rather, *ἀγαθοί* appears here for the first time as a quasi-technical term for the war dead *as objects of collective cult*: cf. Loraux 1986: 100.

[8] So Mezger 1880: 304; Bury 1892: 129; Thummer 1968–9: i. 189; Young 1971*a*: 21; Privitera 1982: 113; Loraux 1986: 51; Race 1997: ii. 199.

ἀστῶν γενεᾷ means 'the clan of his citizens'.[9] The dative γενεᾷ is one of advantage. The κλέος is that of the citizens.[10]

(2) 'He increases his repute among the citizens to the utmost.'[11] The meaning of ἀστῶν γενεᾷ is as in (1), but γενεᾷ is a locative dative.[12] The κλέος is the warrior's.[13]

(3) 'He increases to the utmost the repute of his family among the citizens.'[14] A genitive such as ἀστῶν in dependence on a noun like κλέος may be either objective or subjective.[15] The former specifies the person whom the report concerns; it is equivalent in sense to κλέουσι τοὺς ἀστούς, where the citizens are the object of the verb. The latter gives the person who spreads the report; it is equivalent to οἱ ἀστοὶ κλέουσι, where the citizens are the subject of the verb. At *I.* 7.29 ἀστῶν will be a subjective genitive.[16] The dative γενεᾷ is again one of advantage, as in (1), but the sense of the noun is taken to be 'family, offspring'.[17] The κλέος belongs to the warrior's family.[18]

In each of (1)–(3), κλέος has a different referent, and each has ample parallels. However, 27–30 ἴστω γὰρ σαφὲς κτλ. purports to expand on the honour promised to the patriotic warrior in verse 26: γάρ (27) makes this clear.[19] The mere enhancement of the city's glory (interpretation (1)) would be a weak recompense in a society where reciprocal benefit, not altruism, was the rule.[20] It would be odd to make the glorification of one's fellow citizens one's reward for dying πρὸ φίλας πάτρας (27). The verb ἀντίκειται, 'is the return' (26), expresses the notion of reciprocity

[9] Cf. fr. 52a.9, *O.* 11.15, *P.* 10.42, *I.* 1.30, fr. 29.2. See Rumpel 1883: s.v. γενεά 1; Slater 1969*a*: s.v. γενεά a. Cf. *O.* 5.14 δᾶμον ἀστῶν; Theogn. 191; Aesch. *Pers.* 516, 912, *suppl.* 253, Aesch. 2 *IEG*.

[10] A notion paralleled in Tyrt. 12.24 *IEG*; Sim. 9.1 *FGE*; *GG* 11.2, 12.12. See Young 1971*a*: 21.n. 69; Loraux 1986: 25 n. 33.

[11] So Dönt 1986: 271 '[er soll klar wissen,] daß er bei dem Geschlecht seiner Mitbürger seinen Ruhm bis zur höchsten Höhe steigert'.

[12] Cf. Schwyzer 1939–53: ii. 155.*β*; Chantraine 1958–63: ii. 80 §111.

[13] Paralleled in Sim. 531.9 *PMG*, 11.28 *IEG*, 8.4 *FGE*; Heracl. 22 B29 *VS*; cf. Isoc. 9.71.

[14] So Σ *I.* 7.37a ἴστω ὁ τοιοῦτος μέγιστον παρὰ τῶν ἀστῶν κλέος αὔξων τῷ ἑαυτοῦ γένει; Hartung 1856: iv. 65. However, Hartung's emendations (1856: iv. 132–3) **αὔξων** γενεᾷ μέγιστον κλέος **ἀστῶν** | ζώων τ' ἄπο (in anastrophe) καὶ θανόν are unwarranted.

[15] Objective: *Od.* 11.492; *N.* 7.21, *N.* 7.32. Subjective: *O.* 7.54–5 ἀνθρώπων παλαιαί | ῥήσιες, *P.* 1.68 ἔτυμον λόγον ἀνθρώπων, *P.* 3.112 ἀνθρώπων φάτις; Bacch. 5.195 βροτῶν φήμαν.

[16] Cf. *I.* 3.3 εὐλογίαις ἀστῶν, *N.* 11.17 ἐν λόγοις δ' ἀστῶν ἀγαθοῖσιν.

[17] As at *P.* 6.15, *P.* 11.57, *I.* 4.21, etc.

[18] Paralleled at Tyrt. 12.29–30 *IEG*; *LSS* 64.9–14, 20–1; Plat. *Menex.* 247b2–5, 248e–249b; 'Dem.' 60.32, 37. Kurke 1991: 35 draws attention to 'the familial quality of *kleos*'.

[19] Cf. Thummer 1968–9: ii. 120.

[20] See, in general, Gill 1995: 32, 44, 60–1 n. 6. Bundy 1962: 87 speaks of a 'harmony between self-interest and altruism' in Pindar.

which we would expect.[21] The antithesis in the . . . *μέν* . . . *δ'* . . . of verses 25–6 shows that the *τιμά* of verse 26 is conceived as compensation for the *πότμον* of verse 25.[22] Interpretations (2) or (3) are thus preferable to (1), and interpretation (3) seems preferable to (2), on grounds of grammar and sense. Interpretation (3) emerges as the most likely.

We have seen that verses 24–30 do not exclude the living warrior, but they are especially concerned with the dead one.[23] They, in particular the fallen Strepsiades, win posthumous *τιμά* (26) for themselves, and 'increase the fame of their family to the utmost' (29). These are notions which would accord well with the heroized war dead. A further observation points to a cult of Strepsiades. The progression in 25–6 *χάλκασπις ᾧ πότμον μὲν Ἄρης ἔμειξεν·* | **τιμὰ δ'** *ἀγαθοῖσιν ἀντίκειται* ('to whom Ares of the bronze shield dealt death; but honour is the return for the brave') is paralleled in *N.* 7.30–3 *ἀλλὰ κοινὸν γὰρ ἔρχεται* | *κῦμ' Ἀΐδα . . .·* **τιμὰ δὲ** *γίνεται κτλ.* ('the wave of Death comes to all alike; but honour comes about . . .'). In both passages, the mention of death is followed by a clause beginning *τιμὰ δέ*, and in the *Nemean* ode the meaning 'cult' seems clear (see below, Chapter 13).

Quite generally, the language of verses 25–37 can be paralleled with that used of the war dead in the elegies of Tyrtaeus and Callinus, in the Athenian funeral oration, and in epitaphs for the war dead.[24] The parallels between 25–37 and Tyrtaeus 12.27–32 *IEG* (quoted above, Chapter 7) are especially striking.[25] These include, first, public mourning: *I.* 7.37 *πένθος*, Tyrtaeus 12.28 *IEG πόθῳ*.[26] Second, renown: *I.* 7.29 *κλέος*, Tyrtaeus 12.31 *IEG κλέος*. Third, exaltation of the dead warrior's family: *I.* 7.29 *γενεᾷ*, Tyrtaeus 12.30 *IEG γένος*. And fourth, the

[21] Cf. Thummer 1968–9: ii. 121; Slater 1969*a*: s.v. *ἀντίκειμαι*.

[22] Cf. Σ *I.* 7.34b *ἀντὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τιμὴ κεῖται*. Thummer 1968–9: ii. 120.

[23] Cf. Σ *I.* 7.34b *πᾶσι . . . τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς . . . καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος προεμένοις*.

[24] See Young 1971*a*: 6, 20, 23–5 and Appendix (facing p. 48); Loraux 1986: 51.

[25] Young 1971*a*: 6 and Privitera 1982: 221 compare rather Tyrt. 12.20–4 *IEG*.

[26] *I.* 7.37 *πένθος* might mean 'mourning', with 37 *ἔτλαν* as a first-person verb. This is recommended by the first-person singulars in 37–41, and the use of the unemphatic form *μοι* in 37 (we might have expected an emphatic form, if there was a change of person from *ἔτλαν* to *μοι*). See Bowra 1964: 153 n. 3; Willcock 1995: 67. This first person might be seen as choral, referring to the Thebans collectively, rather than to Pindar individually: cf. Σ *I.* 7.51a; Young 1971*a*: 7–8 and n. 19, 10–12, 23–4. For *πένθος* used of the mourning for the (war) dead, see Young 1971*a*: 7–8 and n. 21, 24, 26; Carey 1981: 184. Alternatively, *πένθος* might mean 'calamity', with *ἔτλαν* as a third-person verb. Those who died may be said to suffer a *πένθος*, 'calamity' (*GHI* 35.*n*.2; Aesch. *Cho.* 300; Hyp. 6.42). So Wilamowitz 1922: 413 n. 1; cf. LSJ s.v. *πάθος* I.2.b *sub fin.* Cf. *pae.* 2.64 *τλάντ[ω]ν* of the war dead. For *πάθος* of a military disaster, cf. Powell 1938: s.v. 1.

participation of the whole community: *I.* 7.29 *ἀστῶν*, Tyrtaeus 12.28 *IEG πόλις*. It is possible that the passage of Tyrtaeus reflects a heroizing attitude to the war dead (see discussion above, Chapter 7).

In three other respects *I.* 7.25–37 reflects the ideology of the heroization of the war dead. First, 35 *προμάχων ἀν' ὅμιλον*: to fight 'in the front ranks' was a duty of the hero of epic.[27] In martial poetry and epitaphs to the war dead in the Archaic period, the formula *ἐν προμάχοισι πεσεῖν* (and similar) is used repeatedly of heroic death in battle.[28] Second, 36 *ἔσχον*: the verb *ἔχω* means here 'check, ward off', a sense found especially in the *Iliad*, in martial poetry, and in the funeral oration.[29] It implies a successful military action.[30] Regardless of the outcome of the battle, and despite their personal 'defeat', the war dead were typically represented as victorious.[31] This representational strategy has been seen as heroizing.[32] Third, 34 *εὐανθέ' ἀπέπνευσας ἀλικίαν*: select heroes in the epic (Patroklos and Hektor) are portrayed as being in the prime of their youth specifically at the moment of their death.[33] The youthfulness attributed specifically to the dead or dying warrior has been dubbed 'heroic youth'.[34] This idealizing portrayal of the dead warrior as youthful (and beautiful) may be traced from the *Iliad* through Archaic martial elegy and Archaic epitaphs to the Athenian funeral oration and other fifth-century contexts.[35] In these three points (fighting in the front ranks, prevailing in the battle, the youth of the warrior), *I.* 7.25–37 offers a conventional, idealized view of the war dead. The fact that we are dealing here with a typical mode of representation for the war dead

[27] *Il.* 3.16, 3.31, 5.562, esp. 12.315, 324, etc.

[28] Martial poetry: Tyrt. 10.1, 21, 30; 11.4, 12; 12.16, 23 *IEG*. Cf. Mimn. 14.6 *IEG*. Epigrams: *GG* 7.4, 12.9, 36.2, 46.2, 125.1, 130.5, 136.5, 169.1, 457.13. See Young 1971*a*: 23 and n. 78, 46, Appendix (facing p. 48); Loraux 1975: 24 n. 100; cf. Latacz 1977: 141–71; Singor 1995: 197–9.

[29] *Il.* 13.51, 17.639, 20.27; Tyrt. 12.22 *IEG*; Plat. *Menex.* 239d1–2 *Πέρσας . . . ἔσχον*. Cf. Bacch. 13.106, 18.27, 41. See Young 1971*a*: 5–7.

[30] Young 1971*a*: 5–8. Cf. Bacch. 18.41.

[31] 'Dem.' 60.19 *ἐξ ἀνάγκης δὲ συμβαίνει, ὅταν μάχη γίγνηται, τοῖς μὲν ἥττᾶσθαι, τοῖς δὲ νικᾶν· οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι δ' εἰπεῖν ὅτι μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ τελευτῶντες ἑκατέρων ἐν τάξει τῆς μὲν ἥττης οὐ μετέχειν, νικᾶν δ' ὁμοίως ἀμφότεροι*. In iconography: Boardman 1985: fig. 153; id. 1995: figs 120, 122. Cf. Brückner 1910: 228, 234.

[32] Loraux 1975: 29 'transfiguration *héroïque*'; cf. Spivey 1996: 120.

[33] *Il.* 16.857 (Patroklos), 22.363 (Hektor). Cf. Bacch. 5.154 (Meleagros); Eur. *Andr.* 1155 (Neoptolemos).

[34] Loraux 1975: 22–3, 29–30 speaks of a 'tentation héroïque'. Cf. Vernant 1991*b*: 60–5.

[35] *Il.* 22.71–3. Tyrt. 10.27–30 *IEG*. *Epitaphios* of Perikles: Aristot. *rhet.* 1365^{a}31–3, 1411^{a}1–4. Archaic epitaphs: *IG* I^{3}.1194bis.4. Collective epitaphs from the Kerameikos: 'Sim.' 2.3, 46.1, 49.3 *FGE*; *GHI* 48.1 (?447 BC). Compare Archil. 24.13–14 *IEG*; Anacr. 419.2 *PMG*; Solon 4.20 *IEG*; Pind. *P.* 1.74; Aesch. *Pers.* 512, 669, *sept.* 1011, *Ag.* 454.

should also warn us against assuming that any of these details were literally true of Strepsiades.[36]

In all, it seems likely that verses 25–30 evoke a cult of the fallen Strepsiades at Thebes. Verses 25–37 reflect in general the ideology of the heroized war dead, and verse 26 seems to proclaim *τιμά* ('honour' or, more specifically, 'cult') as the reward for the fallen Strepsiades. Apparently he was seen as one of the *ἀγαθοί*, '(heroized) war dead', in Thebes.

Heroization of the Theban war dead

This argument presupposes that the war dead were heroized at Thebes in the fifth century; we may look for evidence to corroborate this. There is, certainly, evidence for the heroization of the war dead in the fifth century in Athens and Thasos; there is ambiguous evidence from Sparta, from as early as the seventh century; and there is some indication that it may have been a fairly widespread practice in the fifth and fourth centuries (see Chapter 7). For Thebes in particular the evidence is only circumstantial. In the course of a study of *Isthmian* 4, E. Krummen argued (without reference to *Isthmian* 7) that the Theban war dead were heroized in the fifth century, suggesting that their cult, like that of the Thasian war dead, was integrated into a festival of Herakles.[37] Near the Electran gates, where the Theban Herakleia was celebrated (*I.* 4.61), there was a *πολυάνδριον* (collective grave) where the Thebans who fought the Macedonians in 335 BC were buried (Pausanias 9.10.1).[38] A casualty list, datable to the mid-fourth century BC, has also been found in the area (*IG* VII.2427).[39] Moreover, in fifth-century Boeotian art war dead were sometimes depicted naked: an iconography which has (controversially) been taken to show them as heroes.[40] In general, Thebes may have been especially predisposed

[36] Contrast Thummer 1968–9: ii.114, who supposes that Strepsiades actually died young; and Young 1971*a*: 8, who assumes that the battle actually was a Theban victory.

[37] Krummen 1990: 70–5. Cf. Wilamowitz 1922: 340 n. 2, who supposed that a cult of the Theban war dead of 479 BC was surreptitiously introduced under the guise of a cult of Herakles' sons.

[38] See Krummen 1990: 72 n. 42.

[39] Pritchett 1971–91: iv, 144–5, 151 n. 170. For other Boeotian *polyandria*, cf. *IG* VII.585, 1888–9; *SEG* XIX.351.

[40] See Himmelmann 1990: 60 and n. 122 and, on 'heroic nudity' in general, ibid. 57–68; Spivey 1996: 111–16. The concept of 'heroic nudity' is criticized by Stupperich 1977: 192–3; Boardman 1985: 238–9; Bonfante 1989; Stewart 1990: i. 79, 105–6; Hölscher 1993; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 235–40; Osborne 1997.

to heroize her recently deceased. A verse from the *Menelaus* of the fifth-century Athenian comedian Plato has often been taken as alluding sarcastically to the heroization of the recently deceased at Thebes: 'why didn't you hang yourself, in order to become a hero in Thebes?' (Plato Comicus 77 *PCG* *τί οὐκ ἀπήγξω, ἵνα Θήβῃσιν ἥρως γένῃ;*).[41] The word *ἥρως* is found frequently on Boeotian tombstones applied to the recently dead, though admittedly only from a late date.[42] If, however, the usual interpretation of the fragment of Plato Comicus is correct, it will follow that the heroization of the recently deceased in Thebes was common enough in the late fifth century to motivate a joke in an Athenian comedy. In such a context, it would be highly likely that the Theban war dead were heroized earlier in that century.

Meleagros, Hektor, Amphiaraos: 31–5

The interpretation of 25–30 as referring to a cult of the uncle Strepsiades as one of the Theban war dead permits a new interpretation of the verses which follow (31–5). There the elder Strepsiades is associated with the heroes Meleagros, Hektor and Amphiaraos:

> *τὺ δέ, Διοδότοιο παῖ, μαχατάν*
> *αἰνέων Μελέαγρον, αἰνέων δὲ καὶ Ἕκτορα*
> *Ἀμφιάραόν τε,*
> *εὐανθέ' ἀπέπνευσας ἁλικίαν*
>
> *προμάχων ἀν' ὅμιλον.*

But you, son of Diodotos, emulating the warrior Meleagros, emulating Hektor, too, and Amphiaraos, breathed out your blossoming youth amid the throng of fighters in the front rank.

Strepsiades the uncle died, we are told, 'emulating' (32 *αἰνέων*) Meleagros, Hektor, and Amphiaraos (31–3).[43] The question of the relevance of these heroes to Strepsiades has exercised scholars.[44] The inclusion of Amphiaraos rules out the explanation that all died defending their fatherland, as the Argive seer died attacking Thebes.

[41] See Eitrem in *RE* VIII.1138.19–22; Rohde 1925: i.256 n. 1, ii. 360; Lattimore 1962: 97 and n. 76; Graf 1985: 129 n. 56; Himmelmann 1990: 63 n. 126; Larson 1995: 22–3.

[42] For the inscriptions, see *IG* VII Index III s.v. *ἥρως*. On their lateness, see Dittenberger on *IG* VII.2110, 2628; Rohde 1925: i. 256 n. 1.

[43] For *αἰνέων* as 'emulating', cf. *N.* 4.93; Σ *I.* 7.44 *τὰς τούτων ζηλῶν ἀρετάς*.

[44] Young 1971*a*: 4 and n. 8, 21–2 esp. n. 72.

The difficulty of accommodating Amphiaraos has led to numerous emendations of his name.[45] The minimum condition of death in battle, which is common to all three of the mythical heroes and Strepsiades, seems too weak.[46] D. Young suggested instead that Amphiaraos was swallowed up by the earth before he could be struck in the back (compare *N.* 9.24–7). What then links the three mythical heroes and Strepsiades is that 'all fell valiantly in the front line of battle; they knew not the shame of flight'.[47] But, according to tradition, Amphiaraos *did* flee from battle (*N.* 9.27): his engulfment served to prevent his death, not his flight.[48] Amphiaraos is an example of a hero who disappears and hence does not die.[49] We might consider a different approach to the question of the relevance of the three mythical heroes to Strepsiades. The manner of their death may be less important than the status they attained in death, for after death in battle all received cult as saving heroes.

A cult of Amphiaraos as 'saving hero' is attested in Boeotia in the early fifth century BC.[50] Herodotus records that the Thebans, on being invited to use Amphiaraos as a 'seer' or as an 'ally in war' opted for the latter (8.134.2). In the sixth century, Kroisos' votive offerings to the Boeotian Amphiaraos, a shield and a spear, testify to his character as a saving hero (Herodotus 1.52). For Pindar he is both seer and warrior (*O.* 6.17; compare *N.* 10.8–9).[51] In the *Odyssey* he 'saves the people', *λαοσσόον*.[52] Amphiaraos is thus an instance of the saving hero, who protects and receives cult from the people who had formerly been his enemies.[53]

A cult of Meleagros in Aetolia is attested by Pindar, *I.* 5.30–1 'the sons of Oineus [*sc.* Meleagros and Tydeus] are mighty in the illustrious

[45] See Gerber 1976: 140.

[46] *Pace* Thummer 1968–9: ii. 122; Willcock 1995: 66–7; cf. Bowra 1964: 350.

[47] Young 1971*a*: 22. Cf. Privitera 1982: 222 'Anfiarao . . . è l'eroe senza fuga'.

[48] According to Paus. 9.8.3, he was engulfed near Potniae. His grave was shown at some distance from Thebes: Buck 1979: 14.

[49] Cf. Eur. *suppl.* 925–7. For heroes who disappear rather than die, cf. Plut. *Rom.* 28.4–7. Typically, Homeric epic ignores this conclusion to Amphiaraos' life: *Od.* 15.247, 253.

[50] Aesch. *sept.* 587–9; Hdt. 8.134.2; Soph. *El.* 837–41. At *P.* 8.58–60 the heroic epiphany is probably of Alkmaion, not Amphiaraos (see above, Ch. 4). Amphiaraos' sanctuary was at Oropus, but possibly earlier at Thebes. See Schachter 1981–94: i. 19–26 (arguing that the Amphiaraon was always at Oropus); Demand 1982: 147 nn. 34–5; Hutchinson 1985: 132; Parker 1996: 147; Braswell 1998: 40 n. 47. *LIMC* I.i.710–11 esp. nos 53–5, 61–7.

[51] Cf. Σ *N.* 10.14.

[52] *Od.* 15.244.

[53] Cf. Aesch. *sept.* 588. For the once hostile hero, cf. esp. Eurystheus in Athens (Eur. *Heracl.* 1049). See Visser 1982; Kearns 1989: 50; Parker 1996: 157 n. 18.

sacrifices of the Aetolians'. In this passage, the Oineidai take pride of place in a list of 'brave warriors among the heroes' (26). Others in that list, such as the Dioskouroi and Iolaos, are saving heroes.[54] In *Isthmian* 7, Meleagros is called 'warrior' (31 μαχατάν). His military prowess was probably traditional.[55]

A cult of Hektor is attested in the Troad and at Thebes.[56] It is not clear which cult was the earlier, but the question of priority is not critical for our purposes. Ancient sources (Hellenistic and later) claim that Hektor's cult was imported from the Troad to Thebes.[57] But some modern scholars have argued that Hektor was originally a Theban hero, displaced to Troy in the epic; we know that this happened with a number of other heroes.[58] Hektor's cult in the Troad is the more abundantly attested. The Troad was colonized by (Aeolian) Greeks in the second half of the eighth century BC: this provides the earliest *terminus post quem* for Hektor's cult there.[59] Although a Trojan champion in the epic, the name Hektor is Greek and is attested in Mycenaean.[60] For G. Nagy, a cult hero already lies behind the Hektor of the *Iliad*.[61] Direct literary evidence for Hektor's cult at Ilium and Ophrynium does not antedate the Roman period.[62] However, a *terminus ante quem* for Hektor's cult in the Troad is suggested by coins from Ophrynium from the second half of the fourth century BC, showing a bearded, helmeted head.[63] The head is probably Hektor's, for Hektor's name appears on similar coins from Ophrynium and Ilium in the Roman period.[64] A cult of Hektor at Troy in the early fifth century

[54] For the Dioskouroi, cf. Sim. 11.30–1 *IEG*; Hdt. 5.75.2. See Burkert 1985*a*: 212. For Iolaos, see Schachter 1981–94: ii. 17 and n. 5, 18 and n. 4; *LIMC* v.i.695 'very often depicted as a warrior in Archaic art'.

[55] Young 1971*a*: 22–3 n. 76. The account of *Il.* 9.550–99 (esp. 597 'he warded off the day of evil from the Aetolians'), however, cannot be taken to be traditional: see Willcock 2001: 445–53.

[56] *RE* VII.2814.63–2816.32; *LIMC* IV.i.482–4.

[57] Lyc. *Alex.* 1208–9; Aristodemus (II BC) *FGrH* 383 F7; Paus. 9.18.5.

[58] See *RE* VII.2816.16–32; Finley 1978: 44; Schachter 1981–94: i. 233 n. 2 a), b); Dowden 1989: 51, 53; Hall 1989: 23. Differently, Demand 1982: 62–3. For other displaced heroes in the *Iliad*, see Griffin 1995: 3–4, 80; and, in general, West 1985: 137 n. 30.

[59] For the early colonization of the Troad, see Cook 1973: 101.

[60] Hektor in Mycenaean: Aura Jorro and Adrados 1985–93: i. 214–15. It remains controversial how traditional a figure Hektor is. Nilsson 1933: 264–5 argues that the *Iliad*-poet invented Hektor, and Kullmann 1960: 182–5, 226, 373 finds no evidence of Hektor in pre-Iliadic epic tradition. Differently, Page 1959: 248; *LIMC* iv. i.482 'le personnage mythologique lui-même semble de très ancienne origine'.

[61] Nagy 1979: 144–50.

[62] Strab. 13.1.29 595; Athenag. *leg.* 1.1.; 'Clem. Rom.' *hom.* 6.22.2, *rec.* 10.25.2; Dio Chrys. 11.104; Lucian *deor. concil.* 12; Philostr. *her.* 19.3–4; Julian *ep.* 35 Weis; cf. Lucan 9.976–7.

[63] *LIMC* iv. i.484 no. 1.

[64] *LIMC* iv. i.484 nos 2–8.

may be suggested by a further consideration. When the Persians passed through Ilium on their way into Europe in 480 BC, Xerxes supposedly 'sacrificed a thousand cows to Athena Ilias and the *magi* poured libations to the heroes' (Herodotus 7.43.2 *τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι ἔθυσε βοῦς χιλίας· χοὰς δὲ οἱ μάγοι τοῖσι ἥρωσι ἐχέαντο*). The heroes in question are evidently the Trojan heroes: Herodotus otherwise represents the Persians as cultivating Trojan heroes, but slighting Greek ones.[65] A deliberate mirror image of these sacrifices of Xerxes and his *magi* is Alexander's sacrifices to—presumably—the Greek heroes, in 334 BC: '[Alexander] went up to Ilium, and sacrificed to Athena and poured a libation to the heroes' (Plutarch, *Life of Alexander* 15.7 *ἀναβὰς δὲ εἰς Ἴλιον ἔθυσε τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἥρωσιν ἔσπεισε*).[66] It is possible that Herodotus in referring to 'Athena Ilias' and 'the heroes' (7.43.2) understood both as recipients of standing cults at Troy, not just as recipients of one-off offerings extemporized by the Persians on this occasion. In that case, Hektor would have been a cult figure at Troy by the early fifth century BC: he would surely have figured prominently in any cult enjoyed by Trojan heroes, and, in the Roman period at least, has an attested association with Athena Ilias.[67] He enjoyed, moreover, the character of a saving hero in this cult. Coins from the Troad (going back to the fourth century BC?) show him in the pose of a *promachos*.[68] This is fully consistent with the literary descriptions of his cult at Thebes. In Lycophron's *Alexandra*, Kassandra prophesies that '[the Thebans] will lead you [from Ophrynium] as a saviour (*σωτῆρ*), when they struggle against a hoplite force ravaging their land' (1206–11); and Aristodemus states that '[the Thebans] call upon [Hektor's] epiphany in difficult times' (*FGrH* 383 F7). The name *Ἕκτωρ* suggests that his traditional role was as a saving hero, one whose function was to 'hold' (*ἔχειν*) the city.[69]

The relevance, then, of Meleagros, Hektor, and Amphiaraos to the fallen Strepsiades may be explained by the fact that all were rewarded for death in battle by receiving a cult as saving heroes. As one of the heroized war dead, we would expect Strepsiades to have shared in this character (see Chapter 7).[70] This permits a new analysis of *I.* 7.26–

[65] Hdt. 1.3.1–1.5.1, 1.4.4–1.5.1, 9.116.2–3. See Castriota 1992: 103; *CAH* iv. 536–7.

[66] Cf. Diod. 17.17.3; Justin 11.5.12; Arr. *ana.* 1.12.1; Ael. *v.h.* 12.7.

[67] *LIMC* iv. 1.484 nos 3, 5; Julian *ep.* 35 Weis.

[68] *LIMC* iv. 1.484 no. 4; cf. nos 1–3, 6–8.

[69] Chantraine 1968–80: ii. 330. Cf. *Il.* 5.472–3, 6.403, 22.506–7.

[70] For Boeotian saving heroes, cf. the story circulating in Thebes at the time of the battle of Leuctra (374 BC) that 'ancient heroes' had taken up the arms of Herakles and had gone to assist (*βοηθεῖν*) the Boeotians: Diod. 15.53.4.

35. First, verses 26–30 are simply general: 'honour/cult' (*τιμά*) is the reward of all patriotic warriors, and whoever defends his fatherland in war wins renown for his family, whether he lives or dies. Verses 31–5 then pass from the general to the particular: 'whoever' (27 *ὅστις*) gives way to '*you*, son of Diodotos [*sc.* Strepsiades]' (31 *τὺ δέ, Διοδότοιο παῖ*). The disjunction 'whether one lives or dies' (30 *ζώων τ' ἀπὸ καὶ θανών*) at the same time becomes definite: 'you breathed out your youth' (34 *ἀπέπνευσας ἀλικίαν*). The logical structure of verses 26–35 is syllogistic: verses 26–30 are a major and 31–6 a minor premise (syllogistic thinking is, of course, much older than its formalization with Aristotle). The syllogism has the major premise: 'all who defend their fatherland are rewarded with *τιμά*, whether they live or die', and the minor premise: 'you, Strepsiades, died defending your fatherland'. The conclusion would be: 'you, Strepsiades, are rewarded for your death with *τιμά*'. This conclusion is absent from the text. But granted that Meleagros, Hektor, and Amphiaraos are all conceived as saving heroes who received cult after death in battle, this conclusion will be contained in the statement that Strepsiades 'emulated' these heroes (verses 31–3). This yields a plausible reason why Amphiaraos takes the climactic third position in the list: as a saving hero who receives cult in Thebes, he is in fact closest to Strepsiades.[71] There are further indications that Amphiaraos may have been an important heroic example for historical Greeks, especially for those who distinguished themselves in war. The Acarnanian seer Megistias, who went knowingly to his death in battle at Thermopylae, may have been modelled on Amphiaraos, who famously took part in the expedition of the Seven against Thebes with foreknowledge of his death ('Simonides' 6.3–4 *FGE*; Herodotus 7.221).[72] Some Apulian vases from the last quarter of the fourth century BC may have used the figure of Amphiaraos in the underworld as a mythical paradigm for the heroized war dead.[73] The Athenian theatre audience of 467 BC are said to have compared Aristeides (who distinguished himself at the battles of Marathon and Salamis, in addition to his general reputation for probity) with Amphiaraos (Plutarch, *Life of Aristeides* 3.5). Finally, at *O.* 6.12–18 Amphiaraos is chosen as a mythical

[71] Cf. Wilamowitz 1922: 412 '[Amphiaraos] lebt als Heros im thebanischen Boden und ist aus dem Leben mit dem Wissen geschieden, daß sein Sohn siegreich werden würde. Welch ein Schatz war für die Hellenen ihre Heldensage: der eine Name genügt, Gedanken und Hoffnungen zu wecken, die auszusprechen sich nicht schickte.'

[72] See Kierdorf 1966: 20–2. Differently, Radt 1967: 382–3. On Amphiaraos, cf. Aesch. *sept.* 587–9.

[73] See Schmidt, Trendall, and Cambitoglou 1976: 58–9, 60, 67 (Plates 14–18).

paradigm for the laudandus Hagesias, who served Hieron as a seer and perhaps also as a soldier.[74] Amphiaraos would be extremely well suited to suggest the heroic status of the elder Strepsiades after his valiant death in battle.

The catalogue of heroes of old: verses 1–24

The comparison with Meleagros, Hektor, and Amphiaraos shows how the elder Strepsiades is to be regarded. Like these, he not only met his death in battle, but is honoured with a cult. The catalogue of heroes with which the ode begins is another way of showing how both Strepsiadai are to be regarded. Verses 1–15 are a list of Theba's illustrious mythical progeny in chronological descent; the athlete Strepsiades (20–4) and his uncle, the dead warrior (25–36), continue that list into the present.[75] The two Strepsiadai are cast as, respectively, still-living and recently deceased successors of Thebes' ancient heroes. E. Bundy saw 1–15 as 'foil' which is 'eventually thrust aside . . . in favor of the victor Strepsiadas'.[76] D. Young, on the other hand, rightly allowed the verses a more substantial function: 'The proem determines how we shall view Strepsiades' victory: namely, as the most urgent of all these patriotic victories in which Theba delights.'[77]

The integration of the recent (historical) past into the distant (mythical) past by means of a catalogue finds an important parallel in the Athenian funeral oration.[78] In Athenian funeral orations, it was conventional for the orator to 'begin with the ancestors'. Thus 'Perikles', in his Thucydidean funeral oration, says: 'I will begin first with our ancestors (*τῶν προγόνων*)' (2.36.1), and Lysias says in his: 'first I will go over the ancient dangers of our ancestors (*τῶν προγόνων*)' (2.3).[79]

[74] See Hutchinson 2001: 372. Cf. Σ *O.* 6.30c '[Pindar] says that Hagesias too campaigned with Hieron and brought success in many wars through his prophetic skill and valour (*μαντείᾳ καὶ ἀρετῇ*)'.

[75] See Young 1971*a*: 16–18. Cf. Mezger 1880: 306.

[76] Bundy 1962: 6, 36, 45. Cf. Thummer 1968–9: ii. 116; Race 1990: 115–17. On problems with the concept of 'foil', cf. Most 1985*a*: 32–3.

[77] Young 1971*a*: 18. Cf. Privitera 1982: 106.

[78] Kierdorf 1966: 83, 95–110; Stupperich 1977: 50; Loraux 1986: 61, 136–7; Castriota 1992: 5–7, 238 nn. 5–6, 49. For catalogues outside the funeral oration, cf. Kierdorf 1966: 97–100, 104–7, 109; Castriota 1992: 49.

[79] For the juxtaposition of the distant and recent past, cf. Plat. *Menex.* 239b2–246a4. 'Dem.' 60.6–11. Isoc. 6.42 *τοὺς μὲν . . . παλαιοὺς κινδύνους . . . πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας ἢ Θρᾳκας ἢ Πελοποννησίους τοὺς μετ' Εὐρυσθέως* opposed to *ἐν δὲ τῷ Περσικῷ πολέμῳ*. Hdt. 9.26.1

With *τῶν προγόνων*, 'ancestors', in these opening formulae we may compare *I.* 7.1–2 *τῶν πάρος . . . ἐπιχωρίων*, '[Theba's] countrymen of former times'.[80]

In the Athenian funeral oration, the catalogue form was used to express continuity of human excellence between ancient times and the present.[81] This can be regarded as a rhetorical heroization of the war dead, a means of representing them in words as the contemporary counterparts of the heroes (cf. above, Chapter 7). But, in parallel to this rhetorical heroization, a real heroization also took place: the Athenian war dead in fact received a cult which was practically indistinguishable from that paid to heroes (see Chapter 7).[82] In *Isthmian* 7, the rhetoric of the catalogue form may likewise have had a counterpart in genuine belief and practice: in the first place, heroization seems to have been actual for the uncle Strepsiades, as one of Thebes' collective war dead; in the second place, heroization was a possibility for athletes (above, Chapter 8). The catalogue form is also employed for another athlete, Theaios of Argos, at the beginning of *Nemean* 10. There, a catalogue of Argive heroes (verses 1–20) is capped by Theaios' recent athletic victory (21–4). In that ode, the mythical catalogue ends with Herakles' deification (15–18), while the myth narrates the shared immortality of the Dioskouroi (55–90, especially 55–9 and 82–90). Both mythical examples, Herakles and the Dioskouroi, would be well chosen to explore the possibility of heroization for the laudandus.[83]

An interesting sidelight is thrown on the significance of the catalogue form by its reception in Horatian lyric. In *Odes* 1.12, we find a catalogue of gods and heroes comparable to that at *I.* 7.1–15.[84] In Horace's ode, a catalogue of gods (13–24) is followed by the heroes Hercules, Castor,

καὶ καινὰ καὶ παλαιὰ παραφέροντες ἔργα, 9.26.2 *καὶ τὸ πάλαι καὶ τὸ νέον*, 9.26.7 *οὔτ' ὢν καινὰ οὔτε παλαιά*, 9.27.1 *παλαιά τε καὶ καινὰ λέγειν*. Xen. *mem.* 3.5.9 *τούς γε παλαιτάτους ὧν ἀκούομεν προγόνους* opposed to 11 *ἃ ὕστερον οἱ ἐκείνων μὲν ἀπόγονοι, οὐ πολὺ δὲ πρὸ ἡμῶν γεγονότες ἔπραξαν*.

[80] Commentators have understood *I.* 7.1–2 *τῶν πάρος . . . καλῶν ἐπιχωρίων* as 'the land's former glories'. The phrase is ambiguous: either (i) *καλῶν* is an adjective, and *τῶν . . . ἐπιχωρίων* is a masculine substantive (nominative: *οἱ πάρος καλοὶ ἐπιχώριοι*, 'the fine native people of the past'); or (ii) *τῶν . . . καλῶν* is neuter substantive, and *ἐπιχωρίων* is an adjective (nominative: *τὰ πάρος ἐπιχώρια καλά*, 'the land's former glories'). There is no difficulty in seeing verses 3–15 as primarily a list of 'local *people*', viz. Dionysos, Herakles, Teiresias, Iolaos, the Spartoi, the Theban Seven, and the Aigeidai.

[81] Kierdorf 1966: 35–7, 45–6, 106, 111; Pelling 1997: 12.

[82] Kierdorf 1966: 45–6, cf. 113.

[83] On *N.* 10, compare and contrast Young 1993.

[84] Despite its opening reminiscence of the opening of Pind. *O.* 2, Hor. *carm.* 1.12 is closer in overall structure to *I.* 7: cf. Fraenkel 1957: 293 n. 1; Syndikus 2001: 138 n. 12.

and Pollux (25–32), then by historical Romans (33–48), and capped finally by the Emperor Augustus (49–60).[85] Horace's ode, too, effects a rhetorical deification of Augustus.[86] Again, though, in parallel with this rhetorical deification there was an actual deification, for Augustus' divinity was recognized in cult practice, especially in the eastern provinces of the empire.[87] It is interesting to contemplate how much in Horace's use of the catalogue form is conventional, and whether Pindar was a direct model or whether (as seems more likely) there were more immediate models, for instance in Hellenistic court poetry, where the ruler was represented as a god and was simultaneously the recipient of ruler cult.[88]

History into myth

In *Isthmian* 7 the achievements of the two Strepsiadai, in athletics and in war, are integrated into a list of the mythical achievements of Thebes' greatest progeny. In other media in the fifth century BC, events in contemporary warfare could be ranged alongside mythical ones.[89] Simonides in his Plataea elegy (11 *IEG*) juxtaposed the Trojan war (1–14) with the battle of Plataea (25–45).[90] In Pindar *I.* 5.34–50, the Aeginetans' recent excellence at Salamis is coupled with the achievements of successive generations of Aiakids, especially Achilleus, at Troy.[91] The 'Eion epigram', ascribed to Simonides, balances the exploits of Menestheus and the Athenians at Troy with those of the Athenians who fought at Eion *c.*475 BC (*FGE* 40.(a)–(b)). In the later fifth century in Athens, it was decreed that Choerilus' epic *Persica*, recounting the Athenian victory over Xerxes, should be performed alongside the Homeric epics

[85] On Roman 'heroes', cf. Beard et al. 1998: i. 31, 141.

[86] Nisbet and Hubbard 1970: 145; cf. Feeney 1998: 111–13. Differently, Fraenkel 1957: 297. Romulus, Liber, Castor and Pollux, and Hercules are similarly models for Augustus' divinity at Hor. *epist.* 2.1.5–17. See Brink 1982: 39–42; Nisbet and Hubbard 1970: 19–20, 35–6; eid. 1978: 189. The pageant of 'heroes' had an important place in Augustan propaganda: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.760–846, and the gallery of *summi viri* in the Forum of Augustus (Zanker 1988: 210–15).

[87] Ehrenberg and Jones 1976: nos 98, 98a; Price 1984: 54–9; Galinsky 1996: 312–31.

[88] On such poetry, cf. Hollis 1977: 73, 74.

[89] Hall 1989: 62–9; ead. 1996: 9–10; Welwei 1991: 51–3; Flashar 1996: 68. For the comparison between Pindar and Athenian oratory, see Kierdorf 1966: 37, 47, 99, 106; cf. Loraux 1986: 51. For the comparison between the funeral oration and the Stoa Poikile paintings, see Castriota 1992: 80 and 261–2 n. 96.

[90] See Parsons 1992: 32; Flashar 1996: 68. Differently, West 1993: 6 n. 15.

[91] Kierdorf 1966: 35–7.

at the Panathenaia (Choerilus TI *PEG*). In Athenian public art of the fifth century BC, recent war scenes could be juxtaposed with mythological battles.[92] In particular, the murals of the Stoa Poikile of *c.*460 BC, described by Pausanias (1.15.1–3), juxtaposed recent battles (the battle of Marathon, the battle of Oenoe) with mythical ones (Amazonomachy, Ilioupersis).[93] In the painting of the battle of Marathon in the Stoa, gods and heroes fight alongside fifth-century Athenian hoplites.[94] But the assimilation of the recent war dead to mythical heroes was not confined to literature, oratory, and art. Cults of the recent war dead might apparently also be integrated into long-standing hero cults (see above, Chapter 7). *Polyandria* of the war dead could be situated next to the graves of mythical heroes.[95] The war dead might be imagined to consort with the mythical heroes in the underworld ('Demosthenes' 60.34; Hyperides 6.35; compare *GV* 970.7). The new heroes of the fifth century BC were thus made equal to the long-standing heroes both in their representation and in their cult.[96]

I. 7.3–15 is virtually a hymn to the ancient Theban heroes; many of the personages listed there must have been staple themes of religious songs in Thebes. Three of them, the Spartoi, Herakles, and Dionysos, feature also in the list of Theban heroes that begins Pindar's first *Hymn* (fr. 29.1–7 'shall we sing of . . . or . . . or . . .?'), a hymn composed for Thebans in honour of Zeus. Iolaos, too, is sung of regularly in cult songs in Thebes (*I.* 5.32–3; *P.* 11.60–1). We should not, therefore, translate *ἀλλὰ παλαιὰ γὰρ | εὕδει χάρις* (*I.* 7.16–17) as 'but the ancient splendor sleeps . . .'.[97] That translation would take *ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ* (16) as the 'simple'

[92] On the Parthenon frieze (440s BC), see Spivey 1996: 130–48; cf. Boardman 1985: 173. On the friezes of temple of Athena Nike (420s BC), see Boardman 1985: 172, figs 127–30; Stewart 1990: i. 165–6; Spivey 1996: 150–1.

[93] A parallel strategy was employed by Attalos I (?) in iii (?) BC: Paus. 1.25.2; see Schreiner 1997: 21–2. On the historicity of the battle of Oenoe, cf. Paus. 10.10.4 and see esp. Schreiner 1997: 21–37; Taylor 1998; cf. Hölscher 1973: 68–9; Pelling 1997: 11 and n. 46.

[94] See Castriota 1992: 30–1, 246–7 nn. 30–1.

[95] At the Electran gates in Thebes: the Alkaidai (Paus. 9.11.2) and the war dead (Paus. 9.10.1); see Krummen 1990: 72 and n. 43. At the gates of the Academy, Athens: Akademos (Clairmont 1983: 44) and the war dead (Paus. 1.29). In the post-Classical period, cf. *GV* 768.10 *ἴσος ἥρωσι, ταὐτὸν ἔχων τέμενος*; *IC* III.iv.38.15–16 (Damon, Pheidon, and Ammonios as *ἥρωες ἁγνοί* assimilated to 'Minos and all the heroes after Minos').

[96] Cf. Graf 1985: 130 'der heroisierte Tote [wird] in die Gemeinschaft aller Heroen eingeordnet'. The V-BC athlete Kleomedes was called by the oracle 'latest of the heroes' (Parke and Wormell 1956: ii. no. 88). *GV* 768.10 *ἴσος ἥρωσι*; Theocr. 16.80 (of the living Hieron II) *προτέροις ἴσος ἡρωέσσι*.

[97] The translation is that of Race 1997: ii. 199; for this interpretation, cf. Schadewaldt 1928: 10; Denniston 1959: 101; Bundy 1962: 6 and n. 21, 38 n. 11; Privitera 1982: 218; Race 1990: 116–17, cf. 36–7; Willcock 1995: 64.

form of that particle combination; it would entail that the 'ancient glories' of verses 3–15 *do* sleep, because they have not been committed to song (in fact, we have seen that, on the contrary, they were committed to song).[98] Rather, we should translate *I.* 7.16–21 as 'but, since (γάρ) ancient services slumber and men are forgetful of whatever has not been committed to song, therefore (ἔπειτεν) revel with sweet-sounding song for Strepsiades too'.[99] In this translation ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ is 'complex': the γάρ is forward-looking, and is picked up by ἔπειτεν.[100] This interpretation assumes that the heroes of Thebes' past have indeed escaped oblivion by being celebrated continually in song (as we have seen that they were), and it assumes that Strepsiades, thanks to Pindar's ode, is to enjoy the same fortune.[101] We should note the phrasing of 20–1: 'revel with sweet-sounding song for Strepsiades *too*' (21 καὶ Στρεψιάδᾳ). Here, καί serves to couple Strepsiades with the heroes of old.[102] A comparable use comes in *I.* 4.37–44: just as Homer has honoured Aias in his poetry, Pindar desires to light the same beacon of song 'for Melissos too' (44 καὶ Μελίσσῳ). Analogously, Simonides in his Plataea elegy hopes to do for the Greek combatants at Plataea what Homer did for the Achaeans at Troy (11.23–4 *IEG*). In the Athenian Eion epigram, καί again links the Athenians who fought at Eion with the Athenians who fought under Menestheus at Troy ('Simonides' *FGE* 40.(b).1).[103] This use of καί, to signal a link between the heroes of myth and the people of the present, is used very widely.[104]

Verses 16–21 raise the laudandus Strepsiades to the ranks of Thebes' mythical heroes.[105] We might be tempted to say it mythologizes his recent achievement. An illuminating comparandum, which uses the

[98] For ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ 'complex' and ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ 'simple', cf. Denniston 1959: 98; Slater 1969*a*: s.v. ἀλλά B.1.a, b. An example of the 'simple' use in a comparable context is Hdt. 9.27.4 ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ τι προέχει τούτων ἐπιμεμνῆσθαι, 'but it does no good to make mention of these things'.

[99] So Thummer 1968–9: ii. 118.

[100] When 'complex', γάρ precedes the fact explained: cf. LSJ γάρ I.2. For this use of ἔπειτα, cf. *h. Hom.* 5.145–9; Mezger 1880: 304 'häufig im Bedingungsnachsatz'; Thummer 1968–9: ii. 119.

[101] Young 1971*a*: 18.

[102] Cf. Σ *I.* 7.27c; Bury 1892: 127; Privitera 1982: 218; Willcock 1995: 65.

[103] See above, p. 218.

[104] Cf. *P.* 8.28 **καὶ** ἀνδράσιν. *O.* 6.17–18 **καὶ** | ἀνδρὶ κώμου δεσπότᾳ, 25–6 πρὸς ἀνδρῶν | **καὶ** γένος. *I.* 5.48 **καὶ** νῦν. *P.* 6.29 ἔγεντο **καὶ** πρότερον Ἀντίλοχος, 44 τῶν νῦν δὲ **καὶ** Θρασύβουλος. Ibyc. 282.46–8 *PMG.* Aesch. *suppl.* 69.

[105] Cf. (on 'Sim.' 6 *FGE*) Kierdorf 1966: 22 'Die Tat der Thermopylenkämpfer . . . erhebt sich durch die Ähnlichkeit mit mythischem Geschehen zu heroischem Rang.'

verb 'mythologize' (*μυθολογεῖν*: literally, 'tell as a mythical tale'), comes in the *Funeral Oration* ascribed to Demosthenes ([60] 9):[106]

ἃ δὲ τῇ μὲν ἀξίᾳ τῶν ἔργων οὐδέν ἐστι τούτων [sc. τῶν εἰς μύθους ἀνενηνεγμένων ἔργων] ἐλάττω, τῷ δὲ ὑπογυώτερ' εἶναι τοῖς χρόνοις οὔπω μεμυθολόγηται οὐδὲ εἰς τὴν ἡρωϊκὴν ἐπανῆκται τάξιν, ταῦτ' ἤδη λέξω.

As for those things which, with respect to the worth of the achievements, are in no way inferior to these [*sc.* the deeds which have been consigned to myths], but through being closer in time have not yet been mythologized or elevated to the rank of heroes, it is these things I shall now speak of.

'Demosthenes' here contrasts Athens' ancient military exploits—repulsion of the Amazons, defence of the Herakleidai, burial of the Seven against Thebes—with more recent ones, the defeat of the Persians in 490 and 480/79 BC. The former have for centuries been celebrated by poets and prose writers of all genres, and so have become the stuff of myth; the latter, owing to their more recent date, have not yet had the chance to become the subject of myth or to be elevated to the heroic category.[107] Two points deserve emphasis. First, 'Demosthenes' grants the Athenian triumphs of the fifth century equality with the mythical ones: 'things which, with respect to the worth of the achievements, are *in no way inferior* . . .'. Second, he regards it only as a matter of time before the former acquire the same mythical-heroic status as the latter: 'have not *yet* been mythologized'.[108] The orator himself, by proceeding to narrate these things ('it is these things I shall now speak of'), intends to contribute to their mythologization. It should be noted that *μῦθος* is not here a derogatory term ('fictitious tale'), but denotes a coveted mode of presentation for a historical event.[109] The Platonic funeral oration shows a similar consciousness of the laudator's role in providing an impetus for later poetry: 'wooing [these exploits] to other people, so that they should commit them to song and to other poetry in a manner befitting the persons who performed them' (*Menexenus* 239c4–6 *προμνώμενον ἄλλοις ἐς ᾠδάς τε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ποίησιν αὐτὰ θεῖναι πρεπόντως τῶν πραξάντων*). Similarly, *I.* 7.16–21 looks forward

[106] Loraux 1986: 137; Castriota 1992: 6.

[107] Cf. Plat. *Menex.* 239b7–c7; Isoc. 9.6, 65. For the mythologization of history with time (but now negatively viewed), cf. Thuc. 1.21.1 *λογογράφοι ξυνέθεσαν . . . ὑπὸ χρόνου . . . ἀπίστως ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐκνενικηκότα.*

[108] A similar idea at Plat. *Menex.* 239c3–4 *ὧν δὲ οὔτε ποιητής* **πω** *δόξαν ἀξίαν ἐπ' ἀξίοις λαβὼν ἔχει* **ἔτι** *τέ ἐστιν ἐν ἀμνηστίᾳ (v.l. μνηστείᾳ).*

[109] For the derogatory use, cf. Hdt. 2.23, 2.45.1; Plat. *Prot.* 320c3, 324d6–7, *Grg.* 523a2, 527a5, *resp.* 377a4–6; see Bremmer 1987: 200–1; Graf 1993*a*: 2; Calame 1999: 130. For the positive sense, see Brillante 1990: 103.

to a future time when Strepsiades' victory itself will be looked back on as 'an ancient service' (*παλαιὰ . . . χάρις*). By that time, *Isthmian* 7 will have brought Strepsiades closer to mythical status. The same function is intimated for the victory ode by Pindar elsewhere, as the 'beginning of later accounts', *ὑστέρων ἀρχὰ λόγων* (*O.* 11.4–5).[110]

So poets and orators could, as 'Demosthenes' says, elevate historical persons 'to the rank of the heroes' (*Funeral Oration* [60] 9 *εἰς τὴν ἡρωϊκὴν τάξιν*). This is also the agenda of *Isthmian* 7. But the crucial point is that such elevation did not just occur on the level of oratory or poetry or art. 'Demosthenes' goes on to speak of the war dead as 'having the same rank as the former brave men in the Isles of the Blessed' (34 *τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ἔχοντας τοῖς προτέροις ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐν μακάρων νήσοις*).[111] Here, the dead of the battle of Chaeronea are to enjoy the same 'rank' (*τάξις* is the word used in both places) as the heroes in a quite concrete sense: they are to find their seats by the side of the nether gods in the Isles of the Blessed, and receive 'honours' (34 *τιμῶν*) there. All this is, admittedly, still rhetorical, and the orator owns that his imagining of the underworld is based on what 'one might reasonably say' (34 *εἰκότως ἄν τις φήσαι*). But this prospect, to be rhetorically effective, must have had some plausibility for the orator's audience. The reality that the rhetoric draws on can be seen in the realm of cult practice and popular belief, for the war dead and mythical heroes received the same forms of cult honours from the city and were ascribed the same kind of power from the grave.

The elder Strepsiades: verses 24–37

The 'excursus' on the elder Strepsiades (verses 24–37) assumes the form and position typical for the mythical 'excursus' in a Pindaric ode.[112] It is introduced, like many of Pindar's myths, by a relative pronoun

[110] Cf. *P.* 1.92–4; *P.* 6.16–18.

[111] The passage in full: 'Dem.' 60.34 *οὓς παρέδρους εἰκότως ἄν τις φήσαι τοῖς κάτω θεοῖς εἶναι, τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ἔχοντας τοῖς προτέροις ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐν μακάρων νήσοις. οὐ γὰρ ἰδών τις οὐδὲ περὶ ἐκείνων ταῦτ' ἀπήγγελκεν, ἀλλ' οὓς οἱ ζῶντες ἀξίους ὑπειλήφαμεν τῶν ἄνω τιμῶν, τούτους τῇ δόξῃ καταμαντευόμενοι κἀκεῖ τῶν αὐτῶν τιμῶν ἡγούμεθ' αὐτοὺς τυγχάνειν*, 'one might reasonably say that [the war dead] are the associates of the nether gods, having the same rank as the former brave men in the Isles of the Blessed. For no-one has reported such things as an eyewitness about the latter, either; but those whom we, the living, have assumed to be worthy of honours in this world, we believe, divining with our judgement, that they meet with the same honours also in the underworld.'

[112] See Young 1971*a*: 34 and n. 112, 38; Privitera 1982: 106 (qualified: 106 n. 1); Dönt 1986: 305. Differently, Hamilton 1974: 78 n. 10.

(25 ᾧ).[113] The ability of the narrative on Strepsiades to replace the usual mythical narrative implies that Strepsiades' death in battle is being seen as on a par with the exploits of heroes that are usually the subject of Pindar's myths.

In various other poems of Pindar and Bacchylides, a historical narration takes the place of a mythical one.[114] In those poems, too, it seems that the historical event has achieved a quasi-mythical status and the protagonist a quasi-heroic one. Thus Bacchylides' third ode tells of the historical sack of the Lydian capital Sardis by the Persians and Kroisos' translation from the pyre to the Hyperboreans (23–62). In *Pythian* 5, Battos' founding of Cyrene and his burial as ἥρως in the agora takes the place of a myth (55–103). *Pythian* 1, too, lacks an extended myth: the recent achievements of Hieron (his founding of Aetna, 30–1, and his victory over the Etruscans, 72) fulfil this need, having themselves acquired mythic-heroic status.[115] In *Olympian* 2, an Orphic eschatology replaces the myth (56–83): Theron seems as a mystic initiate to be guaranteed the same posthumous status as heroes of myth such as Peleus, Kadmos, and Achilleus (68–79); elsewhere, too, we find mystic initiates being equated with heroes.[116] It seems that Kroisos had attained an exceptional status at least by the early fifth century BC, while Battos, Hieron, and Theron all received hero cult on their death.[117] Once again it is important to note that there is real cult, or at least a very real prospect of it, behind the rhetoric.

In another poem of Pindar the narrative of a historical battle takes the place of a mythical narrative: the second *Paean*. There, the historical battles are those fought by the Abderites' ancestors during the second wave of the colonization of Abdera in the mid-sixth century BC (54–77).[118] The protagonists of those battles are introduced as τῶν . . . προθανόντων (56). This could mean either 'those who died before now', taking προ- in a temporal sense (i.e. the ancestors), or 'those who died on behalf of others', taking προ- in the sense of ὑπέρ (i.e. the war dead).[119] The second interpretation is attractive in view of an epitaph

[113] See Bundy 1962: 8–9 n. 27; Thummer 1968–9: i. 133–5; Young 1971*a*: 35 and n. 113.

[114] Bowra 1964: 281; Young 1971*a*: 44–5. [115] Cingano 1995: 19–20.

[116] For Theron as a mystic initiate, cf. *O.* 2.56 οἶδεν (on 'knowing' and 'seeing' in mysteries, see Ch. 14). For the equation between initiates and heroes, see again Ch. 14.

[117] Kroisos: see below Ch. 14. Battos: *P.* 5.93–5. Hieron: Diod. 11.66.4. Theron: Diod. 11.53.2.

[118] Radt 1958: 17, 62; Rutherford 2001*a*: 264.

[119] Radt 1958: 55 objected that προθνήσκειν is not used absolutely in this sense. But cf. ὑπεραποθνήσκειν, which is so used: Eur. *Alc.* 155; Plat. *symp.* 179b4. For 'those who died on behalf of their country' as a locution for the war dead, cf. Soph. *Ant.* 194–5 ὃς πόλεως ὑπερμαχῶν | ὄλωλε τῆσδε; Plut. *Lyc.* 21.2 τῶν τεθνηκότων ὑπὲρ τῆς Σπάρτης; *I.* 7.27 πρὸ φίλας πάτρας.

composed by Anacreon for one 'Agathon, who died fighting on behalf of the Abderites' (1.1 *FGE* *Ἀβδήρων προθανόντα . . . Ἀγάθωνα*). Here we find the same verb *προθνήσκειν*, and this Agathon actually fell in the wars that are being commemorated in Pindar's second *Paean*.[120] We cannot be sure of the status of these Abderite war dead. It is apparent from Pindar's paean that either they themselves or their military victory was celebrated in the context of an Apollo festival.[121] It is thus conceivable that they were heroized, for cults of the war dead could, it seems, be integrated into divine festivals (see above, Chapter 7). If so, we again have a ready explanation of what motivates the narration of their exploits in lieu of a myth in *Paean* 2.

All the pointers are that the historical narration at *I.* 7.25–37 can take the place of a myth because Strepsiades' death in battle has a heroic quality, in the literal sense that he was included in a collective hero cult.

Conclusion

The first concern of this chapter was to establish the likelihood that the elder Strepsiades is referred to in *I.* 7.25–37 as one of the heroized Theban war dead. It was then argued that the heroic status of the elder Strepsiades is intimated through the comparison of him with the heroes Meleagros, Hektor, and Amphiaraos (31–3): the dead uncle is associated with these because all of them received a cult after dying in battle. But the living laudandus, the pankratiast, is also drawn into this company. Both Strepsiadai, uncle and nephew, are integrated into the roster of ancient Theban heroes (1–16). The achievements of the two Strepsiadai unite them: the nephew 'has given his uncle of the same name a crown that is common to both of them' (24 *μάτρωί θ' ὁμωνύμῳ δέδωκε κοινὸν θάλος*). The parallel between uncle and nephew is reinforced by a (tautometric) verbal echo. The 'blossoming youth' (34 **εὐανθέ'** . . . *ἁλικίαν*), which the uncle 'breathed out' on the battlefield, is echoed in the 'blossoming crown' (51 **εὐανθέα** . . . *στέφανον*), which the laudator prays that the laudandus will go on to win at Delphi.[122]

[120] For Anacreon's own involvement in the Teian colonization of Abdera, cf. Anacr. 505 *PMG*; Suda s.v. *Ἀνακρέων* = Anacr. T1 Campbell.

[121] See Rutherford 2001*a*: 46, 267.

[122] The echo is noted by Mezger 1880: 306 and Bury 1892: 122 n. 1, 132. Differently, Thummer 1968–9: ii. 124, who finds the echo '[b]emerkenswert, aber ohne Bedeutung'.

The role of verbal echoes in the interpretation of Pindar is controversial, but it is reasonable to see them as a means of articulating a fundamental relationship between ideas in an ode.[123] This verbal echo in *Isthmian* 7 is another way of linking the two Strepsiadai.

If the rationale for associating the elder Strepsiades with the mythical warrior heroes Meleagros, Hektor, and Amphiaraos, and with the ancient Theban heroes, is that he has himself become a hero, with a share in a collective Theban cult for the Ἄγαθοί, then the younger Strepsiades' inclusion in this group is very interesting. We must ask whether he too is apt to become a hero in cult. The implicit equation of athletic victory with death in battle has caused interpreters of the ode some embarrassment.[124] This may be obviated, perhaps, by the recognition that athletes and the war dead were both candidates for heroization.[125] It is significant that the praise of the living laudandus takes the form of a comparison to the cult honours of a dead person. We may compare the tendency observed above (Chapter 9) to associate the honours received by a person in his lifetime with his posthumous cult. In this ode, it is a heroized relative of the laudandus who serves for the comparison, rather than a mythical hero. This is also the case in the ode we will consider next, *Pythian* 5.

[123] On verbal echoes in Pindar, see Mezger 1880: 26–8, 36–41; Bury 1890: pp. xx–xxxi; Fennell 1893: pp. xviii–ix, *passim*; id. 1899: *passim*; Thummer 1968–9: i. 7; Young 1970*a*: 27; Lefkowitz 1976: 3 and 6 n. 4, Index ii s.v. 'repetition'; ead. 1991*g*: 189–90; Carey 1981: 11–13 and 19–20 nn. 72–81; Kirkwood 1982: 29; Verdenius 1987: 3; Krummen 1990: 21; Race 1990: 2–3; id. 1997: ii. 29–30.

[124] Cf. Young 1971*a*: 41–3; Privitera 1982: 104–5. Athletics and war are collocated also at *I.* 1.50.

[125] Cf. Bowra 1964: 183–6; Young 1971*a*: 39, 41, 43; Buhmann 1975: 105.

II

Pythian 5
The King and his Royal Forebears

Date and circumstances of the ode

Pythian 5 celebrates the chariot victory of Arkesilas IV of Cyrene in the 31st Pythian festival, in 466 or 462 BC (for the problem in dating Pythian victories, see above, Chapter 1).[1] Arkesilas was also victorious in the same event at Olympia in 460 BC.[2] The Olympic victory is not mentioned in either *Pythian* 4 or *Pythian* 5, and so may be assumed to postdate both poems (*P.* 5.124 is a prayer for success at Olympia). Thus 466 or 462 BC is a *terminus post quem*, and 460 BC a *terminus ante quem* for both poems. Pythian 5 was probably performed at Apollo's festival, the Karneia, at Cyrene.[3] This festival is referred to in 79–81:

> Ἄπολλον, τεᾷ,
> Καρνήϊ', ἐν δαιτὶ σεβίζομεν
> Κυράνας ἀγακτιμέναν πόλιν

in your festival, Karneian Apollo, we venerate the well-built city of Cyrene.

The festival was annual, celebrated probably in late summer.[4] In view of 52 ἦλθες ἤδη, 'now you have come', it seems possible that the ode was performed on the occasion of the return to Cyrene of Karrhotos, Arkesilas' charioteer.[5] In that case, his return may have been timed to coincide with the festival, unless the language of the victor's return is

[1] Σ *P.* 4 Inscr. a, b; Σ *P.* 5 Inscr.

[2] Σ *P.* 4 Inscr. a. Moretti 1957: no. 268.

[3] *P.* 5.77–104 esp. 79–81; cf. perhaps 23 Ἀπολλώνιον ἄθυρμα. See Müller 1844: 323–4 n. 6; Wilamowitz 1922: 377; Carey 1981: 19 n. 70; Calame 1990: 278, 336 n. 96; Krummen 1990: 114–15; Malkin 1994: 145 and n. 6; d'Alessio 1994: 123 and n. 19, 124; Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: 160. Differently, Chamoux 1962: 179 n. 1; Burton 1962: 135–6. On the Karneia, see Nilsson 1906: 118–29; Burkert 1985*a*: 234–6; Krummen 1990: 108–16; Malkin 1994: 143–58; Pettersson 1992: 57–72.

[4] Burkert 1985*a*: 234. Cf. Call. *h.* 2.78 τελεσφορίην ἐπετήσιον, where ἐπετήσιον means surely 'annual' (not 'throughout the year': Williams 1978: 71); cf. ἐπέτειος (e.g. Hdt. 6.105.3 θυσίῃσι . . . ἐπετείοισι, 'annual sacrifices'). For the timing of the Karneia (in Sparta), cf. Hdt. 8.72; Eur. *Alc.* 448–9; Plut. *quaest. conv.* 8.1.2 717d; *IG* XII.iii suppl. 1324.

[5] For the victor's return as the occasion for a victory ode, see Slater 1984: 244–6.

just symbolic.[6] The ode was probably performed by a chorus of young men (22 *δέδεξαι τόνδε κῶμον ἀνέρων*, 'receive this victory revel of men', 103 *ἐν ἀοιδᾷ νέων*, 'in the song of young men').[7] Its likely setting was the 'Garden of Aphrodite' (24).[8] In accordance with its proposed performance at the Karneia, *Pythian* 5 seems to exhibit some of the characteristics of a paean; 63–9 in particular have the quality of a 'hymn' to Apollo.[9]

Verses 72–81 read: 'my lovely fame proclaims itself from Sparta, where my fathers, Aigeid men, had been born before coming to Thera . . . from there we inherited a communal banquet with many sacrifices and in your festival, Karneian Apollo, we venerate the well-built city of Cyrene' (*τὸ δ' ἐμὸν γαρύεται*[10] | *ἀπὸ Σπάρτας ἐπήρατον κλέος,* | *ὅθεν γεγενναμένοι* | *ἵκοντο Θήρανδε φῶτες Αἰγεῖδαι,* | *ἐμοὶ πατέρες . . .·* | *πολύθυτον ἔρανον* | *ἔνθεν ἀναδεξάμενοι,* | *Ἄπολλον, τεᾷ,* | *Καρνήϊ', κτλ.*: as above.[11] This passage apparently employs choral first persons, from which the poet is excluded (see above, Chapter 1). The reference of 76 *ἐμοὶ πατέρες*, 'my fathers', was controversial already in antiquity.[12] Modern scholars, too, are divided on whether to refer it to Pindar or to the Cyrenean chorus.[13] The situation is complicated by the fact that there were both Spartan (Theran) and Theban traditions relating to

[6] Cf. Slater 1984: 245–6 'Perhaps only a small proportion of Pindar's songs were actually composed for a victorious entry, but the symbolism of the *kômos / nostos* could still be present in those that were not'.

[7] Chamoux 1962: 175; Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: 160; Giannini 1995: 516, 538. On the implications of *κῶμος* for performance, see Ch. 1. For choruses of young men at the Cyrenean Karneia, cf. Call. *h.* 2.8, 85–7.

[8] Chamoux 1962: 267–9; Stucchi 1975: 53 n. 3, 593–6; Calame 1990: 278; Lefkowitz 1991*g*: 172; Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: 160; Giannini 1995: 517–18. Differently, Krummen 1990: 115–16 (performed in agora). *κᾶπον Ἀφροδίτας* probably refers to an actual *τέμενος* of the goddess. Cf. (as the setting for cult songs) fr. 122.17; Sapph. 2.2 *PLF*; Lefkowitz 1991*g*: 172. At *O.* 3.24 *κᾶπος* is the Olympian Altis. Cf., in Athens, *Ἀφροδίτη ἡ ἐν Κήποις*: Paus. 1.19.2. The 'garden of Aphrodite' has been identified with the place where Aphrodite 'welcomes' Apollo and Kyrene at *P.* 9.9–13: Giannini 1979: 35. Pindar is also capable of using *κᾶπος* loosely: *P.* 9.53 (= Libya, cf. *P.* 4.56); cf. Σ *P.* 5.31 *κῆπον Ἀφροδίτης τὴν Κυρήνην ὠνόμασεν*. However, *P.* 5.24 *κᾶπον Ἀφροδίτας* can hardly be metaphorical for Pindar's song (as at *O.* 9.26 *Χαρίτων νέμομαι κᾶπον*, *P.* 6.1–3 *Ἀφροδίτας* | *ἄρουραν ἢ Χαρίτων* | *ἀναπολίζομεν*).

[9] Cf. Burton 1962: 145; Krummen 1990: 139–40; d'Alessio 1994: 123–4.

[10] Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: 176.

[11] Reading, with Gentili, *γαρύεται* (72).

[12] Σ *P.* 5.96a.

[13] Referred to Pindar by Wilamowitz 1922: 479–80; Burton 1962: 146–7; Kirkwood 1981: 16–18; Lefkowitz 1991*g*: 179–80; Malkin 1994: 102 and n. 167, 145; Chamoux 1962: 185 n. 8; Hutchinson 2001: 360–1, 365–6 n. 9. Referred to the Cyrenean chorus by Fränkel 1975: 427 n. 2; Carey 1981: 16; Krummen 1990: 136–41; Bremer 1990: 49 n. 20; d'Alessio 1994: 122–4.

the Aigeidai.[14] Even the Spartan (Theran) tradition acknowledged the Theban origins of the Aigeidai.[15] However, in *Pythian* 5 the speaker's fame comes 'from Sparta' (73 *ἀπὸ Σπάρτας*): this is the place 'where the Aigeidai had been born before coming to Thera' (74–5 *ὅθεν γεγενναμένοι | ἵκοντο Θήρανδε φῶτες Αἰγείδαι*). In the context, then, of *Pythian* 5 any ultimate origins of the Aigeidai in Thebes are irrelevant; the speaker speaks as one not of Theban, but of Spartan descent: in other words, as a Cyrenean.[16] It is, similarly, the voice of a Cyrenean chorus that must speak the verse, 'in your festival, Karneian Apollo, we venerate the well-built city of Cyrene' (79–81).[17] This use of the first person of the Cyrenean chorus may be facilitated by the paean-like features of the poem.[18]

In our discussion of this ode we will be interested, in the first place, in the hero cult of Battos (93–5), founder of Cyrene, and in his mythologization in parallel to his cult. (Compare the discussion of the mythologization of historical persons in the previous chapter 9.) In the second place, we will consider the status of the dead Battiad kings, descendants of Battos and forefathers of Arkesilas. Finally, we will consider how the representation of all these persons in the ode is used to reflect on the status of Arkesilas, and also on the status of his charioteer, Karrhotos.

Hero cult of Battos

Battos' burial at the 'far end of Cyrene's marketplace' and his hero cult are alluded to at 93–5:

> *ἔνθα πρυμνοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἔπι δίχα κεῖται θανών·*
> *μάκαρ μὲν ἀνδρῶν μέτα*
> *ἔναιεν, ἥρως δ' ἔπειτα λαοσεβής*

. . . where, at the far end of the marketplace, he lies apart now that he is dead. He dwelled blessed among men, and then as a hero worshipped by the people.

There are other literary references to the tomb: Catullus mentions

[14] Malkin 1994: 98–106. For the Theban tradition, cf. *I.* 7.12–15.

[15] Malkin 1994: 101 and nn. 162–3.

[16] So Carey 1981: 16; Giannini 1995: 532. Compare and contrast Gentili 1995: 161 and n. 1.

[17] Cf. *I.* 4.61–2, possibly spoken by a chorus of Thebans.

[18] On the use of first person in paeans: Burton 1962: 146; Lefkowitz 1991*b*: 2–3, 60–6, 68–71; Käppel 1992: 71–2. But NB d'Alessio 1994: 124–6. On *pae.* 6.5–11, see Ch. 13.

'the sacred tomb of ancient Battos' (7.6 *Batti veteris sacrum sepulcrum*).[19] The grave and even Battos' skeleton have probably been identified by archaeologists (see Figure 1 no. 12 on p. 230).[20]

Burial in the agora was customary for a founder.[21] At *P.* 5.93 the phrase *πρυμνοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἔπι* seems to add dignity to this location.[22] The word *λαοσσεβής* (95) points to a public cult for Battos: this too was custom for a dead founder.[23] Battos' cult was probably celebrated at the Karneia, the festival which commemorated the foundation of Cyrene.[24] A city's foundation would be naturally celebrated through its founder's cult.[25] The founder's cult might coincide with cults of other heroes.[26] The Cyrenean Karneia may have encompassed the cults of all of Apollo, Battos, the Antenoridai, and the dead Battiad kings.[27]

Battos' lifetime state of blessedness

Battos received posthumous cult. But he was also exceptionally regarded in his lifetime. The still-living Battos is called 'blessed' at *P.* 5.94–5 (*μάκαρ μὲν ἀνδρῶν μέτα | ἔναιεν*) and *P.* 4.59 (*ὦ μάκαρ υἱὲ Πολυμνάστου*). The adjective *μάκαρ* is typically used of gods and heroes.[28] In Pindar it is used (1) of the gods collectively; (2) of individual gods; (3) of nymphs/cities; (4) of exceptional mortals (living and dead); (5) of the laudandus'

[19] On the other hand, Σ *P.* 5.124fgh, 126, 127a, 129 probably have no value independent of *P.* 5 (differently, Stucchi 1965: 65).

[20] See Stucchi 1965: 58–65; id. 1975: 12 and Plate 1 no. 90; Goodchild 1971: 94–6, 99 Fig. 8; Büsing 1978: 66–75; Malkin 1987: 214–16; Bonacasa and Ensoli 2000: 61–3. Previously, a tholos in the agora was identified as Battos' tomb (my Figure 1 no. 11): see Chamoux 1962: 285–7, Plate VII.1. For arguments against this identification, see Stucchi 1965: 63 n. 3.

[21] Σ *O.* 1.149 *οἱ γὰρ οἰκισταὶ ἐν μέσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐθάπτοντο ἐξ ἔθους.*

[22] Cf. Aesch. *suppl.* 345 *πρύμναν πόλεως.*

[23] Cf. Hdt. 6.38.1 (*sc. Μιλτιάδη*) *τελευτήσαντι Χερσονησῖται θύουσι ὡς νόμος οἰκιστῇ*, 'The people of the Chersonese sacrifice [to Miltiades] after his death, as is the custom to a founder'. See Malkin 1987: 189–93. On Battos' cult, see Chamoux 1962: 285–7; Leschhorn 1984: 67–72; Malkin 1987: 204–12, 214–16; Calame 1988: 121–2 n. 13; Krummen 1990: 101–2 and nn. 2–3; Antonaccio 1995: 267 and n. 79; Miller 1997: 96–110.

[24] Krummen 1990: 111; Dougherty 1993: 8, cf. 26; Malkin 1994: 149 and n. 14.

[25] Malkin 1987: 189, 195, 200, 203; Krummen 1990: 142.

[26] Malkin 1987: 197.

[27] Calame 1990: 312–13; Krummen 1990: 124; Malkin 1994: 53, 66.

[28] See de Heer 1969: 53 (but his distinction, 30–1, between *μάκαρ* and *μακάριος* seems questionable); West 1978: 186, 193–4; Gerber 1982: 31; Braswell 1988: 143; Calame 1990: 335 n. 88; Giannini 1995: 445.

FIGURE 1. Plan of Cyrene

After B. Gentili (ed.) *Cirene. Storia, mito, letteratura. Atti del Convegno della S.I.S.A.C. (Urbino 3 luglio 1988)* (Urbino 1990) fig. 6, by kind permission of Edizioni Quattro Venti.

hearth (ἑστία).[29] Its use of a living person (twice of Battos) is exceptional. Solon once said 'no mortal is blessed', οὐδὲ μάκαρ οὐδεὶς πέλεται βροτός (14.1 *IEG*). Applied by Pindar to the living Battos, the word μάκαρ may approximate him already to the heroes.[30] At *P.* 4.61–2 the Pythia 'bade [Battos] thrice rejoice', that is, she said χαῖρε to him three times.[31] In cultic hymns χαῖρε (χαίρετε) is addressed to gods or heroes; applied to Battos it may express his near-heroic status.[32] The Pythia would then have recognized Battos' more than human status, as she did with Lykourgos (Herodotus 1.65.3: see above, p. 176).

Mythologization of Battos

A parallel process to Battos' receiving a posthumous hero cult is his attracting stories of a mythical type.[33] These seem to have been local legends circulating above all in Cyrene.[34] This mythologization of Battos represents an assimilation of Battos to the heroes matching his assimilation to them in cult.

(1) Battos' birth. Battos was reputedly an illegitimate child, the son of a leading citizen of Thera, Polymnestos, by his concubine Phronime (Herodotus 4.155.1).[35] Bastards had a peculiar status in Greece.[36] Battos' mother, too, was shrouded in legend. The daughter of a Cretan king, she suffered under a wicked stepmother (Herodotus 4.154.2), a familiar folktale motif.[37] The story of the attempt of Battos' grandfather to have

[29] (1) *O.* 1.52, *O.* 3.41, *P.* 3.103, *P.* 5.118, *I.* 8.26a, frr. *33.2, 33c.5, 52d.46. (2) *N.* 7.94, fr. 96.1. (3) *P.* 10.2, *I.* 7.1. (4) *O.* 2.70–1 μακάρων | νᾶσον (of the dead); *P.* 10.94 (Hyperboreans); *P.* 4.59, *P.* 5.94 (Battos); *P.* 5.20 (Arkesilas); *P.* 5.46 (Karrhotos, μακάριος); cf. *N.* 11.11. (5) *O.* 1.11, *P.* 5.11, *I.* 4.18.

[30] For μάκαρ of the cult hero, see Eur. fr. 446 (*Hippolytos Kalyptomenos*) 1–2 Nauck ὦ μάκαρ, οἵας ἔλαχες τιμάς, | Ἱππόλυθ' ἥρως. LSJ s.v. III.

[31] For the threefold χαίρειν, cf. Call. *h.* 1.90–4 (to Zeus); Aesch. *Eum.* 996–7 (Erinyes/Eumenides to the Athenians); Ar. *ran.* 184 (Dionysos to Charon). Braswell 1988: 146.

[32] Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 197 '*chairein* is part of an announcement which will eventually lead to heroization'. For μάκαιρα and χαῖρε used of the deified/heroized Alkestis, see Eur. *Alc.* 1000–1.

[33] The chief sources for these are *P.* 4.4–8, 59–63, *P.* 5.57–62; Hdt. 4.154.1–155.4; Justin 13.7.1–11; Paus. 10.15.7; Ael. fr. 47a–c Domingo-Forasté. See Brelich 1958: 316–17; Chamoux 1962: 94; Calame 1988: 105, 122; Murray 1993: 118, 120; Miller 1997: 108.

[34] Cf. Hdt. 4.154.1. See How and Wells 1928: i. 351; Parke and Wormell 1956: i. 73; Leschhorn 1984: 62; Malkin 1987: 63, 64; id. 1994: 170; Calame 1988: 113; Murray 1993: 118; Ogden 1997: 58.

[35] See Calame 1988: 110, 122; Miller 1997: 106 nn. 119–21. Calame 1990: 337 n. 103 compares Penthilos.

[36] See McGlew 1993: 162–9; Ogden 1997: 54 and *passim.*

[37] See Thompson 1955–8: S322.4.2; Chamoux 1962: 93, 95; Giangiulio 1981: 15; Murray 1993: 118.

his mother killed by drowning (*καταποντισμός*), her survival and safe passage by sea to a foreign land (Herodotus 4.154.3–4) resembles other legends, most notably that of Danaë and Perseus.[38]

(2) Battos' stutter. Battos is said to have stuttered. Pindar mentions his 'ill-sounding voice' (*P.* 4.63 *δυσθρόου φωνᾶς*); Herodotus, reporting Cyrenean tradition, calls him 'weak-voiced and stammering' (4.155.1 *ἰσχνόφωνος καὶ τραυλός*).[39] This objectively unglamorous attribute serves here to make Battos distinctive: it has become material for a prestige myth.[40] Other physical defects, e.g. lameness, could be similarly treated.[41] Whether Battos' stutter is mythical or historical is unclear (we will return to this question below, p. 235). If historical, it may have been the reason why he was given the name 'Battos' (*βατταρίζειν* means 'to stutter', Hipponax 140 *IEG*). This is the version of events given by 'the Therans and Cyreneans' whom Herodotus reports (4.155.1).[42] Conversely, the name Battos may have preceded the story of the stutter and inspired it.[43] This process would have analogues: the name of Kyros' adoptive mother, *Κυνώ*, allegedly inspired the story of Kyros' having been reared by a feral bitch (*κύων*) (Herodotus 1.122.3); and the name *Κύψελος* inspired the story that Kypselos was hidden as a baby in a chest (*κυψέλη*) (Herodotus 5.92.δ.1–5.92.ϵ.1).

(3) The name 'Battos'. Battos was initially called 'Aristoteles' (his name at *P.* 5.87) and only subsequently 'Battos' (his name at *P.* 5.55 and *P.* 4.6, 280).[44] The name Battos was regarded as significant at an early date and two (folk) etymologies were suggested: 'king' and 'stutterer'. Each of these expresses a central trait in Battos' (mythologized) persona. Herodotus claims to know of a Libyan word for 'king' which he

[38] Danaë and Perseus: Apollod. *bibl.* 2.4.1. Compare too Auge and Telephos (Hecataeus *FGrH* 1 F29a; Strab. 13.1.69 615; Ogden 1997: 58); Aerope and Agamemnon (Σ Soph. *Aj.* 1297a = Eur. *Cressai*; Apollod. *bibl.* 3.2.2.; Calame 1990: 337 n. 103).

[39] *P.* 4.63; Hdt. 4.155.1–3.

[40] Brelich 1958: 316 n. 3; Bremmer 1980: 68–9; Giangiulio 1981: 11–23; Calame 1988: 116 and n. 9; Miller 1997: 106–8 esp. 107; Ogden 1997: 1–2. On prestige myths, see Ch. 8.

[41] On lameness, see Bremmer 1980; Vernant 1982: 21. Compare too the hunchback founder Myskellos: Antiochus *FGrH* 555 F10. Cf. Pindar's glamourizing portrayal of Hieron's infirmity at *P.* 1.50–5 (see Σ *P.* 1.89b, 97).

[42] Cf. Σ *P.* 4 Inscr. b; Justin 13.7.1.

[43] So How and Wells 1928: i. 352; Parke and Wormell 1956: i. 74–5; Chamoux 1962: 96–8.

[44] Cf. Aristot. fr. 472.16 p. 566 Gigon; Call. *h.* 2.76 (contrast 65); Diod. 8.29.1; Σ *P.* 4 Inscr. b Drachmann ii. 93.12–19; *SEG* IX.189.2 (Cyrene, AD ii). Hdt. 4.155.1 says that he believes that Battos was called 'something other' than Battos at first, but does not mention the name Aristoteles. Justin 13.7.1 gives the name 'Aristaeus'. See Chamoux 1962: 97 and n. 2; Masson 1976: 84–5; Malkin 1987: 63 and n. 267; Ogden 1997: 57, 194 n. 51.

renders in Greek as *βάττος* (4.155.2).[45] Pindar may already have known of this etymology. In *Pythian* 4, Medea prophesies that the Lemnian descendants of the Argonaut Euphamos on Thera will 'beget a man to be lord (NB) of the plains of the dark clouds [*sc.* Libya]' (51–3 *οἵ κεν . . . | τέκωνται φῶτα κελαινεφέων πεδίων | δεσπόταν*). This impressive-sounding antonomasia for Battos may suggest awareness of a tradition that Battos meant 'king'; punning allusion to the name Battos would be much in Pindar's style.[46] It may also be significant that ten verses later in *Pythian* 4 another prophetess, the Pythia, 'revealed [Battos] to be the destined king (NB) of Kyrene' (61–2 *πεπρωμένον | βασιλέ' ἄμφανεν Κυράνᾳ*).[47]

This Libyan etymology is now out of favour, owing to an article by O. Masson.[48] Masson contended that Herodotus did not even mean to imply the existence of a native Libyan word *battos*, claiming that by *Λίβυες* (4.155.2) he meant the Cyrenean *Greeks*, since these had no fewer than four kings who bore the name Battos.[49] As an interpretation of Herodotus, however, this is unacceptable: Herodotus' contrasting of *Λιβυκῇ γλώσσῃ* (4.155.2) with *Ἑλλάδι γλώσσῃ* (4.155.3) makes it clear that he means the indigenous language, just as when he opposes *οὔνομα . . . Λιβυστικόν* to *κατ' Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν* (4.192.3). We must accept that Herodotus means to attest a Libyan word *battos* meaning 'king'. As the Libyan language in question is lost, the lack of confirmatory evidence is not to count against Herodotus.[50] 'Battos', although originally a title, could quickly become a personal name, attested not only within the Battiad family but also further afield.[51]

[45] Cf. Hsch. s.v. *βάττος*. Σ *P.* 4 Inscr. b.

[46] For naming puns in Pindar, cf. fr. 105.(a).2, *P.* 4.27, *I.* 6.50–3, *N.* 2.11–12, *O.* 6.30, 43, 47, 55. Robbins 1984: 223 suggests *I.* 2.35–40 may pun on the name Xenokrates. Cf. Bacch. 6.1–2. See Σ *N.* 7 Inscr. a Drachmann III.116.19–117.1; Most 1985*a*: 196 and n. 62. On naming puns in general, see West 1966: 77; Lloyd-Jones 1973: 129 and n. 117; Hornblower 1994: 94 and n. 88. Archaic Greece's fondness for this kind of thing is shown by punning coins: see Kraay 1976: 3–4.

[47] See Dougherty 1993: 106–7; Giannini 1995: 446.

[48] Masson 1976; Cosi 1987: 121; Calame 1988: 122 n. 14; Dougherty 1993: 106 and 117 n. 8; Miller 1997: 106; Ogden 1997: 54–5, 57 'Herodotus' etymology is technically false (as Masson has decisively shown)'.

[49] Masson 1976: 86 'Les expressions telles que "les Libyens appellent", "en langue libyque" sont ambiguës, car chez les Anciens, il s'agit souvent des "Grecs de Libye", plutôt que des Libyens indigènes, dont les auteurs classiques, peu préoccupés de véritable enquête linguistique, ignoraient la langue.'

[50] *Pace* Miller 1997: 106. The Libyan language lost: Masson 1976: 85, Laronde 1990: 169.

[51] Cf. Chamoux 1962: 96 'le nom a très rapidement . . . été senti par les Grecs comme un nom propre et non plus comme un titre.' Contrast Miller 1997: 106. Compare the modern first names Rex, Roy, Regina, and the surnames King, König, Le Roy.

A purely Greek etymology of Battos, on the other hand, was argued for strongly by Masson and has won general acceptance. It has its difficulties, however. Masson showed that the formation of the personal name *Βάττος* from a hypothetical adjective **βαττός*, 'stuttering' would be consonant with a pattern according to which a number of disyllabic oxytone adjectives, denoting personal peculiarities or defects, generate personal names (e.g. *Μίλων* from *μιλ(λ)ός*, 'slow').[52] Yet although various Greek sources including lexicographers discuss the name *Βάττος*, none cites an adjective **βαττός*; they can point only to the verb *βατταρίζειν*.[53] It thus appears that they did not know an adjective **βαττός* (Masson says, 'no longer knew').[54] This puts **βαττός* in a different category to those other rare and colloquial adjectives, like *μιλ(λ)ός*, which *are* known to grammarians and lexicographers (even if they do not make it into our literary texts).[55] It is not clear that we are right to prefer an etymology which relies on an unattested Greek word (**βαττός*) to one which relies on a Libyan etymology which *is* attested (Herodotus 4.155.2; see above).[56]

The persistence of the alternative name Aristoteles suggests that the name Battos was acquired late in the founder's life. The change of name may plausibly be related to the reinvention of Battos' personality that went with his founding of Cyrene. This is the supposition of Herodotus: 'he had his name changed to Battos when he came to Libya, taking that surname... from the honour which he received; for the Libyans say *battos* for "king" ' (4.155.2–3).

(4) Delphic consultation. Battos, according to Cyrenean tradition, went to Delphi to enquire about his stutter (*P.* 4.63; Herodotus 4.155.3). The motif of a future founder consulting Delphi for a personal failing and receiving the injunction to colonize can be paralleled: Myskellos, who went on to found Croton, went to Delphi to ask how he might have children (Diodorus 8.17.1). Menekles of Barca in the second century BC dismissed the stutter as the reason for Battos' Delphic consultation as a 'more mythical explanation' (*μυθικωτέραν . . . αἰτίαν*), putting forward stasis on Thera as the 'more credible explanation' (*πιθανωτέραν αἰτίαν*: *FGrH* 270 F6, cited by Σ *P.* 4.10a).[57]

[52] See Masson 1976: 94–6; Ogden 1997: 54–5.

[53] Σ *P.* 4 Inscr. b, Hsch. s.v. *Βάττος*. *βατταρίζειν* is at least as old as Hipponax 140 *IEG*.

[54] Masson 1976: 93 'les lexicographes ne connaissaient plus un adjective **βαττός*'.

[55] Cf. Masson 1976: 93.

[56] On the general underprivileging of non-Indo-European etymologies, cf. Burkert 1992*a*: 33–40.

[57] See Miller 1997: 108.

(5) Spontaneous address of the Pythia. Cyrenean tradition emphasized that Battos was 'spontaneously' addressed by the Pythia (*P.* 4.59–60 *αὐτομάτῳ κελάδῳ*; *GHI* 5.24–5 *αὐτομάστιξεν*).[58] According to Theran tradition, the Pythia's injunction to colonize came instead in answer to an unrelated enquiry of Grinnos (Herodotus 4.150.3 *χρεομένῳ* [*sc. Γρίννῳ*] . . . *περὶ ἄλλων*).[59] This spontaneous oracle is another way of expressing Battos' divine election.

(6) Encounter with lions and cure of the stutter. On arrival in Libya, Battos was said to have had an encounter with local lions which cured the stutter (*P.* 5.57–62).[60] This encounter with a lion is a variation on a familiar prestige myth (see Chapter 8).[61] The story of the curing of Battos' stutter is probably another 'roving anecdote': we are reminded of the story of the curing of Kroisos' dumb son told by Herodotus (1.85.1–4).[62] It conforms to a common pattern for founders: an initial wrong-doing or failing on the part of the future founder impels him to colonize, and in establishing the colony he finds a cure.

(7) Summary: the Battos legends. A historical basis cannot be ruled out for some of these legends: the Cretan origin of Battos' mother has been taken to be historical, as has Battos' stutter.[63] Many episodes take their cue from the stutter. The change of name from Aristoteles to Battos is surely historical, but whether a stutter was the cause for that name is another matter (see above). The colonization of Cyrene was doubtless preceded by a Delphic consultation, which Herodotus 5.42.2 implies was a customary observance.[64] But it is unlikely that a stutter was its motive.[65] The grafting of an encounter with lions on to the story of a cure of the stutter in the new colony is surely apocryphal. Inevitably one must suspect the historicity of the stutter, from which these stories spring. Ultimately, though, the attempt to separate out history and myth may be futile.[66] We can be certain that some mythical

[58] Cf. Parke 1962; Chamoux 1962: 109 n. 4; Malkin 1987: 63 n. 265; Miller 1997: 100 and n. 89, 114.

[59] For oracular responses unrelated to the enquiry, see Calame 1988: 115–16; Miller 1997: 97 n. 69, 103.

[60] Cf. Paus. 10.15.7; Σ Call. *h.* 2.65.

[61] Weinreich 1928: 74–85 esp. 80–3; Taeger 1957: 90; Chamoux 1962: 97–8; Burton 1962: 145; Cosi 1987: 131–2; Krummen 1990: 144; Miller 1997: 209–11.

[62] Cf. Parke and Wormell 1956: i. 76–7, 138.

[63] Battos' mother: Chamoux 1962: 95. Stutter: Murray 1993: 121; Malkin 1987: 63.

[64] Parke and Wormell 1956: i. 75; Parke 1967: 47; Malkin 1987: 60.

[65] The actual motive was socio-political crisis or famine, according to Murray 1993: 120; Malkin 1987: 61.

[66] Brelich 1958: 315–17; Murray 1993: 120; Osborne 1996: 12 'it is vain to seek historical truth'. On the complex historical status of 'roving anecdotes', see Hornblower 1994: 17, 22–4; id. 1983: 51; cf. (on Pythagoras) Burkert 1972: 120, 136–7.

elaboration has taken place, even if we cannot gauge its extent in relation to a 'historical core'. There was, plainly, a process of mythologization parallel to Battos' heroization in cult.[67] The mythical aura of the heroized Battos explains how the narrative of his foundation of Cyrene can take the place of a myth in *Pythian* 5 (compare the previous chapter, p. 223).[68] A possible medium for these Battos legends might have been so-called foundation poetry performed at festivals in Cyrene (perhaps embedded in other genres of poetry, such as public elegy or the paean, rather than constituting a genre in its own right).[69]

Cult of the dead Battiad kings

A cult of the dead Battiad kings seems to be implied by 96–8:

> ἄτερθε δὲ πρὸ δωμάτων ἕτεροι λαχόντες Ἀΐδαν
> βασιλέες ἱεροί
> ἐντί

Set apart [from Battos] in front of the palace are the other sacred kings who have met their death.

These verses present important problems of interpretation, which need to be discussed.

Basileis hieroi

The first task is to elucidate the implications of βασιλέες ἱεροί (97). To many scholars the designation of the dead Battiad kings as βασιλέες ἱεροί has suggested that they enjoyed heroic status.[70] Others have taken the Battiad kings to be clearly differentiated as ἱεροί from Battos as a ἥρως.[71]

It is often said that the adjective ἱερός is applied not to divine beings

[67] Cf. Calame 1990: 317–18; id. 1988: 122–3.

[68] Chamoux 1962: 188; Krummen 1990: 149; Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: 162, cf. 159.

[69] So Giangiulio 1981: 3, 23 (comparing 'Plat'. *Hipp. mai.* 285d7–8; Paus. 3.14.1); Calame 1988: 121. On '*ktisis* poetry', cf. Ar. *av.* 917–19; 'Plat.' *Hipp. mai.* 285d7–8. See, with references, Dougherty 1994, denying the existence of *ktisis* poetry as an 'autonomous genre' in the Archaic period.

[70] Σ *P.* 5.124f τῶν ἄλλων ἡρώων; Rumpel 1883: s.v. ἱερός; Wilamowitz 1931–2: i. 22; Reverdin 1945: 151 and n. 1; Taeger 1957: 34; Slater 1969*a* ἱερός 1; Burkert 1985*a*: 452 n. 5; Krummen 1990: 147; Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: 162 n. 5.

[71] Duchemin 1967: 181 'ἱεροί, mais non ἥρωες'; Giannini 1995: 537 on *P.* 5.97 (but contrast p. 536 on *P.* 5.96–8). Similarly, Σ *P.* 5.129.

themselves, but to things or persons connected with the divine.[72] This rule is not hard and fast; in fact, ἱερός can be applied to gods.[73] In Pindar the only persons apart from the Battiad kings to be designated ἱεροί are the Hyperboreans (*P.* 10.42, compare 46 ἀνδρῶν μακάρων ὅμιλον) and the Theban Spartoi (fr. 29.2): both groups of mythical persons of an exceptional status. (The situation in epic is different, where the adjective is more freely applied to people.[74]) It is necessary to cast the net more widely to see whether ἱερός, with its literal meaning 'consecrated to a god', ever comes close to meaning 'heroized' when applied to dead persons.[75]

For a handful of non-historical deceased persons, ἱερός seems to be used in a sense tantamount to 'heroized'. First, in an epigram of Callimachus it is said of the goatherd Astakides, καὶ νῦν ἱερὸς Ἀστακίδης, 'now Astakides is sacred' (*Epigram* 22.2); Astakides had been abducted by a nymph, a typical heroization motif.[76] Second, after being struck by lightning, Kapaneus in Euripides' *Suppliant Women* is to be buried as a ἱερὸν . . . νέκρον, and his tomb is ἱερός (934–8, 980–3); those struck by lightning were often heroized.[77] Lastly, Oidipous, who in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* is destined to become a cult hero at Colonus, refers to himself as ἱερός, and his tomb will be ἱερός (287–8; 1545, 1763).[78]

Evidence of a comparable usage for historical deceased persons is harder to find (our evidence for historical heroes is in general scantier). On several Laconian tombstones dating from the fifth century BC and later, ἱερός and ἱερά are used of deceased historical persons.[79] However, it is notoriously difficult to determine the significance of ἱερός in these contexts.[80] The difficulty is that living persons who were in

[72] See Burkert 1985*a*: 269. In Mycenean Greek *i-je-ro* means 'owned by a deity': Aura Jorro and Adrados 1985–93: i. s.v. ii. Cf. *RAC* XIV s.v. 'Heilig' 7–9.

[73] See Hes. *th.* 21 (= 105) ἀθανάτων ἱερὸν γένος αἰὲν ἐόντων, 346. Philodamus *pae.* 39.111 Käppel θ[ε]ῶν ἱερῷ γένει συναίμῳ. Aristonous *h. Vest.* 1–2 (Powell 1925: 164) ἱερὰν ἱερῶν ἄνασσαν | Ἑστίαν ὑμνήσομεν. On *P.* 11.9, see Bernardini 1995: 650.

[74] See LSJ s.v. ἱερός II.2.b; *LfgrE* s.v. ἱερός B.1.7; Wülfing-Martitz 1960: esp. 300–4.

[75] Cf. Wülfing-Martitz 1961: 31 and n. 1, 33–4, 42.

[76] Wilamowitz 1906: 176 n. 1; Rohde 1925: ii. 374 n. 2; Nock 1972: ii. 924 (who glosses ἱερός here as 'more than human'); Larson 2001: 69–70.

[77] On Kapaneus, see Rohde 1925: i. 321. For others, cf. *O.* 2.25–6 (Semele); *P.* 3.57–8 (Asklepios); *N.* 9.24–7 (Amphiaraos). See in general: Rohde 1925: i. 320–2; Burkert 1961: 211; id. 1985*a*: 295; Bremmer 1983: 106 and n. 1; Garland 1985: 99–100; *RAC* X.1124–7.

[78] For his cult, see Kearns 1989: 50–2, 208–9.

[79] *IG* V.i.1127.2–4, 1129, 1214.2, 1221, 1223, 1283, 1338, 1362f.4, 1480.2; *BCH* 85 (1961), 228. Nothing can be deduced from *SEG* XI.951. See Cardinali 1908: 165–84; Kern 1911: 300–3; *RE* VIII.1471–6; Le Roy 1961: 228–32; Burkert 1985*a*: 452 n. 5; Parker 1989: 163–4 n. 4.

[80] Le Roy 1961: 229. Cf. LSJ s.v. II.3.b, Suppl. (1996) 156; Burkert 1985a: 269.

some sense 'dedicated to' or 'in the service of' a deity could be called *ἱερός*.[81] On the tombstones of such people *ἱερός* would not then relate to the status of the deceased *qua* deceased. This is a factor which must be borne in mind for *P.* 5.97 too, for the Battiad kings, as holders of hereditary priesthoods in their lifetimes (Herodotus 4.161.3 *ἱερωσύνας*), might perhaps be called *ἱερός* in this sense.

However, a more promising instance for a use of *ἱερός* to denote a special category of dead person comes in a law attributed to the Spartan Lykourgos and recorded by Plutarch (*Lycurgus* 27.3):

ἐπιγράψαι δὲ τοὔνομα θάψαντας οὐκ ἐξῆν τοῦ νεκροῦ, πλὴν ἀνδρὸς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ γυναικὸς ⟨λεχοῦς⟩ τῶν ἱερῶν (or *ἱερῶς*) *ἀποθανόντων*
It was not allowed to inscribe the name of the dead person [*sc.* on the gravestone] after burying them, except for a man who died in war and a woman who died in childbirth, the sacred ones (or: those who died in a sacred way).[82]

The text given here incorporates an emendation of Latte, ⟨*λεχοῦς*⟩.[83] The emendation is supported by several extant Laconian tombstones, naming the deceased in the formula (for a man) *ὁ δεῖνα ἐμ πολέμωι*, 'so-and-so [*sc.* died] in war' and (for a woman) *ἡ δεῖνα λεχόι*, 'so-and-so [*sc.* died] in childbirth'.[84] Childbirth was for women both a civic duty and a danger comparable to fighting in the phalanx for men.[85] As war dead were slain by Ares, so women who died in childbirth were slain by Artemis.[86] A fragment of Pindar speaks of the war dead as a 'sacrifice' to the goddess Alala on behalf of the city (fr. 78.2–3); the metaphor suggests how the war dead might have been regarded as *ἱεροί*, 'dedicated to the god', just as sacrificial victims are *ἱερά* or

[81] Ar. *ran.* 652. Mystic initiates: Burkert 1987*a*: 35, 40, 148 nn. 63–4. Temple slaves (including temple prostitutes): Sokolowski 1954: 173–81; *RE* VIII.1459–68, 1471–6; LSJ s.v. *ἱερός* III.5.

[82] Cf. Plut. *inst. Lac.* 18 238d. See Den Boer 1954: 294–300.

[83] Latte's emendation is usually used to yield the text: *πλὴν ἀνδρὸς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ γυναικὸς ⟨λεχοῦς⟩* [[*τῶν ἱερῶν*]] *ἀποθανόντων*. Cf. Pritchett 1971–91: iv. 244–5 n. 430. For the version suggested here, cf. Wallace 1970*a*: 99 n. 11. *τῶν ἱερῶν* is in (explanatory) apposition to *ἀνδρὸς ἐμ πολέμῳ* and *γυναικὸς ⟨λεχοῦς⟩. ἀποθανόντων*, which is both 'dispensable' and 'predictable' (see Dover 1960: 35–6), has been postponed (it is omitted on the tombstones: *IG* V.i.701–10, 713–14).

[84] *IG* V.i.701–710, 713–714.

[85] See Xen. *resp. Lac.* 1.3–10; Eur. *Med.* 248–51 (provocatively); Ar. *Lys.* 588–9. Vernant 1972: 15.

[86] War dead slain by Ares: *Il.* 24.498; Tyrt. 12.34 *IEG*; *GG* 46.2, 27.1, 136.5; *I.* 7.25; Heracl. 22 B24 *VS ἀρηϊφάτους*. Women slain by Artemis: *Il.* 6.428, 21.483–4; cf. Eur. *IT* 1464–7. See Burkert 1985*a*: 151; Larson 1995: 118.

ἱερεῖα.[87] The war dead were, apparently, often heroized in Classical Greece (see Chapter 7), and perhaps at Sparta at an early date (Tyrtaeus 12.32–4 *IEG* γίνεται ἀθάνατος | ὅντιν(α) . . . | . . . θοῦρος Ἄρης ὀλέσῃ, 'he becomes immortal whom . . . furious Ares slays': again see Chapter 7). Likewise for women, in myth at least, death at the hands of Artemis could lead to heroization.[88]

On this text and interpretation (neither of which are certain), Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 27.3, paraphrasing a 'Lykourgan' law, would call both war dead and women who had died in childbirth ἱεροί, 'consecrated' through their death to a deity.[89] This would amount to an exceptional posthumous status, equivalent to heroization, which entitled them to special funerary treatment.

Another candidate for ἱερός applied to exceptional historical dead persons comes in a Cyrenean cathartic law from the last quarter of the fourth century BC (*LSS* 115 = *SEG* IX.72).[90] Once again, text and interpretation are controversial. The relevant part of the inscription is side A, lines 21–5:

> Ἀκαμαντίων[91] ὁσία παντί, καὶ ἁγνῶι καὶ βαβάλῳ[ι] .
> πλὰν ἀπ' ἀνθρώπω Βάττω {τω}[92] τῶ ἀρχαγέτα καὶ
> Τριτοπατέρων καὶ ἀπὸ Ὀνυμάστω τῶ Δελφῶ{ι},[93]
> ἀπ' ἄλλω[94], ὁπῆ ἄνθρωπος ἔκαμε, οὐκ ὁσία ἁγνῶι.
> τῶν δὲ ἱαρῶν ὁσία παντί.

In the case of the Akamantioi there is licence to participate for everyone, both for one who is pure and one who is profane. Save from the man Battos the leader and the Tritopateres and from Onymastos the Delphian, from anyone else who has died, there is no licence to participate for one who is pure, but in the case of the sacred ones there is licence to participate for everyone.

This section of the cathartic law seems to be laying down regulations

[87] See Burkert 1985*a*: 267; id. 1983: 48 n. 49. For an implicit parallel between girls and a sacrificial victim to Artemis, see Larson 1995: 170 n. 70.

[88] Larson 1995: 116, 118, 196 n. 97.

[89] Cf. Vernant 1991*a*: 90, 161.

[90] Also edited by: Solmsen and Fraenkel 1930: no. 39; Buck 1955: no. 115; Rhodes and Osborne 2003: no. 97.

[91] Other readings are α⟨ἴ⟩ κα μαντίων and ἃ κα μαντίων. See the discussion of Parker 1983: 337.

[92] Generally taken as a dittography. See Buck 1955: 311.

[93] Brunel 1984: 35 reads Δελφῶ κ[αἰ].

[94] Another reading is ἀπαλλῶ, an unattested adverb of place whose meaning is taken to be equivalent to ἄλλοθεν. However, ὁπῆ here is not an adverb of place ('where') but an adverb of manner ('how': cf. LSJ s.v. II). The phrase means 'from anyone else who has died'. So Buck 1955: 310–11; Brunel 1984: 36–7; Jameson et al. 1993: 111 n. 36.

for the participation in rites for certain groups of dead persons.[95] Rites for the dead often conveyed pollution; hence people with a special duty to remain pure (especially priests) could be excluded from them.[96] In line 21 of our text, the licence to participate in rites of the Akamantioi is granted to one who is (specially) 'pure', as well as to one who is not: these rites will not pollute him. However, he is denied the licence to participate in the rites of the ordinary dead (line 24): these will pollute. Licence to participate is granted to 'everyone' (both to the 'pure' and 'profane') in the case of the rites of Battos, the Tritopateres, and Onymastos (lines 22–3 and 25). On the interpretation offered here, these three are collectively referred to as 'the sacred ones': *τῶν . . . ἱαρῶν* (25) is in a masculine agreement, and stands in apposition to *Βάττω*, *Τριτοπατέρων*, and *Ὀνυμάστω*.[97] Line 25 then clarifies the provision regarding Battos, the Tritopateres, and Onymastos, which would otherwise have been left obscure.[98] 'Battos the leader' must be the heroized founder of Cyrene; the Tritopateres are ancestors who receive cult; and Onymastos, who is otherwise unknown, seems to have been a heroized person.[99] The cathartic law thus distinguishes the heroized dead from the ordinary dead: the rites of the former will not pollute one who is 'pure'.[100] Here, then, we have a possible use of *ἱαροί* of the heroized dead, and most significantly from a fourth-century Cyrenean context.

Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 27.3 and the Cyrenean cathartic law are texts too vexed to demonstrate conclusively the desiderated use of *ἱερός* of a group of special deceased historical persons, approximating to the heroized dead. But it is interesting to observe some striking similarities between the two texts, as interpreted here. Both present a prohibition

[95] For discussions, see Parker 1983: 336–9; Brunel 1984; Malkin 1987: 206–12; Jameson et al. 1993: 110–11. *ὁσία* seems to mean here 'the licence to participate' (in a sacrifice): see Rhodes and Osborne 2003: 502; cf. Jameson et al. 1993: 14 (A.12), 32.

[96] Parker 1983: 38–9.

[97] Cf. Rhodes and Osborne 2003: 503. Most interpreters have taken 25 *τῶν . . . ἱαρῶν* to be neuter: 'temples' or 'offerings'. Both 21 *Ἀκαμαντίων* and 24 *ἀπ' ἄλλω* are likewise best taken as masculine. The reading *ἀπαλλῶ* for *ἀπ' ἄλλω* is unattractive (see above). It would be possible to take *Ἀκαμαντίων* as neuter, when *Ἀκαμάντια* might mean either 'shrines of the Akamantes' (Solmsen and Fraenkel 1930: 56) or 'rites of the Akamantes' (Latte 1968: 114; Parker 1983: 338); but the guaranteed masculines in 21–25 are against this. There is no difficulty in the co-existence of the form *Ἀκαμάντιοι* alongside *Ἀκάμαντες*, attested in Marathon in iv BC (*LSCG* 20B.32 *Ἀκάμασιν*). We similarly find *Τριτοπατέρες* alongside both *Τριτοπάτορες* and *Τριτοπατρεῖς*, and *Ἄνακες* alongside *Ἄνακοι*.

[98] For this obscurity, see Jameson et al. 1993: 110.

[99] On the Tritopateres, see Jameson et al. 1993: 107–14.

[100] Jameson et al. 1993: 111 n. 36, following Nock 1944: 143; cf. Parker 1983: 338.

(*οὐκ ἐξήν, οὐκ ὁσία*) followed by an exemption (*πλὴν . . ., πλὰν . . .*).[101] In both, the deceased persons listed in the exemption clause are glossed as *ἱεροί*, apparently by way of explaining why these persons are different from the ordinary dead. Analogously, at *P.* 5.97 the dead kings' status as *ἱεροί* would explain their entitlement to special burial *πρὸ δωμάτων*: the phrase we must investigate now.

Pro domaton

The reference of this phrase was disputed in antiquity.[102] The first of the possibilities suggested by the scholiast, 'in front of Battos' hero shrine', can be discounted, for 93 *δίχα* (picked up in 96 *ἄτερθε*) implies a considerable separation between Battos' tomb and those of the other Battiad kings.[103] The following possibilities remain.

(1) 'In front of the royal palace'. This is the most common interpretation.[104] The likelihood that *δώματα* at *P.* 5.96 means 'palace' is suggested by *P.* 5.28–9 *Βαττιδᾶν* | . . . *δόμους*, where a reference to the kings' palace is clear. The kings' palace is referred to again at *P.* 4.280 as *τὸ κλεεννότατον μέγαρον Βάττου*. For parallels for kings buried 'before their palace' we may turn to tragedy. Agamemnon in Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* may have been buried in front of the palace, if *προσθοδόμοις Ἀτρείδαις* means 'the Atreidai [buried] before the palace' (322).[105] In Euripides' *Helen* the dead king Proteus has been buried by his son Theoklymenos in front of the palace: 'hail, tomb of my father; for I buried you, Proteus, at the entrance [lit. "exit"], in order to be able to address you; and I, Theoklymenos, your son, greet you every time I leave or enter the palace' (1165–8 *ὦ χαῖρε, πατρὸς μνῆμ'· ἐπ' ἐξόδοισι γὰρ* | *ἔθαψα, Πρωτεῦ, σ' ἕνεκ' ἐμῆς προσρήσεως·* | *ἀεὶ δέ σ' ἐξιών τε κἀσιὼν δόμους* | *Θεοκλύμενος παῖς ὅδε προσεννέπω, πάτερ*). Proteus' tomb here has the status of a *ἡρῷον* (if not of a divine *ἱερόν*), and the term *προσρήσεως*, 'address' (1166) may be especially suited to a hero.[106]

[101] For the use of *πλήν* to introduce an exemption, cf. Robert 1964: 16 n. 4.

[102] Σ *P.* 5.129.

[103] Cf. Rumpel 1883 *ἄτερθε*; Σ *P.* 5.124fh, 126.

[104] Cf. Σ *P.* 5.129. Weld-Blundell 1895–6: 123, 127; Malten 1911: 205; Lefkowitz 1991*g*: 185; Slater 1969*a*: s.v. *δῶμα* b; Rumpel 1883: s.v. *δῶμα*.

[105] See Hutchinson 1985: 208; Garvie 1986: xlii and n. 95, 131; Malkin 1987: 205 n. 4. Cf. Aesch. *sept.* 914.

[106] On Proteus' divine status, see Kannicht 1969: 157, 222; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 189 n. 317. On the possible implications of *πρόσρησις* for hero cult, cf. Kearns 1989: 41, discussing Plat. Com. 199 *PCG* (*πρόσρησις* of Themistokles' tomb by sailors in the Peiraeus): *ὁ σὸς δὲ τύμβος ἐν καλῷ κεχωσμένος* | *τοῖς ἐμπόροις πρόσρησις ἔσται πανταχοῦ,* | *οὓς ἐκπλέοντάς τ' εἰσπλέοντάς τ' ὄψεται,* | *χὠπόταν ἅμιλλ' ᾖ τῶν νεῶν θεάσεται.*

In Euripides' *Bacchae*, Semele has a 'tomb near the palace' (*μνῆμα . . . | . . . ἐγγὺς οἴκων*, 6–7), which has been converted into 'ground that cannot be entered' (*ἄβατον . . . πέδον*, 10), in other words, a 'precinct' of Semele (*σηκόν*, 11). The burial of the Battiad kings in front of the royal palace would thus suggest heroization.[107] Most Greek cities regarded the ordinary dead as polluting and buried them outside the area of habitation.[108] Normally, it was only heroes who were buried within the settlement.[109] The major exception was Sparta where, following Lykourgos' legislation, the ordinary dead too were viewed as non-polluting and were buried inside the city.[110] Sparta's Italian colony Taras (Tarentum) also routinely practised intra-mural burial.[111] However, there was no routine intra-mural burial in Cyrene.[112] A good parallel for the burial of the Battiadai as 'sacred kings' (*βασιλέες ἱεροί*) 'in front of the palace' is the burial of Kapaneus as a 'sacred corpse' (*ἱερὸς νέκρος*) beside the temple of the Eleusinian goddesses at Euripides' *Suppliant Women* 934–8:

ΘΗΣΕΥΣ	*τὸν μὲν Διὸς πληγέντα Καπανέα πυρί—*
ΑΔΡΑΣΤΟΣ	*ἦ* **χωρὶς ἱερὸν** *ὡς νεκρὸν θάψαι θέλεις;*
ΘΗ.	*ναί· τοὺς δέ γ' ἄλλους πάντας ἐν μιᾷ πυρᾷ.*
ΑΔ.	*ποῦ δῆτα θήσεις μνῆμα τῷδε* **χωρίσας***;*
ΘΗ.	*αὐτοῦ παρ' οἴκους τούσδε, συμπήξας τάφον*
THESEUS:	Kapaneus, who was struck by Zeus' fire —
ADRASTOS:	— Do you intend to bury him apart, as a sacred corpse?
TH.:	Yes, and to cremate all the others on a single pyre.
AD.:	Where then will you place a tomb for him, segregating it?
TH.:	Here by this temple, once I have constructed a grave.[113]

(2) 'In front of the houses', i.e. outside the city. This is the interpretation of the scholiast (Σ *P.* 5.129), who understands *δώματα* as 'the (collective) dwellings (of the city)'. This interpretation has found favour with some modern scholars.[114] This scholiast's rejection of the natural sense of *δώματα* as 'palace' has an analogue in the scholion Σ *P.* 5.35f, where *P.* 5. 28–9 *Βαττιδᾶν | . . . δόμους* is glossed as 'the

[107] So Malkin 1987: 200–1, 205; Krummen 1990: 102 and n. 7; Lefkowitz 1991*g*: 185–6 and n. 58.

[108] At Sicyon: Plut. *Arat.* 53.2. At Athens: Cic. *ad fam.* 4.12.3. See Parker 1983: 41–3, 71–3.

[109] Parker 1983: 42 and n. 39; Rohde 1925: i. 197 n. 2.

[110] Plut. *Lyc.* 27.1. See Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 181; Parker 1983: 71 and n. 126.

[111] Polyb. 8.28.6. See Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 308–9; Parker 1983: 71 and n. 126.

[112] See Goodchild 1971: 64, 186; Chamoux 1962: 287; Dent 1985: 334–6.

[113] Cf. *suppl.* 980–3, 88, 290, 1022.

[114] Büsing 1978: 70; Giannini 1995: 536 (on *P.* 5.96, 93, 96–8).

dwellings of the *Cyreneans*'. This is clearly mistaken, as *Βαττιδᾶν* is qualified in the following verse by the adjective *θεμισκρεόντων*, 'just-ruling' (29): 'Battiadai' here must mean the 'Battiad *kings*', not simply 'Cyreneans'.[115] The ancient scholars perhaps tended to downplay the significance of the Battiad kings. By Hellenistic times these had long been absent from Cyrenean life and by then *Βαττιάδαι* could denote 'Cyreneans' at large (Callimachus, *Hymn to Apollo* 96).[116] The scholion Σ *P.* 4.115c even understands *P.* 4.64 *παισὶ τούτοις* of the Cyreneans, although it must refer to the Battiad kings.[117] The scholion Σ *P.* 5.129 assumes that 96 *πρὸ δωμάτων* must mean 'away from the habitation', on the grounds that the dead Battiad kings, like the ordinary dead, were polluting. However, in the Archaic and Early Classical period the reverse may have held: the dead Battiad kings may, unlike the ordinary dead, have been buried 'in front of the palace' because they were *ἱεροί* (non-polluting). But the decisive objection to this interpretation is that if the Battiad kings had simply received routine burial, this would not warrant mention in a victory ode. We must require inclusion of a detail like *πρὸ δωμάτων* to have encomiastic point.

(3) 'In front of the acropolis'. This is a modern interpretation, which takes *δώματα* 'kings' palace' as a metonymy for 'acropolis', where the palace was situated (see Figure 1 on p. 230).[118] The cue for this interpretation comes from archaeology: necropolises excavated 'below' Cyrene's acropolis have been identified as the burial ground of the Battiad kings. In fact, two distinct necropolises, the 'northern' and the 'western', come into question (see Figure 1).[119] The same archaeological data could go equally well with interpretation (b) of *πρὸ δωμάτων*, for the necropolises also lie 'outside the city'.[120] However, the grounds for the identification of either of the necropolises with the graves of the Battiadai are weak, amounting to approximate coincidence in date

[115] *Pace* Slater 1969*a*: s.v. *δόμος* 1b. For the link between *θέμις* and kings, see Gerber 1982: 33.

[116] Callimachus was himself *Βαττιάδης* in the strict sense ('descendant of Battos'): see Strab. 17.3.21 837; Suda *Καλλίμαχος*. Meillier 1979: 335–7. Cf. Call. *ep.* 35.1 Pfeiffer; Cat. 65.16, 116.2.

[117] See Braswell 1988: 153. Differently, Burton 1962: 152.

[118] Chamoux 1962: 186, 186 n. 4; Krummen 1990: 102.

[119] The 'northern necropolis' is favoured by Chamoux 1962: 186 and n. 4; Stucchi 1975: 12 and n. 4; Giannini 1995: 536. For its location, see Chamoux 1962: Plate VII.2; Goodchild 1971: Fig. 131–2. The 'western necropolis' is favoured by Krummen 1990: 102. For the location, see Goodchild 1971: 169–70, Fig. 137–42.

[120] Cf. Giannini 1995: 536. For the 'northern' necropolis as just outside the city, see Chamoux 1962: 291; Stucchi 1975: 12. On Cyrene's city walls, see Goodchild 1971: 35.

only.[121] This interpretation therefore does not have enough to recommend it.

As long as the Cyrenean acropolis, and therefore the kings' palace, remain unexcavated we lack the archaeological evidence either to confirm or to refute (a).[122] But on present evidence, (a) seems the most promising interpretation.

Cult of the kings as a Spartan inheritance?

One consideration, independent of Pindar's text, that supports the heroization of the Battiad kings is the fact that their Spartan counterparts were apparently worshipped as heroes. Heroization of the Cyrenean kings might in that case be explained as an inheritance from their ultimate mother-city.[123] Evidence for the heroization of Spartan kings comes at the very end of Xenophon's *Constitution of the Spartans* (15.8–9):[124]

αὗται μὲν οὖν αἱ τιμαὶ [[οἵκοι]][125] ζῶντι βασιλεῖ δέδονται, οὐδέν τι πολὺ ὑπερφέρουσαι τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν· . . . αἳ δὲ τελευτήσαντι τιμαὶ βασιλεῖ δέδονται, τῇδε βούλονται δηλοῦν οἱ Λυκούργου νόμοι ὅτι οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρώπους ἀλλ' ὡς ἥρωας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς προτετιμήκασιν.

These honours, in no respect differing greatly from those granted private individuals, have been granted to the king in his lifetime . . . but as for the honours granted the king after his death, here the laws of Lykourgos aim to show that they privilege the kings of the Spartans not as men, but as heroes.

This text has generally been held to show that the Spartan kings were posthumously heroized, although this view has been challenged.[126]

[121] Chamoux 1962: 186 n. 4, 291.

[122] Goodchild 1971: 21, 104. But see Bonacasa and Ensoli 2000: 54 for a possible identification of old tombs along the northern slope of the acropolis with the tombs of the Battiad kings.

[123] So Krummen 1990: 147. However, Thera (the stepping-stone between Sparta and Cyrene) shows no evidence of having heroized its kings, although in general Theran kings enjoyed similar privileges to their Spartan and Cyrenean counterparts (Chamoux 1962: 214–15; Carlier 1984: 420). If (as is doubtful) the names in *IG* XII.iii.762 are those of kings, the ruling dynasty on Thera may have had a common burial plot; cf. Malkin 1994: 107–11.

[124] We may discount the evidence of P. Oxy. 2390 fr. 2 col. i.13–17 (= Alcman 5 *PMG*): this ancient commentary on Alcman is too lacunose to show that the VI–BC Spartan king Leotychidas was seen as a *δαίμων*. See Calame 1983: 434; Parker 1988: 10. Differently, West 1965: 189; id. 1992: 6 n. 14; Davison 1968: 177.

[125] Cobet's deletion of this word is approved by Cartledge 1988: 43.

[126] Heroized, according to: Wide 1893: 357–8; Taeger 1957: 33; Cartledge 1987: 331–43; id. 1988: 43–4; Connolly 1998: 16–17 n. 84, 21. Differently, Parker 1988: 9–10; id. 1989: 152–4, 169–70 nn. 51–7; Hornblower 1996: 450.

The difficulty is in determining whether Xenophon understood the Spartan kings as receiving a recurring hero cult or merely a burial in heroic style.[127] However, *τῷ δεῖνι τελευτήσαντι τιμὰς ἀπέδωκαν* (and variants) is widely used to mean, 'they paid so-and-so posthumous cult'.[128] It is thus likely that Xenophon meant that dead Spartan kings received a continuing hero cult.[129] In that case, posthumous hero cult would be one of several prerogatives enjoyed in common by the kings of Sparta and Cyrene: both held hereditary priesthoods (in Sparta: Herodotus 6.56 *ἱερωσύνας*; in Cyrene: Herodotus 4.161.3 *ἱερωσύνας*), both received special privileges (in Sparta: Herodotus 6.56 *γέρεα*; in Cyrene: Herodotus 4.162.2 *γέρεα*, compare 4.165.1), both were apportioned tracts of land (in Sparta: Xenophon, *Constitution of the Spartans* 15.3 *γῆν . . . ἐξαίρετον*; in Cyrene: Herodotus 4.161.3 *τεμένεα*). Moreover, just as the the Cyrenean kings were apparently buried together *πρὸ δωμάτων* (*P.* 5.96), Spartan kings were buried in communal plots according to their dynasty, Eurypontiadai and Agiadai being interred at opposite ends of the city (Agiadai: Pausanias 3.14.2). However, other factors than Spartan heritage could explain the heroization of the Battiad kings. The situation in Cyrene, whereby the founder established a dynasty for his descendants, was unusual, and may have created a need for unusual strategies of legitimation of the kingship.[130] There is also the possibility of native Libyan influence on the Cyrenean kings.[131] We know that some Libyan tribes had kings (see Herodotus 4.159.4 for a Libyan king Adikran); and Battos himself may not only have adopted the Libyan title for 'king' (see above, on Herodotus 4.155.2–3), but may also have married into a royal Libyan house.[132]

[127] For heroic-style burial, without implications of a subsequent cult, cf. Isoc. 9.1 (Euagoras, 374/3 BC); Diod. 13.5 (Leosthenes, 322 BC) *ταφέντος ἡρωϊκῶς*.

[128] The parallels are numerous. Hdt. 6.38.1 *καί οἱ* (*sc. Μιλτιάδῃ*) *τελευτήσαντι Χερσονησῖται θύουσι*. Hdt. 1.66.1 *τῷ δὲ Λυκούργῳ τελευτήσαντι ἱρὸν εἱσάμενοι σέβονται μεγάλως*. Plut. *Lys.* 30.5 *τιμὰς ἀπέδοσαν αὐτῷ* (*sc. Λυσάνδρῳ*) *τελευτήσαντι*. Paus. 4.24.3 *τελευτήσαντι* (*sc. Ἀριστομένει*) . . . *ἔνεμον τιμάς*. Apollod. 3.12.6 *τιμᾶται . . . τελευτήσας Αἰακός*. Plut. *Aristid.* 20.6 *τελευτήσασαν . . .* (*sc. Εὔκλειάν φασιν*) *ἔχειν . . . τιμάς*. Arr. *ana.* 4.11.7. Diod. 5.83.3.

[129] Cf. Ekroth 2002: 206.

[130] On the unique position of hereditary kingship in Cyrene, cf. Mitchell 2000: 86.

[131] See Schäfer 1952: 150–3; Parke and Wormell 1956: i. 75; Applebaum 1979: 32; Boardman 1980: 158–9; Hornblower 1983: 60; Laronde 1990: 179–80, *passim*; Murray 1993: 115, 121; Mitchell 2000: 97–100.

[132] See Mitchell 2000: 98.

A metaphor from the cult of the dead

An indirect suggestion of cult offered to the dead Battiad kings comes in *P.* 5.98–103:

> μεγαλᾶν δ' ἀρετᾶν
> δρόσῳ μαλθακᾷ
> ῥανθεισᾶν κώμων [[θ']] ὑπὸ χεύμασιν,
> ἀκούοντί ποι χθονίᾳ φρενί,
> σφὸν ὄλβον υἱῷ τε κοινὰν χάριν
> ἔνδικόν τ' Ἀρκεσίλᾳ.

After great achievements have been sprinkled with soft dew through the outpourings of songs, they [the dead Battiad kings] hear with a subterranean sense (I suppose) their own good fortune and the offering which is common and legitimate for their son Arkesilas.

These verses, likening the victory ode to a libation poured out to the dead Battiad kings, develop a metaphor deriving from the cult of the dead or heroes.[133] In particular, χάριν (102) belongs in the context of a family cult of the dead.[134] We may compare *O.* 8.77–80 ἔστι δὲ καί τι θανόντεσσιν μέρος | κὰν νόμον ἐρδομένων· | κατακρύπτει δ' οὐ κόνις | συγγόνων κεδνὰν χάριν ('the dead too have some share in ritual observances, and the dust does not hide away the cherished offering of kinsmen'), where the 'χάρις of kinsmen' is equated with 'ritual observances'. It is tempting to think that the metaphor at 98–103 was suggested by offerings actually made at the Karneia to the dead kings (by the living king?). In that case, the occasion of *Pythian* 5 will have encompassed cults of Apollo, Battos, and the dead Battiad kings.[135]

In summary, there is a strong cumulative case that the Battiad kings received posthumous cult. This cult seems to be presupposed and alluded to at *P.* 5.96–103.

Arkesilas and the dead Battiad kings

We may now consider the relevance of the probable cult of the Battiad kings and of the cult of Battos to Arkesilas in *Pythian* 5. In the previous chapter we noticed verbal echoes associating the laudandus Strepsiades with his dead and probably heroized uncle of the same name. In *Pythian*

[133] Mezger 1880: 232; Segal 1985: 205–8; Lefkowitz 1991*g*: 186; Dougherty 1993: 112.
[134] For χάρις, cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 320–1; Eur. *suppl.* 79. Garvie 1986: 130.
[135] Krummen 1990: 147.

5, there are striking verbal echoes between 14–22 and 96–104.[136] These include (virtually) tautometric responsions; thus 15–16,

> *τὸ μὲν ὅτι* **βασιλεύς**
> **ἐσσὶ μεγαλᾶν** *πολίων*,[137]

First, because you are a king of great cities

are picked up in 97–8,

> **βασιλέες** *ἱεροί*
> **ἐντι· μεγαλᾶν** *δ' ἀρετᾶν*

sacred kings are. Of great achievements . . .

There is a further tautometric echo of 19 *φρενί* with 101 *φρενί*. Non-tautometric echoes include 14 *ἐν δίκᾳ* with 103 *ἔνδικον*, 20 *μάκαρ* with 94 *μάκαρ*, 14 *ὄλβος* with 102 *ὄλβον*, and 22 *κῶμον* with 100 *κώμων*.

These echoes establish a close relationship between the antistrophe of the first triad and the strophe of the fourth triad; the former dilates on the blessedness of Arkesilas, the latter on that of the dead Battiad kings. The association of the living Arkesilas with the dead Battiad kings is made explicit at 102–3 *σφὸν ὄλβον νίῳ τε κοινὰν χάριν | ἔνδικόν τ' Ἀρκεσίλᾳ*, 'their own [the dead kings'] good fortune and an offering which is common and legitimate for their son Arkesilas'. (We may compare the explicit link in *Isthmian* 7 between the laudandus and his dead uncle: *I.*7.24 *μάτρωί θ' ὁμωνύμῳ δέδωκε κοινὸν θάλος*, '[Strepsiades] has given his uncle of the same name a crown that is common to both of them'; see Chapter 10.) The verbal echoes of *Pythian* 5 are significant and functional: 96–104 pick up 14–22 and provide, retrospectively, a commentary on them, defining how Arkesilas' 'blessedness' is to be seen. It is significant that the living laudandus is compared to dead heroes, recipients of a continuing cult.

Arkesilas and Battos

Apart from these parallels between Arkesilas and the dead Battiad kings, *Pythian* 5 develops various parallels between Arkesilas and Battos I. Both Battos (60–2, 90) and Arkesilas (23, 104) owe their fortune to

[136] Cf. Fennell 1893: 211.

[137] Punctuation may be after *ἐσσί* or *πολίων*: see Burton 1962: 139–42; Hummel 1993: §96; Giannini 1995: 515–16. But verbal echoes are largely indifferent to punctuation: with 16 *ἐσσὶ μεγαλᾶν* and 98 *ἐντι· μεγαλᾶν*, we may compare the (also tautometric) echo at *P.* 2.14–15 *ἀρετᾶς.* | *κελαδέοντι* and 62–3 *ἀρετᾷ* | *κελαδέων*.

Apollo, and both have recompensed the god in turn.[138] Arkesilas and Battos are linked by various thematic echoes which connect the first strophe and antistrophe on Arkesilas (1–22) with the second epode on Battos (54–62, especially 55–6): 18 *ὀφθαλμός* is picked up by 56 *ὄμμα*, and 4 *ἑπέταν* by 55 *ἔπεται*.[139] Most obvious is the theme of 'blessedness': 14 *ὄλβος* is picked up in 55 *ὄλβος*, and 20 *μάκαρ* is picked up in 94 *μάκαρ* (of Battos).[140]

Battos' blessedness in his lifetime was followed by posthumous heroization: 95 *ἥρως δ' ἔπειτα λαοσεβής*. The meticulously constructed parallel between Arkesilas and Battos has an irresistible implication: that the former's lifetime state of blessedness may, like the latter's, culminate in posthumous heroization.[141] The parallel between Battos' founding of Cyrene and Arkesilas' Pythian victory is also developed in *Pythian* 4 (53–67), where the Pythian victory is made to appear as a symbolic refounding of both Cyrene and the Battiad dynasty. The parallel between Arkesilas and Battos was, however, surely not of Pindar's making. The choice of the Karneia as the occasion for *Pythian* 5 will already have brought the celebration of Arkesilas' Pythian victory into the ambit of the celebration of Battos' cult and the founding of Cyrene. The analogy between Arkesilas and his heroized forebears (Battos and the other kings) was thus not just part of a rhetorical strategy of praise in epinicians: it will above all have been conveyed through civic ceremonial, as a means of impressing the ruler's (charismatic?) status on his subjects. In composing *Pythian* 5 for Arkesilas, Pindar will have been responsive to the ideology of the ruler as he was in composing *Pythian* 1 for Hieron.[142]

Karrhotos and Battos

The parallel between Arkesilas and Battos is complicated by the inclusion of the charioteer Karrhotos. In the first section of the ode (1–53) as much attention is given to Karrhotos as to Arkesilas. Arkesilas, Karrhotos, and Battos are all linked by the motif of 'blessedness'.[143]

[138] Dougherty 1993: 107.

[139] Cf. Krummen 1990: 142–3. On 18 *ὀφθαλμός*, see Giannini 1995: 515–16.

[140] Cf. Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: 162; Miller 1997: 207, 213, 214.

[141] Compare Krummen 1990: 143, 149; Dougherty 1993: 112, cf. 105, 108, 110, 116–17, 160.

[142] On *P.* 1, cf. Dougherty 1993: 83–102.

[143] Cingano 1990: 14–16, 29 n. 68; Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: 162.

Reference is made to Arkesilas' *μάκαιραν ἑστίαν* (11), Arkesilas himself is *μάκαρ* (20), Karrhotos is *μακάριος* (46), and Battos was *μάκαρ* (94) while he lived among men.

The juxtaposition of the sections on Karrhotos (26–53) and Battos (55–62) invites comparison between the two. The theme of 'toil' is common to each: Karrhotos has behind him 'great toil' (47 *μέγαν κάματον*) and Battos was 'not without a share in labours (*πόνων*)' (54).[144] Both Karrhotos (52–3) and Battos (87–8) arrived at Cyrene after receiving glorious distinction at Delphi: the former having won the chariot race, the latter having been proclaimed city-founder.[145] Battos founded (89–93) and Karrhotos enriched (34–42) sanctuaries of the gods, especially Apollo. Both accomplished remarkable feats which manifested Apollo's favour: Karrhotos in 49–51, Battos in 58–62. The extended narrative of Karrhotos' victory (27–54) assumes the dimensions normally associated with the myth in Pindar: in this respect it resembles the Battos narrative.[146]

The lengthy description of Karrhotos' victory is exceptional for a charioteer.[147] He enjoys so substantial a share of the limelight in *Pythian* 5 that, scarcely less than Arkesilas, he seems to be a charismatic figure. Various facts about Karrhotos have been preserved for us.[148] His father's name was Alexibios (*P.* 5.45). His own name Karrhotos was reputedly a local one.[149] He drove the chariot for Arkesilas at the 31st Pythian festival (*P.* 5.26–53).[150] Various reasons for his prominence in *Pythian* 5 have been suggested.[151] First, that his chariot victory was exceptional.[152] Second, that he was a member of Arkesilas' family,

[144] Dougherty 1993: 108–10.

[145] Cf. Calame 1990: 308; Dougherty 1993: 110. Compare *O.* 7, where the return of the victor Diagoras to Rhodes (13) is like the first arrival there of the founder-hero Tlapolemos (32–3, 77); or *P.* 9, where Telesikrates' return to Cyrene from Delphi 'leading a lovely reputation' (73–5) is like Apollo's arrival in Libya with his bride Kyrene (9–13, 55–56a).

[146] So Cingano 1990: 10.

[147] Σ *P.* 5.34. Bernardini 1985: 127–8; Lefkowitz 1991*g*: 174. It is exceptional for the patron to have driven the chariot himself (cf. *I.* 1.15). Not to be taken literally are *O.* 1.22, *P.* 2.7–12, and (probably) *P.* 6.19 (cf. Σ *P.* 6.15; *pace* Giannini 1995: 545 on *P.* 6.15).

[148] On Karrhotos, see also Braswell 1988: 3–4; Lefkowitz 1991*g*: 175–6.

[149] Σ *P.* 5.33 *ἐπιχώριον δὲ Κυρηναίοις τὸ ὄνομα.*

[150] See Σ *P.* 5.33, 34 and Farnell 1930–2: ii. 172–3; Chamoux 1962: 174–5 n. 7; Dougherty 1993: 109 and 118 n. 11. Differently, Σ *P.* 5.34 (cf. Σ *N.* 7.56a, Σ *N.* 7.1a); Wilamowitz 1922: 376 n. 1. Like the West Greek tyrants, Arkesilas would not have attended the festivals in person: cf. Xen. *Hiero* 1.11–12. See Lefkowitz 1991*g*: 176; Dougherty 1993: 118 n. 11. Although Karrhotos was the charioteer, Arkesilas could still be called *διφρηλάτας σοφός* in the epinician (115).

[151] See Σ *P.* 5.34 (cf. Σ *P.* 5.61); Burton 1962: 142; Braswell 1988: 3–4; Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: 163.

[152] See Lefkowitz 1991*g*: 173. On the risks, see Burckhardt 1998: 172.

probably the brother of Arkesilas' wife.[153] Third, that he was a political ally of Arkesilas: one of the king's 'comrades', ἑταίρων (*P.* 5.26), apparently a quasi-technical term.[154] Fourth, that he was 'benefactor', εὐεργέταν (*P.* 5.44), of Arkesilas, apparently another quasi-technical term.[155] Fifth, that he commissioned *Pythian* 5 from Pindar (as Damophilos is likely to have commissioned *Pythian* 4).[156] Sixth, that he was entrusted by Arkesilas with a mission to (re)colonize Euesperides. This last seems especially significant and warrants a separate treatment.

Karrhotos and Euesperides

We know of the Libyan city Euesperides through various sources, literary, numismatic, and archaeological.[157] The city was founded initially in the late seventh or early sixth century BC.[158] It is to be reckoned among the 'great cities' (μεγαλᾶν πολίων, *P.* 5.16 and *P.* 4.19) which were ruled by Arkesilas.[159] A 'Battos' (probably the fifth, the son of Arkesilas IV) is alleged to have fled to Euesperides after the overthrow of the Battiad dynasty in Cyrene.[160] In establishing a new colony at Euesperides, Arkesilas was probably aspiring, like Hieron in founding Aitna in the 470s BC (Diodorus 11.48.3), to create a refuge for himself and a power base.[161] We are informed of Arkesilas' recolonization of Euesperides through a verbatim quotation made by Didymos

[153] So Theotimus *FGrH* 470 F1. Less likely, 'father-in-law': Σ *P.* 5.33. See Braswell 1988: 3 and n. 8.

[154] For ἑταῖρος as a political term in Cyrene, cf. Σ *P.* 5.34 = Drachmann ii. 176.8, 12; *GHI* 5.16, 27. See Giannini 1995: 519. Similarly on Thera and Crete: Chamoux 1962: 214 and nn. 4–5; Giannini 1995: 519.

[155] See Σ *P.* 5.34 Drachmann ii. 176.12–13; Schadewaldt 1928: 20 and n. 2; Hampe 1952: 47 and n. 3.

[156] So Chamoux 1962: 175, 178; cf. Wilamowitz 1922: 377; Bowra 1964: 138. On Damophilos as commissioning *P.* 4, see Σ *P.* 4.467; Braswell 1988: 5; Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: 109.

[157] Hdt. 4.171, 198.3, 204. Chamoux 1962: 174–5 and n. 2. For coins (*c.*450 BC), see *BMC Cyrenaica* xlii, no. 60e, pl. vii.19 (obverse: silphium plant, legend *EYEΣ*; reverse: head of Ammon, legend *KYPA*); Buttrey 1994; Vickers et al. 1994.

[158] According to Chamoux 1962: 161 (cf. 152), Euesperides was founded shortly before the Persian expedition against Barca (cf. Hdt. 4.204), in 514 BC. Archaeology, however, has revealed a wall of *c.*600 BC: see Buzaian and Lloyd 1996: 143–4, 150; cf. Boardman 1980: 157 (evidence from early vi BC).

[159] Hornblower 1983: 62.

[160] Aristot. fr. 472.17 p. 566 Gigon. See Ogden 1997: 60; cf. Chamoux 1962: 206.

[161] See Wilamowitz 1922: 377; Chamoux 1962: 174; Berve 1967: i. 126; Goodchild 1971: 25; Vickers et al. 1994: 125. For the assembling of ἔποικοι, cf. Thuc. 4.102.2 (Amphipolis, 437 BC); Diod. 11.49.1 (Hieron and Aitna, 476 BC). On ἔποικοι, see Figueira 1991: 20–4.

(excerpted by the scholion Σ *P.* 5.34) from the first book of a treatise *On Cyrene* written by an otherwise virtually unknown 'local historian', Theotimus, of perhaps the second century BC (*FGrH* 470 F1):[162]

διαπίπτουσαν δὲ τὴν πρᾶξιν αἰσθόμενος Ἀρκεσίλαος καὶ βουλόμενος δι' αὑτοῦ τὰς Ἐσπερίδας οἰκίσαι πέμπει μὲν εἰς τὰς πανηγύρεις ἵππους ἀθλήσοντας Εὔφημον ἄγοντα, νικήσας δὲ τὰ Πύθια καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα ἐστεφάνωσε καὶ ἐποίκους εἰς τὰς Ἐσπερίδας συνέλεγεν. Εὔφημος μὲν οὖν ἐτελεύτα· Κάρρωτος δὲ τῆς Ἀρκεσιλάου γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸς διεδέξατο τὴν τῶν ἐποίκων ἡγεμονίαν.

Once Arkesilas [IV] saw that the conspiracy was amounting to nothing, as he wanted to colonize the Hesperides [Euesperides] by his own agency, he sent Euphemos with horses to compete at the festivals and through winning the Pythian games he both crowned his country and recruited colonists for the Hesperides. Euphemos died, but Karrhotos, the brother of Arkesilas' wife, took over the leadership of the colonists.

This brief narrative is informative. It was evidently an integral part of Arkesilas' plan in sending a chariot team to Delphi to assemble colonists for Euesperides. Karrhotos inherited this mission from one Euphemos, who died when the mission was inchoate. This Euphemos was presumably a member of the Euphemid clan to which Battos I, and hence Arkesilas IV, belonged (Herodotus 4.150.2).[163]

Neither *Pythian* 5 nor *Pythian* 4 mentions any prospective refounding of Euesperides.[164] But we can trust Theotimus' testimony that an expedition to Euesperides formed the wider context of Arkesilas' sending chariot teams to compete in the Panhellenic games.[165] Already in the early sixth century Battos II 'Eudaimon' (*c.*583–560 BC) had made use of the Delphic oracle to assemble new colonists for a redistribution of land at Cyrene (Herodotus 4.159.2–4). Arkesilas in the 460s BC will have revived this policy. There is no hint in *P.* 5.26 that Karrhotos had had a partner (Euphemos) in the Delphian enterprise: it seems that *Pythian* 5 skews the facts so as to magnify Karrhotos.[166] Karrhotos was Arkesilas' right-hand man: his kinsman, ally, and benefactor. (We

[162] Cf. Σ *P.* 5.61, Σ *P.* 4.455e. This is a verbatim quote (Drachmann ii. 175.21–176.1 *τὰ Θεοτίμου . . . ἔχοντα οὕτως*), given by Didymus to illuminate the role of Karrhotos in *P.* 5.

[163] See Chamoux 1962: 83; Mitchell 1966: 108; Braswell 1988: 4 n. 9.

[164] Lefkowitz 1991*g*: 175.

[165] So Bowra 1964: 137–8; Bernardini in Lefkowitz 1985: 64–5; Braswell 1988: 4 n. 10. Differently, Lefkowitz 1991*g*: 175.

[166] Cf. Σ *P.* 5.34 *ὁ τοίνυν Πίνδαρος τοὺς ἑταίρους καθομιλῶν τὸ καταπραχθὲν τῷ Εὐφήμῳ τῷ Καρρώτῳ προσῆψε*, 'Pindar, associating the comrades, attached the achievement of Euphemos to Karrhotos'.

might compare the role of Chromios for Hieron.[167]) It does not go without saying that members of the Battiad family were ἑταῖροι of the king. Earlier feuding within the family is attested by Herodotus, telling us that Arkesilas II 'on entering into the kingship experienced *stasis* first [NB] with his brothers', and that Learchos suffocated his brother Arkesilas II and was in turn killed through trickery by Arkesilas II's wife Eryxo (4.160.1, 4.160.4). Euphemos, whom Arkesilas had originally sent out to Delphi, was presumably (given his name) a blood-relative of Arkesilas and (given his appointment to this task) a ἑταῖρος of his.[168] On the other hand, Damophilos was probably kin (compare *P.* 4.279–81), but had been an opponent of Arkesilas.[169] The chief reason for Karrhotos' glorification in *Pythian* 5 seems to be his involvement in the expedition to Euesperides. An athletic victor was an appropriate choice to lead a colonial expedition.[170] Karrhotos' colonizing role would give his assimilation to the founder-hero Battos in *Pythian* 5 extra point.[171]

Dedication of the chariot

Karrhotos (or Arkesilas) dedicated the winning chariot to Apollo (*P.* 5.34–42).[172] The ostensible reason for the dedication was that Karrhotos alone of forty competitors completed the course unscathed (*P.* 5.34, 49–51). But at the same time the victory became part of Arkesilas' propaganda programme.[173] We may compare Gelon's dedication at Olympia (Pausanias 6.9.4–5).[174] The chariot may have been dedicated in Apollo's temple.[175] With ἀνδριάντι (40) and μονόδροπον φυτόν (42),

[167] As Hieron's henchman and ἐπίτροπος of the newly-founded Aitna: Σ *N.* 9 Inscr., Σ *N.* 1 Inscr. a. Chromios was also an in-law of Hieron, having married his sister: Timaeus *FGrH* 566 F21 (= Σ *N.* 9.95a).

[168] Σ *P.* 5. 34 Drachmann ii. 176.8.

[169] Σ *P.* 4.467; Braswell 1988: 3.

[170] See Kurke 1993: 136–7. But differently, Serwint 1987: 17–18, 49 n. 45.

[171] Cf. Calame 1990: 335 n. 8 'even the charioteer Carrhotus is inscribed in the sequence of founders/civilizers'.

[172] Cf. Σ *P.* 5.45a; Chamoux 1962: 184; Burton 1962: 143–4; Lefkowitz 1991*g*: 173–4; Dougherty 1993: 109.

[173] For the propaganda value of a chariot victory, see Xen. *Hiero* 11.5–7.

[174] Cingano 1990: 18 n. 37, 39–42.

[175] So Lefkowitz 1991*g*: 173–4; Giannini 1995: 523–4. Differently, Σ *P.* 5.51b τὶς οἶκος 'some house', i.e. not Apollo's temple. Chamoux 1962: 184 n. 3.

Apollo's cult *ξόανον* may be meant.[176] Cretans (cf. 41–2 *Κρῆτες ὅν . . . καθέσσαντο*, '[the statue] which Cretans . . . set up') were both the first priests of Delphian Apollo and renowned sculptors of *ξόανα*.[177]

Ostentatious religious piety was for tyrants a means of bolstering their position.[178] The dedicated chariot was also a symbol of Cyrene.[179] Theotimus states that in winning at Delphi Arkesilas 'crowned his fatherland' (*τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα ἐστεφάνωσε*: see above). This has been taken to imply that Arkesilas entered the chariot as coming from the 'state stable', *δημόσιον Κυρηναίων*.[180] However, 'he crowned his fatherland' need entail no more than that Arkesilas in the victory proclamation was proclaimed *Κυρηναῖος*, 'a citizen of Cyrene'.[181] It is usual to speak of the victorious athlete as 'crowning' (*N.* 11.21) or 'glorifying' his city (*P.* 9.91, *N.* 3.68; Bacchylides 6.16; 'Simonides' 35.2 *FGE*). Arkesilas evidently hoped with this victory to impress both dissident subjects at home and Greeks from further afield, who might be enticed into the expedition to Euesperides.

Arkesilas may also have had his Pythian victory represented on a coin issue.[182] In this too he would have resembled fifth-century West Greek tyrants, especially Gelon of Syracuse and Anaxilas of Rhegium.[183] There was further common ground between Arkesilas and the Western tyrants in their ostentatious dedications in Panhellenic sanctuaries and their (re)colonization of cities.[184] The Sicilian tyrants

[176] Roux 1962: 372–9; Lefkowitz 1991*g*: 174; Giannini 1995: 523–4. Differently, Chamoux 1962: 184 n. 4 'ce *xoanon* est un *andrias*, non un *agalma*: il représente donc un homme, et non un dieu'; but the Archaic 'Apollo of the Naxians' at Delos (Boardman 1991: pl. 60) declares itself to be an *ἀνδριάς*: see Rolley 1994: 22; Spivey 1996: 45–6.

[177] *h. Hom.* 3.388–544. Paus. 9.40.3–4, cf. 8.53.8. Cf. Boardman 1991: 23.

[178] Aristot. *pol.* $1314^{b}38$–$1315^{a}3$ (*sc.* *δεῖ τὸν τύραννον*) *τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς φαίνεσθαι ἀεὶ σπουδάζοντα διαφερόντως . . . · ἐπιβουλεύουσι* (*sc.* *γὰρ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι*) *ἧττον ὡς συμμάχους ἔχοντι καὶ τοὺς θεούς*, '[it is necessary for the tyrant] to be conspicuous in constant and surpassing concern for religious matters; for [the subjects] then conspire against him less, in the belief that he has even the gods on his side'.

[179] Braswell 1988: 60–1; Giannini 1995: 427. For horses shown on coins of Cyrene, see *BMC Cyrenaica* lxxix–lxxx, Index II s.v. 'Horse', 'Horseman' p. 136; Kraay 1976: no. 1070; Chamoux 1990.

[180] Wilamowitz 1922: 377 and n. 1. For chariots entered as *δημόσιον*, cf. Thuc. 5.50.4; P. Oxy. 222.31.

[181] Cf. *P.* 1.32 *κἀρυξ ἀνέειπε* (*sc.* *Αἴτναν*), with Σ *P.* 1 Inscr. *Αἰτναῖον ἑαυτὸν κατὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας νικῶν ἐκήρυξεν* (cf. Σ *N.* 1 Inscr. a; Σ *O.* 1 Inscr. a).

[182] See Kraay 1976: no. 1070. This issue is normally dated to *c.*470 BC (Kraay 1976: 377). It should perhaps be down-dated to the 460s (Kraay 1976: 298–9 and n. 1).

[183] Gelon's quadriga and Nike type: Kraay 1976: no. 800. Anaxilas' mule-car type: Kraay 1976: nos 772, 781; Aristot. fr. 585 Gigon. Kraay 1976: 210, 214, 299 n. 1.

[184] See Hornblower 1983: 59; Cingano 1990: 42.

(Gelon, Hieron, Theron) also enjoyed posthumous hero cult, anticipated (it was argued above, Chapter 9) by extraordinary treatment of them in their lifetime.[185] Our discussion of *Pythian* 5 has suggested that Arkesilas may have resembled them in this respect too.

Arkesilas and the politics of Cyrene

Cyrenean politics were turbulent throughout the Archaic and Early Classical periods.[186] The kingship had for generations before Arkesilas IV been plagued by dissident aristocrats.[187] Under Battos III the reforms of the Mantinean Demonax were necessary to resolve conflict between the king and the aristocracy (Herodotus 4.161.1–3). There was *stasis* under Arkesilas III and Pheretime (Herodotus 4.162.1–167.3), during which Arkesilas III was assassinated in Barce (4.164.4). Members of the Battiad family numbered among the disaffected (see above). The Battiad dynasty relied on Persian aid against its aristocratic enemies (see Herodotus 4.165.2, on the 'medism' of Arkesilas III).[188] These political difficulties were inherited by Arkesilas.[189] The storm imagery which we find in both the first strophe and the last epode of *Pythian* 5 surely alludes to political difficulties for Arkesilas, both past (10–11) and prospective (120–21).[190] *Pythian* 4 makes it clear that Damophilos was an aristocrat who had been exiled in the unrest (279–99).[191] The scholia to *Pythians* 4 and 5 mention 'disturbances', '*stasis*' and 'revolution', followed by the execution and exile of Arkesilas' enemies.[192] There is, doubtless, an independent historical basis to the claims in the scholia here; they are not simply extrapolating from Pindar's text. The extract

[185] Cf. too below, Ch. 12.

[186] See, in general, Schäfer 1952; Mitchell 1966: 108–12; Giannini 1979: 43–8, Cingano 1979: 172–4; Applebaum 1979: 29–34; Hornblower 1983: 61; Braswell 1988: 1–6.

[187] On the aristocratic nature of the opposition to the kings, see Chamoux 1962: 195–6; Mitchell 1966: 99, 110; Hornblower 1983: 61. Our sources speak of the *demos*/democracy: Hdt. 4.161.3; Aristot. fr. 472.17 p. 566 Gigon; Σ *P.* 5.12a. On the true nature of the supposed democracy which followed the overthrow of the Battiadai, see Mitchell 1966: 112; ead. 2000: 88, 96, 100–2; Hornblower 1983: 62.

[188] Cf. Menekles *FGrH* 270 F5: Egyptian–Persian support for Pheretime. See Mitchell 1966: 99, 103–8; ead. 2000: 90–3; Hornblower 1983: 61; Braswell 1988: 2.

[189] See Chamoux 1962: 173; Bundy 1962: 51–2; Mitchell 1966: 109 and n. 56; Goodchild 1971: 25; Braswell 1988: 2 and n. 6; Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: 160; Giannini 1995: 514.

[190] So Σ *P.* 5.12a, c; Braswell 1988: 2; Mitchell 2000: 95. Differently, Chamoux 1962: 181–2; Burton 1962: 138–9.

[191] Cf. Σ *P.* 4.467; Braswell 1988: 3–6.

[192] Σ *P.* 4 Inscr. a. Σ *P.* 5.12a, c.

of Theotimus quoted by Didymos (see above) begins by mentioning an unsuccessful 'conspiracy' (*πρᾶξιν*) against Arkesilas; Theotimus had evidently narrated this conspiracy in the section immediately preceding.[193]

From the earliest times the Battiad dynasty had resorted to the Delphic oracle and to charter myths to legitimize its position. One oracle allegedly given by the Pythia to Battos, but more probably concocted in the late sixth century, affirmed: '[Battos,] you will rule Libya, yourself and your offspring; Phoibos Apollo leads you' (oracle in Diodorus 8.29.1).[194] Evident charter myths for the Battiad kingship are the clod of earth given by Triton to Euphemos (*P.* 4.19–57) and the tripod given by Iason to Triton at Lake Tritonis in Libya (Herodotus 4.179.1–3).[195]

Apart from these oracles and charter myths, the Battiadai also employed poets to enhance their prestige. The Cyrenean poet Eugam(m)on was active at the Battiad court *c.*565 BC, during the reign of Battos II. He composed an epic, *Telegony*, in which an Arkesilaos featured as a son of Odysseus and Penelope and brother of Telemachos (*Telegonia* fr. 3.10 *PEG*). The apparent aim was to give the Battiad dynasty heroic credentials.[196] Arkesilas IV, we are told, hoped to use victories in the Panhellenic games and the (re)colonization of Euesperides to bolster his position (Theotimus, *On Cyrene* 1: see above).[197] *Pythians* 5 and 4 followed the Pythian victory and take their place within this programme.[198] Both poems stress repeatedly the divine right of the Battiadai to rule (*P.* 5.5, 13, 28–9, 107–24; *P.* 4.51, 61–2, 69, 260). In *Pythian* 4 Iason's reinstatement on the throne of Iolcus (especially 105–15 and 138–55) offers suggestive parallels to the situation of the Battiadai in Cyrene: Iason's proposals to Pelias in 148–55

[193] For *πρᾶξις* meaning 'trickery, treachery' in Hellenistic historiography (Polybius), see LSJ s.v. v.2.

[194] See Parke and Wormell 1956: ii. no. 71. For other oracles delivered to the Battiadai, see Parke and Wormell 1956: ii. nos. 39, 41, 70. The last of these (no. 70) was in fact probably *post eventum*, shaped after the fall of the Battiadai and aiming to justify that fall: see Chamoux 1962: 155, 207; Mitchell 2000: 89–90. Similarly the evil omen of the crow for Arkesilas IV: Aristot. fr. 472.17 p. 566 Gigon; see Chamoux 1962: 205 and nn. 3–5.

[195] See Braswell 1988: 89 'Although this story [the clod] first appears in Pindar, it is unlikely that he invented it'; Malkin 1994: 10, 180.

[196] West in *OCD* s.v. 'Epic Cycle' 4.(13); Chamoux 1962: 73, cf. 136; West 1985: 87.

[197] Braswell 1988: 4. Mitchell 1966: 109–10 and ead. 2000: 94 argues that, as Arkesilas was receiving insufficient Persian support after Artaxerxes' succession, he had to turn for compensatory support to the Greek mainland.

[198] For the political agenda of *P.* 4, see Braswell 1988: 4 and n. 13. For that of *P.* 5, see Cingano 1990: 35, 44.

might be compared to the concessions made by the Battiad kings to the aristocracy under Demonax' reforms (Herodotus 4.161.3–4.162.1).[199] One wonders whether Iason's concern with hereditary kingship has been played up for its contemporary relevance; certainly Apollonius' Iason is less eloquent on this theme (*Argonautica* 1.890–2, 902–3).[200] In *Pythian* 5 it is the figure of Battos who serves to underpin the authority of the Battiad kings.[201] Monarchy was a rare institution in the fifth century BC and it was never self-evident in Greece that a founder would establish a ruling dynasty.[202] The precariousness of Arkesilas' position is shown by subsequent events. Arkesilas, like his predecessors Arkesilas III and Arkesilas II, was assassinated within probably a few years of commissioning the two *Pythian* odes, and with him the dynasty was finally overthrown.[203]

Conclusion

Intimation of heroization for Arkesilas plays a fundamental role in *Pythian* 5.[204] In *Olympian* 2 (for an aged Theron) and in *Pythian* 3 and Bacchylides 3 (for an aged and ailing Hieron) themes of heroization are not to be separated from those patrons' concern for the afterlife.[205]

[199] On these reforms, cf. Mitchell 2000: 87–9.

[200] Cf. Braswell 1988: 235.

[201] Cingano 1990: 38; Miller 1997: 207, 213, 214.

[202] On monarchy in V BC, see Hornblower 1983: 59. On a dynasty of the founder, cf. Parke and Wormell 1956: i. 75; Graham 1971: 29; Malkin 1987: 250–5; Miller 1997: 101; Mitchell 2000: 86. Note that Theras' descendants also ruled Thera: Hdt. 4.150.2.

[203] Three sources report the overthrow. (1) Σ *P.* 4 Inscr. b 'this Arkesilas [*sc.* IV], the last, was assassinated by the Cyreneans and gave up the rule of the Battiadai which had endured for 200 years'. (2) Oracle in Hdt. 4.163.2–3 = Parke and Wormell 1956: ii. no. 70, 'Phoibos grants you [the Battiadai] to rule for four Battuses and four Arkesilases, and don't strive for more'. (3) Aristot. fr. 472.17 p. 566 Gigon 'In the reign of Arkesilas [IV] a white crow appeared, about which there was a grievous oracle. And once the democracy came into being, Battos [*sic*] went to Hesperides and was killed; and they took his head and plunged it in the sea'. Of these sources, (1) and (2) say that Battiad rule ended with Arkesilas IV, but (3) mentions a 'Battos', probably a fifth, the son of Arkesilas IV. It would seem that the so-called democracy was established in Cyrene on Arkesilas IV's assassination, but that Arkesilas IV's son Battos escaped to Euesperides, where he was himself killed without ever becoming king. Cf. Ogden 1997: 60. Differently, Mitchell 2000: 95 and n. 25. The date of the fall is unclear. A date in the 450s (before 454 BC?) is argued for by Mitchell 1966: 110–12; ead. 2000: 95–6; Goodchild 1971: 25; Hornblower 1983: 61. Differently, Chamoux 1962: 206–9 (arguing for *c.*439 BC).

[204] Calame 1990: 311, 312 (text to n. 93), 313; id. 1988: 128.

[205] *O.* 2.56–83. *P.* 3.1–8, 63–7, 73.

In *Pythian* 5, for a, presumably, still young Arkesilas, the intimations of heroization are probably more politically than eschatologically motivated. The justification of Arkesilas' reign depended on the Battiads' supposed divine right to rule and on the special status of the kings. This special status will (according to the arguments of this chapter) have been expressed partly through the hero cult performed for the dead kings. In death the kings were 'sacred' (97 ἱεροί), they were buried on the acropolis 'in front of their palace' (96 πρὸ δωμάτων), and they may have received cult on the occasion of the Karneia (98–103). The political situation may also provide a reason for the almost equal sharing of the honours between Arkesilas and Karrhotos in *Pythian* 5. Arkesilas urgently needed a strong and dependable ally, both against disgruntled Cyrenean aristocrats and within his own family. At the same time Karrhotos was the leader of an important colonial expedition to Euesperides, a project which the king's participation in the Pythian games aimed to promote.

12

Pythian 2
Locrian Saviour and Cyprian Hero

Date and circumstances of the ode

The occasion of *Pythian* 2 has been debated since antiquity.[1] On the one hand, verses 5–6 imply celebration of a specific chariot victory.[2] On the other hand, verses 9–12 imply Hieron has already had several successes with the chariot. Hieron's only attested chariot victories are in the 29th Pythian festival, in 474 or 470 BC, and at Olympia in 468 BC.[3] Both of these have been proposed as the occasion for *Pythian* 2.[4] However, it is awkward for each of these views that neither Delphi nor Olympia is mentioned in the ode. The only clear historical reference in the ode is to a conflict between Locri and Rhegium, which occurred at some time within the years 478–476 BC (see below). It is likely that this conflict was a recent one when the ode was composed.[5] This assumption is supported by two arguments from silence: *Pythian* 2 makes no reference either to the founding of Aitna (476/5 BC) or to the battle of Cumae (474 BC), and may thus reasonably be supposed to precede them.[6] If *Pythian* 2 was composed before 476 BC, it is the earliest extant ode composed for Hieron by either Pindar or Bacchylides.

It is quite likely that Hieron won unattested chariot victories in local games before his victories in the Panhellenic games. Both Syracuse and Thebes are mentioned at the beginning of the ode (1 *Συράκοσαι*,

[1] See Σ *P.* 2 Inscr.

[2] Lloyd-Jones 1973: 118; Carey 1981: 21; Most 1985*a*: 62; Cingano 1995: 43. Differently, von der Mühll 1958: 220.

[3] For the problem of dating Pythian victories, see Ch. 1.

[4] 29th Pythian festival: Wilamowitz 1922: 286–7; Burton 1962: 114; Kirkwood 1982: 142. Olympia in 468 BC: Bowra 1964: 410; Young 1983: 42–8. Cingano 1995: 43–7 regards either as possible.

[5] So Gildersleeve 1890: 253; Christ 1896: 125; Woodbury 1978: 292–3; Carey 1981: 21–2; Hornblower 1983: 57. Differently, Wilamowitz 1922: 287; Bowra 1953: 71; Cingano 1995: 44–5.

[6] Σ *P.* 2.127 (followed by Wilamowitz 1922: 286) finds a reference in 'the Kastor song' of *P.* 2.69 to the hyporchema fr. 105; this hyporchema does refer to the founding of Aitna, in which case *P.* 2 would postdate 476/5 BC. But the identification of fr. 105 as 'the Kastor song' is to be rejected: see Carey 1981: 47–8.

3 *Θηβᾶν*) and both cities are known to have hosted athletic contests.[7] Both have therefore been proposed as the site of the victory.[8] The site of the victory is given in every other ode of Pindar, and it would be anomalous if it were absent here. There is, besides, no exact parallel for 5 *ἐν ᾇ* (*sc.* *τετραορίᾳ*) *κρατέων*, 'winning in which discipline (*sc.* the chariot race) . . .': elsewhere *κρατεῖν* is constructed with a bare dative giving the athletic discipline, without *ἐν*.[9] We might remove both anomalies by a simple emendation, which has not so far been proposed: 5 *ἐν αἶ⟨ς⟩*, with *Θηβᾶν* (3) as its antecedent, 'winning in which place . . .'. In Pindar *ἐν* is usual with place names.[10] It is often used with *κρατεῖν* and synonyms to specify the place of victory.[11] It is clear that Hieron's victory was with the chariot from 4 *ἀγγελίαν τετραορίας ἐλελίχθονος*, 5 *εὐάρματος* and verses 7–12, so that it is not hard to dispense with 5 *ἐν ᾇ κρατέων* giving the discipline. If we adopt the emendation *αἶ⟨ς⟩*, then in this ode, as in all others, the site of the victory would be given: namely Thebes.

Pythian 2 has sometimes been regarded as a 'poetic letter', sent by Pindar to Hieron for the latter to read (compare verses 67–8).[12] It seems much more likely that it was, according to the usual practice, performed by a chorus who sang and danced it at Syracuse.[13]

The parallel between Kinyras and Hieron

The focus of our discussion of *Pythian* 2 will be those verses which set up a very striking parallelism between Hieron and the hero Kinyras, 15–20:[14]

> *κελαδέοντι μὲν ἀμφὶ Κινύραν πολλάκις*
> *φᾶμαι Κυπρίων, τὸν ὁ χρυσοχαῖτα προ-*
> *φρόνως ἐφίλησ' Ἀπόλλων,*

[7] Games at Syracuse: cf. Σ *O.* 13.158.a–c. Games at Thebes: cf. Σ *O.* 7.153, etc.; Krummen 1990: 75–6 nn. 1–2; Schachter 1981–94: ii. 25–30.

[8] Syracuse: Farnell 1930–2: ii. 119; Lefkowitz 1976: 164. Thebes: Gildersleeve 1890: 253; Christ 1896: 124; Carey 1981: 21; Most 1985*a*: 64–5.

[9] Cf. *O.* 8.20, *O.* 10.100, *P.* 10.23, *N.* 3.52, *I.* 3.13. Similarly with *νικᾶν*: *I.* 5.9–10; Bacch. 5.183; Stes. 179.(b).1–2 *PMG*. *P.* 11.46 ⟨*ἐν*⟩ *ἅρμασι καλλίνικοι* is not an adequate parallel (*pace* Gildersleeve 1890: 256).

[10] See Slater 1969*a*: s.v. *ἐν* A.2.a.

[11] Cf. *N.* 6.34–5, *P.* 11.15–16, *I.* 4.24–5, *P.* 9.97, *O.* 7.81; cf. Bacch. 5.41.

[12] So Wilamowitz 1922: 287, cf. 280. Differently, Carey 1981: 23–4; Young 1983. However, Hdt. 5.95.2 may suppose that Alcaeus composed something like a 'poetic epistle': see Herington 1985: 189. Cf. Rösler 1980: 273–5 on Alcae. 130b *PMG*; Stehle 1997: 292–311 on Sappho frr. 1, 31, 94, 96 *PLF*.

[13] So Most 1985a: 109, 101, 117.

[14] Cf. Fennell 1893: 158; Woodbury 1978: 285; Most 1985*a*: 73 and n. 10.

ἱερέα κτίλον Ἀφροδίτας· ἄγει δὲ χάρις
φίλων ποί τινος[15] *ἀντὶ ἔργων ὀπιζομένα·*
σὲ δ', ὦ Δεινομένειε παῖ, Ζεφυρία πρὸ δόμων
Λοκρὶς παρθένος ἀπύει,
πολεμίων καμάτων ἐξ ἀμαχάνων
διὰ τεὰν δύναμιν δρακεῖσ' ἀσφαλές

The voices of the Cyprians celebrate Kinyras often, whom golden-haired Apollo loved with his heart, the priest-ram of Aphrodite. A reverent gratitude leads them on, for some one of his friendly deeds. And you, son of Deinomenes, are sung of by the maiden of Western Locri in front of the houses, wearing a look of safety now that she has been released on account of your power from a desperate plight of war.

Such direct equations of the laudandus with an exemplary figure of the past are rare: we may compare *N.* 9.38–42 (Chromios equated with Hektor) and Bacchylides 3.61–6 (Hieron equated with Kroisos). In *Pythian* 2 the parallel is signalled by the correlating particles *μέν* (15) and *δέ* (18). In addition, there is symmetry in the correspondence of 19 *ἀπύει*, 'sings', to 15 *κελαδέοντι*, 'celebrate', and in that of 'the maiden of Locri Epizephyrii' (18–19 *Ζεφυρία . . . Λοκρὶς παρθένος*) to 'the Cyprians' (16 *Κυπρίων*). The parallel is easy to notice; it is harder to explain. In the words of one scholar, 'Hieron is likened to Cinyras but the differences are obvious; he is still alive and his deeds are less than those of Cinyras.'[16] The initial aim of this chapter will be to determine the full significance of the parallel. To this end it will be necessary to consider the religious and historical circumstances which these verses presuppose; we will consider first Hieron's role in Locri Epizephyrii, then Kinyras' role on Cyprus.

[15] Codd.; *ποίνιμος* Spiegel (Gerber 1976: 65; cf. Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: 62, 372); Σ *P.* 2.33a *ποίτινος* (*ποίνιμος* Hermann) *δὲ ἀμειπτική*. But *ποί τινος* is not a difficult reading: 'gratitude leads them on, for, presumably (*ποι* = *που*: cf. esp. *I.* 2.24, also *O.* 1.28, *O.* 3.38, *P.* 5.101), some one of his good deeds'. Carey 1981: 30; Most 1985*a*: 74. Less probably *τινος* is masculine (Lefkowitz 1976: 15–16; Kurke 1991: 112; Race 1997: i. 233).

[16] Oates 1963: 378. Cf. Woodbury 1978: 285 'We do not well understand Pindar's choice of Cinyras'; Kirkwood 1982: 148 'No personal reason is apparent for P(indar)'s using Cinyras, mythical king of Cyprus, as a parallel for Hieron.'

Locri: the historical context

Part of the historical context of *P.* 2.18–20 is furnished by the Pindar scholia.[17] We learn that the Locrians' 'desperate plight of war' (19 *πολεμίων καμάτων . . . ἀμαχάνων*) refers to a conflict in which Hieron intervened decisively for the Locrians against the Rhegians, who, under the leadership of Anaxilas and his son Leophron, were waging war on Locri.[18] A *terminus post quem* for this conflict is Hieron's accession in Syracuse in 478 BC; a *terminus ante quem* is Anaxilas' death in 476 BC.[19] The episode is thus datable to some point in the years 478–476 BC.[20]

This information in the Pindar scholia is crucially supplemented by a reference in the *Philippic Histories* of Pompeius Trogus, preserved in the *Epitome* of Justin. Trogus himself wrote in either the late first century BC or the early first century AD, but his sources for this part of his *Histories* may have been the fourth-century Greek historians Theopompus and Timaeus.[21] We learn from Justin, summarizing Trogus, that the Locrians, threatened with war from Leophron 'tyrant of Rhegium', vowed to prostitute their unmarried daughters to Aphrodite if the goddess helped them to victory (21.3.2):

cum Reginorum tyranni Leophronis bello Locrenses premerentur, voverant, si victores forent, ut die festo Veneris virgines suas prostituerent.

When the Locrians were being hard pressed in a war with Leophron the tyrant of the Rhegians, they had vowed, if they were victorious, to prostitute their unmarried daughters at a festival of Venus [i.e. Aphrodite].

Justin (Trogus) narrates this vow of 478–476 BC in connection with a revival of the vow under Dionysios II in the mid-fourth century BC (hence the pluperfect tense: 'had vowed').[22]

[17] Σ *P.* 2.36c; Σ *P.* 2.38. Cf. Σ *P.* 1.99a, incorporating Epicharmus 96 *PCG* (Epicharmus was contemporary with Hieron: see *PCG* T7–8; for his *floruit* in 488–484 BC, see *PCG* T6; for his links with Syracuse, see *PCG* T1, 9, 18).

[18] The manuscripts at Σ *P.* 2.38 read *Κλεόφρων* or *Θεόφρων*. The correct form of the name is *Λεόφρων*: cf. Sim. 515 *PMG*; Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 20.7.1; Justin 21.3.1; Heracl. Lemb. *pol.* 55; Athen. 1.5. See Robertson 1925: 35.

[19] Hieron's accession: Diod. 11.38.7, cf. 11.66.4; Σ *P.* 1 Inscr.; Σ *P.* 3 Inscr. b; Marm. Par. 55; Euseb. *chron.* p. 109.12, 16 Helm. Anaxilas' death: Diod. 11.48.2.

[20] For the historical background, see Cordiano 1995: 95–103; cf. Dunbabin 1948*a*: 369 and n. 2; Prückner 1968: 10. Differently, a date of 471 or 470 BC is given by Robertson 1925: 35; *RE* XIII. 1330.48–1331.16.

[21] See Forni and Angeli Bertinelli 1982: esp. 1340.

[22] For Dionysios II at Locri, see Muccioli 1999: 348–53.

P. 2.18–20, the Pindar scholia, and Justin (Trogus) apparently constitute three pieces of the same historical jigsaw.[23] First, *P.* 2.18–20 attests a connection between Hieron, the Locrian maiden (*παρθένος*), and relief from a war. Second, the Pindar scholia associate Hieron with a war between Locri and Anaxilas or Leophron of Rhegium. Third, Justin (Trogus) brings the war between Locri and Leophron of Rhegium into the ambit of a vow made by the Locrians to prostitute their daughters (*virgines*). It is tempting to associate the Locrian *virgines* of Justin (Trogus) with the Locrian *παρθένος* of *P.* 2.19.[24] It is otherwise hard to explain the prominence of specifically a Locrian maiden in *Pythian* 2.[25] In that case *Pythian* 2.18–20 alludes to the Locrian vow of which we are informed through Justin (Trogus).[26]

The Locrian danger

It is important to determine at what point the war with Rhegium was stopped through Hieron's intervention. It seems to be implicit in Σ *P.* 2.38 *Ἀναξίλας γὰρ καὶ ⟨Λ⟩εόφρων . . . πόλεμον ἠπείλουν Λοκροῖς*, 'Anaxilas and [L]eophron were threatening the Locrians with war', that a war between Locri and Rhegium was merely in prospect. However, the same scholion continues: *ὁ Ἱέρων ἔπαυσε τοῦ πολέμου τοὺς Λοκρούς*, 'Hieron gave the Locrians respite from the war', which implies that the war was in progress. This impression seems confirmed by other references: Σ *P.* 2.36c *Ἀναξίλα . . . πολεμοῦντος Λοκροῖς*, 'Anaxilas . . . waging war with the Locrians', and again, *εἰ*

[23] So Woodbury 1978: 288–90; Cordiano 1995: 110.

[24] So Woodbury 1978: 290–1, 292.

[25] Various other explanations have been offered. (1) Lloyd-Jones 1973: 120 'Locri was a home of poets'. But a passage such as *O.* 10.14 ('Kalliope is a concern to the Western Locrians') is an encomiastic topos, and does not show that Locri was musically renowned: cf. *O.* 13.22, *P.* 10.37, *pae.* 4.23–4; Soph. *OC* 691–3, etc. And why specify maidens? (2) Carey 1981: 31 (following Dissen) argues that maidens are singled out because women had most to fear when a city was captured; the feared violation of the Locrian maiden would anticipate Ixion's attempt on Hera (*P.* 2.21–41). But why specify *παρθένος*, rather than *γυναῖκες* (cf. Thuc. 5.32.1, 5.116.4, 7.68.2)? (3) Sourvinou-Inwood 1974*a*: 187 n. 4 'I do not consider [*P.* 2.18–20] to be a reference to the *votum* . . . I think the Pindaric verses refer to the relief of the Locrians at having been saved from the Rhegian danger, and their gratitude to Hieron for this salvation, exemplified in the persons of the virgins of the city as a kind of *pars pro toto*.' But why this particular *pars pro toto*? (4) Gildersleeve 1890: 258 'here we have simply an expression of popular joy, such as virgins especially would feel, and Lokrian virgins would freely express' evades the problem.

[26] Differently, Carey 1981: 31 (finding a reference to the Locrian prostitution vow 'unlikely in context').

μὴ καταλύσαιτο τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον, 'unless [Anaxilas] terminate the war against [the Locrians]'; Justin (Trogus) 21.3.2 *cum Reginorum tyranni Leophronis bello Locrenses premerentur*, 'when the Locrians were being hard pressed in the war with Leophron the tyrant of the Rhegians'.[27] It may be presupposed by Hieron's threat to march on Rhegium that a Rhegian army was in the field (Σ *P.* 2.36c). Similarly, when the Locrian vow was revived under Dionysios II in the 350s BC, the Locrians were already embroiled in war (Justin (Trogus) 21.3.3 *cum adversa bella cum Lucanis gererent*, 'when [the Locrians] were waging an unfavourable war against the Lucanians'). It thus seems to have been not so much the outbreak of war as prospective annihilation in war from which Hieron saved Locri.[28] Scholia to *Pythian* 1 leave little doubt about the urgency of the Locrians' situation: Σ *P.* 1.99a Ἀναξίλαον . . . βουληθέντα Λοκροὺς καταπολεμῆσαι, 'Anaxilas . . . who wanted to reduce the Locrians', and again, Ἀναξίλαος Λοκροὺς ἠθέλησεν ἄρδην ἀπολέσαι, 'Anaxilas wished utterly to destroy the Locrians.'[29] It was from a similarly extreme danger that Hieron saved the Cumaeans in 474 BC: Σ *P.* 1.137c μελλόντων οὖν ἄρδην ἀπόλλυσθαι τῶν Κυμαίων, Ἱέρων συμμαχήσας τοὺς μὲν Κυμαίους διέσωσε, τῶν δὲ Τυρσηνῶν τοὺς πλείστους ἀπώλεσε, 'when the Cumaeans were about to be utterly destroyed, Hieron became their ally and saved the Cumaeans and destroyed most of the Etruscans'. It thus appears that Pindar's verses, 'wearing a look of safety now that she has been released on account of your power from a desperate plight of war' (19–20), are not hyperbolic. Locri was in dangering of suffering at the hands of Rhegium the fate the Crotonians had inflicted on Sybaris in 511/10 BC: 'they tore down the city and made it completely desolate' (Diodorus 12.10.1).[30] This is of considerable importance in gauging the Locrian vow, which was evidently a desperate measure taken in a desperate situation. It is worth noting, finally, that the intermediary Chromios whom Hieron sent to Anaxilas had proven military credentials: he had distinguished himself at the battle of the Helorus, *c.*493/2 BC.[31]

[27] For καταλύεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον as 'end a war' (which is in progress), cf. LSJ s.v. καταλύω I.3.c. For *bello premi* as 'be hard-pressed in an (on-going) war', cf. Justin 38.4.14; Cic. *Man.* 30; Sal. *ep. ad Caes. sen. de rep.* 2.10.7; Caes. *Gall.* 4.1.2; *OLD* s.v. *premo* 7a; *TLL* II.1841.81–4, X.2.1176.71–3.

[28] Cf. Cordiano 1995: 97.

[29] Καταπολεμεῖν here = 'war down', 'reduce' (LSJ s.v. I), rather than simply 'make war against' (LSJ s.v. II): NB ἄρδην ἀπολέσαι.

[30] Cf. Strab. 6.1.13 263 ἑλόντες . . . τὴν πόλιν ἐπήγαγον τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ κατέκλυσαν. Cf. Hdt. 6.21.1. Locri was in fact sacked by Dionysios I: Justin 20.5.1.

[31] Cf. *N.* 9.34–42. For this battle, see Hdt. 7.154.3, etc. For Chromios as ἐπίτροπος of Aitna (476/5 BC), see Σ *N.* 9 Inscr., cf. *N.* 9.2–3. Dunbabin 1948*a*: 425–6 suggests he was Gelon's admiral at the battle of Himera. See Braswell 1992: 27–8.

Locri had faced a similar threat in (probably) the 540s BC from Croton, which had just reduced Siris.[32] Then too the 'panic-stricken' Locrians turned to divine aid (Justin (Trogus) 20.2.11 *quo metu territi*). Aias Oiliades was summoned from the Opuntian Locrians (Pausanias 3.19.12) and the Dioskouroi from Sparta (Diodorus 8.32.1–2; Justin (Trogus) 20.2.11–14). In addition, the Locrians vowed to dedicate one ninth of the spoils to Delphian Apollo, topping Croton's vow of a tithe (Justin (Trogus) 20.3.1–3).[33] At the battle of the Sagra the Locrians achieved a brilliant and unexpected victory, which they ascribed to their divine helpers.[34] The Crotonian commanders Phormion and Leonymos (Autoleon) were said to have been wounded by the Dioskouroi and Aias respectively.[35] It was thus to tried expedients that the Locrians again had recourse in 478–476 BC against Rhegium: appeal to a foreign power (Syracuse, as to Sparta in the 540s) and a vow to a deity (Aphrodite, as to Apollo in the 540s).[36]

The Locrian vow

There has been much controversy over whether the Locrians prostituted their daughters in the 470s BC in accordance with their vow.[37] Two main positions have been taken.

(1) The Locrians did not prostitute their daughters in 478–476 BC. On this view, the vow made in 478–476 BC was not implemented before its revival by Dionysios II in the fourth century.[38]

[32] Diod. 8.32.1–2; Justin 20.2.10–20.3.9; Strab. 6.1.10 261; Paus. 3.19.12; Conon *FGrH* 26 F1.xviii. Dunbabin 1948*a*: 358–60.

[33] See Parke and Wormell 1956: ii. no. 76.

[34] For the Dioskouroi's role in the battle, cf. Justin 20.3.8. The Dioskouroi subsequently received altars by the Sagra: Strab. 6.1.10 261. See Burkert 1985*a*: 213; Malkin 1994: 62 'This divine aid was apparently taken seriously both by Sparta and by Lokroi and should not be belittled'.

[35] Phormion: Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F392; Suda, Hsch. s.v. *Φορμίων*. Leonymos/Autoleon: Paus. 3.19.12–13; Conon *FGrH* 26 F1.xviii.

[36] For vows before a military engagement, see Pritchett 1971–91: iii. 230–9.

[37] See Prückner 1968: 9–12; Pembroke 1970: 1269–70; Sourvinou-Inwood 1974*a*: 186–98; Torelli 1976: 147–56; van Compernolle 1976: 367–81; Woodbury 1978: 285–99; Santi Amantini 1984: 39–62; MacLachlan 1992: 161–2; Redfield 2003: 411–16.

[38] So Sourvinou-Inwood 1974a: 186, 186 n. 2; ead. 1978: 120; Musti 1976: 66; Woodbury 1978: 288; Carey 1981: 31; Santi Amantini 1984: 49; Dillon 2002: 202; Redfield 2003: 411–16. More extremely still, van Compernolle 1976: 371–2, 374 suggests that the Locrians never even pronounced their vow in 478–476 BC. But this flies in the face of Justin 21.3.2 *voverant*; cf. Musti 1976: 66.

(2) The Locrians did prostitute their daughters in 478–476 BC. On this view, religious prostitution was practised in Locri after 478–476 BC, but was interrupted at some point before the hegemony of Dionysios II.[39]

The decision between these two positions depends on, first, the interpretation of Justin's (Trogus') phrase 21.3.3 *quo voto intermisso*, 'after this vow had been held in abeyance', and second, the gratitude of the Locrian maiden at *P.* 2.18–20. First, Justin's (Trogus') phrase *quo voto intermisso*. On interpretation (1), *intermittere* means 'neglect, disregard', without ever implementing; on (2) it means 'discontinue', after a period of implementation. The *Oxford Latin Dictionary* explains *intermitto* as 'to cause or allow to cease temporarily, to discontinue, interrupt (an action or practice)'.[40] This fully justifies interpretation (2). Accordingly, *quo voto intermisso* probably presupposes that the Locrian vow was implemented in the 470s.[41] This interpretation of *intermisso* also reveals how *die festo Veneris* (Justin (Trogus) 21.3.2) is to be understood: Locrian virgins were, according to the terms of the vow, not to be prostituted once and for all at a single celebration of Aphrodite's festival, but every time that festival was celebrated.

Second, *P.* 2.18–20: the gratitude of the Locrian maiden to Hieron. Interpretation (1) assumes that this is personal gratitude for delivering them from the obligation to enact the prostitution vow.[42] It has been argued that the Locrians felt they did not need to implement the vow because the conflict with Rhegium was resolved diplomatically by Hieron without recourse to arms, and that the vow had, strictly speaking, been made on condition of 'victory' (Justin (Trogus) 21.3.3 *si victores forent*).[43] It is true that the Greeks could display considerable casuistry in discharging vows to the gods.[44] But it seems more likely that Locri in 478–476 BC was a case of a vow where the 'successful outcome was readily accepted as the good gifts of the gods that confirm the value of

[39] Prückner 1968: 10; MacLachlan 1992: 161 n. 51. Prückner 1968: 15 suggests that the practice was interrupted some 100 years after the vow was made, when production of the Locrian *pinakes* also dries up.

[40] *OLD* s.v. 1a. Cf. *TLL* vii. 1.2228.49–59 *sacra/deorum cultum/sollemne intermittere.*

[41] Prückner 1968: 10, 131–2 n. 58; MacLachlan 1992: 161 n. 51.

[42] Musti 1976: 66; van Compernolle 1976: 375; Woodbury 1978: 293 n. 24; Gullini 1980: 106; Santi Amantini 1984: 42; Guarducci 1985: 9, cf. 12; Gentili 1988: 276 n. 45; id. in Gentili et al. 1995: p. xlvi; Cingano 1995: 372.

[43] So von Stauffenberg 1963: 215; Pembroke 1970: 1269; Woodbury 1978: 290 n. 17; cf. Pritchett 1971–91: iii. 236–7.

[44] See e.g. Ar. *av.* 1618–20; Paus. 10.18.5 *σόφισμα εὑρίσκουσιν*; Zenob. 4.29, Σ Eur. *Phoen.* 1408 *Θετταλὸν σόφισμα*; Eustath. on *Il.* 2.732 *ἐπὶ εὐχῇ σοφίσασθαι.*

piety'.[45] Locrian piety is strongly in evidence, not only after the battle of Sagra to their divine saviours in that battle (see above), but also towards Aphrodite after the Rhegium crisis: apart from the dubious evidence of the famous Locrian *pinakes*, there were new building initiatives in sanctuaries of Aphrodite.[46] Once we recognize the gravity of that crisis for Locri (see above), the resort to such casuistry seems less plausible. Moreover, a more concrete problem with taking *P.* 2.19–20 to refer to the Locrian maiden's gratitude for deliverance from the prostitution vow is that Pindar's verses refer to deliverance specifically from *war*, not prostitution: 'released on account of your power from a desperate plight of war'.[47] Scholars who have recognized this problem have concluded that *P.* 2.19–20 cannot be alluding to the Locrian prostitution vow at all.[48] But there is a way of avoiding this conclusion.

On interpretation (2), the Locrians saw themselves as 'victors' over the Rhegians owing to Hieron's intervention and therefore discharged their vow, prostituting their daughters at a 'festival of Aphrodite' (Justin (Trogus) 21.3.3). The gratitude to Hieron attested by Pindar is not incompatible with gratitude to Aphrodite. The festival of Aphrodite which Justin (Trogus) mentions would, very likely, have had the character of a *χαριστήριον* ('thanksgiving'); the prostitution of Locrian maidens at this festival year after year would have been a palpable religious expression of the city's gratitude to Aphrodite for deliverance from Rhegium. This festival of Aphrodite could also have been the occasion for Locrian maidens to sing the praises of Hieron. It may be a mistake to assume that the gratitude of the Locrian maiden (*P.* 2.18–19) is a heartfelt *personal* gratitude for saving them from a prostitution vow which was never implemented. Assuming rather that the vow was implemented, the maidens could be expressing the city's *collective* gratitude for deliverance from war by actually being prostituted at this festival. The suggestion seems shocking that the Locrian maidens might be thanking Hieron for an act which saved their city but consigned them to religious prostitution; but we should bear three things in mind. First, the prostitution of the Locrian maidens was to be

[45] Burkert 1985*a*: 268.

[46] On the *pinakes*, see (controversially) Prückner 1968: 15. For the enlargement of Aphrodite's sanctuary at Centocamere, see Barra Bagnasco 1990: 50; for the building of an Ionic temple (to Aphrodite?) in 480–470 BC over the Archaic temple at Marasà, see below, this chapter.

[47] Cf. Carey 1981: 31.

[48] So Sourvinou-Inwood 1974*a*: 187 n. 2; Gigante 1978: 67; Carey 1981: 31; Redfield 2003: 413–16.

performed for a limited period only, in the service of Locri's gods, and as an honorific service, protected in all likelihood by the legal guarantee of a good marriage afterwards (compare the clause to this effect in Justin (Trogus) 21.3.5, concerning the revival of the vow under Dionysios II). Second, among the grim fates that could befall women whose city was captured was that of lifetime service as a prostitute, with servile status, in a foreign city. This is known to have been the fate of women of Pallene, destroyed by Kleisthenes of Sicyon around 600 BC (P. Oxy. 1241 col. iii.5–12), and of some of the women of Olynthus, sacked by Philippos II in 348 BC (Demosthenes, *On the False Embassy* [19] 305–6, 309; Dinarchus, *Against Demosthenes* [1] 23).[49] Short-term religious prostitution in one's own city was unquestionably a lesser evil. Third, it is unclear to what extent ancient Greek society offered women the opportunity to give public expression to their individual emotions.[50] Given the androcentrism of Classical Greece, the voice of the Locrian maiden at *P.* 18–20 is less likely to have been an individual, personal one, than a public choral voice which articulated the prevailing (male-dominated) civic ideology. This interpretation, then, assumes that *P.* 2.18–20 refers to a chorus of Locrian maidens singing at a festival of Aphrodite; its viability depends on three terms, whose meaning must now be considered: 19 *ἀπύει*, 18–19 *Ζεφυρία . . . | Λοκρὶς παρθένος*, and 18 *πρὸ δόμων*.

First, 19 *ἀπύει*. The natural meaning to give this verb is 'sings'.[51] Its meaning should balance 15 *κελαδέοντι* 'sing'.[52] Thus *P.* 2.19 *ἀπύει* should denote a public and religious act of singing.[53] That *ἀπύει* and *κελαδέοντι* both mean 'sing' is confirmed by 14 *εὐαχέα . . . ὕμνον*: even if *ὑμνεῖν* can sometimes mean 'praise' (as at Thucydides 2.42.2), the

[49] For the fate of women and children when their city was captured, see Pritchett 1971–91: v. 226–34, 238–42.

[50] Lardinois 2001*b*: 92; cf. Skinner 1996, esp. pp. 180, 186. On the androcentrism of Greek religion and society, see Bremmer 1994: 80–1.

[51] In Pindar, *ἀπύειν* means 'invoke (the aid of)' (*O.* 1.72; *P.* 10.4) or 'sing of' (*P.* 5.104, *O.* 5.19). The meaning 'sing of' is accepted for *P.* 2.19 by Slater 1969*a*: s.v. a; Cingano 1995: 373.

[52] *P.* 2.63 *κελαδέων* (a tautometric verbal echo of 15 *κελαδέοντι*) is used of the singer of the ode. LSJ s.v. *κελαδέω* classes *P.* 2.15 under 1.2 'shout aloud'; but in fact the meaning of most of the examples cited there is 'sing'. Slater 1969*a*: s.v. gives the meaning 'hymn'; 'sing'. Differently, Woodbury 1978: 294 n. 30. For *P.* 2.16 *φᾶμαι* as 'songs', cf. *O.* 7.10. Differently again, Woodbury 1978: 294 n. 31.

[53] So Carey 1981: 31, 62; Most 1985*a*: 74. Similarly, the scholia gloss *P.* 2.19 *ἀπύει* as *ἀναφωνεῖ καὶ ἀνυμνεῖ* (Σ *P.* 2.36b) and *ἦδον καὶ καθύμνουν* (Σ *P.* 2.36c); they gloss *P.* 2.15 *κελαδέουσι* as *χορεύουσι* (Σ *P.* 2.27d) and *ἀνυμνοῦσι* (Σ *P.* 2.36b). Differently, Taeger 1957: 83, 89; Woodbury 1978: 294 and nn. 29–30.

epithet *εὐαχέα*, 'well-sounding', leaves no doubt that 'song' is intended here.[54]

Second, 18–19 *Ζεφυρία . . . | Λοκρὶς παρθένος*. This may refer to a single maiden before her house. Or, as a collective singular, it may refer to individual maidens, each before her house.[55] Or again, it may as a collective singular refer to a chorus of maidens at one location.[56] The choice will depend partly on the interpretation of *ἀπύει* and *πρὸ δόμων*. In verse 16, *Κυπρίων* implies a chorus of Cyprians, and *πολλάκις* (15) implies a cultic occasion for these choral songs. The verbs *ἀπύει* and *κελαδέοντι* should both express a public speech act.[57] The verb *ἀπύειν* is used of choral song at *P.* 5.104 (certainly) and *O.* 5.19 (probably); Aeschylus and Euripides both use *ἀπύειν* of antiphonal choral song.[58] If *ἀπύει* expresses choral song, then *Ζεφυρία . . . Λοκρὶς παρθένος* must be a collective singular, referring to a chorus of maidens.

Third, 18 *πρὸ δόμων*. This could convey a private or a public setting. A possible private scenario would be a single maiden in front of her house: then *δόμων* is a poetic plural.[59] As an alternative private scenario, taking *Ζεφυρία . . . Λοκρὶς παρθένος* as a collective singular, we might think of each individual Locrian maiden standing before her house.[60] L. Woodbury suggested that this was the typical forum for women's gossip in a Greek *polis* (he assigned the meaning 'speaks' to *ἀπύει*).[61] This seems unlikely: it was anything but acceptable for Greek women to idle 'in front of their houses'.[62] A public scenario seems much more likely; but this too may take several forms.

(1) *πρὸ δόμων* may be deliberately unspecific, conveying no more than a public, outdoor setting for the choral maiden songs.[63] Thus *πρὸ δόμων* 'in front of the house(s)' could be in implicit contrast to 'indoors',

[54] Differently, Woodbury 1978: 295.

[55] Woodbury 1978: 294.

[56] So Σ *P.* 2.36c *αἱ Λοκρίδες*; Gigante 1978: 67; Cingano 1995: 373. At Bacch. 13.84, *τὶς ὑψαυχὴς κό⟨ρα⟩* refers to a single member of a chorus of girls, as 89–90 *σὺν . . . [ἑταίρα]ις* makes clear.

[57] Most 1985*a*: 74.

[58] Aesch. *Pers.* 122; Eur. *suppl.* 800.

[59] Cf. LSJ s.v. I.1.

[60] We find this scenario at *Il.* 18.495–6 *αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες | ἱστάμεναι θαύμαζον ἐπὶ προθύροισιν ἑκάστη*.

[61] 1978: 297–9.

[62] As Woodbury's own examples (1978: 297 n. 35) show: Xen. *oec.* 7.30 *τῇ μὲν γὰρ γυναικὶ κάλλιον ἔνδον μένειν ἢ θυραυλεῖν*; Soph. *El.* 516–18, *Ant.* 578–9; Eur. *Andr.* 951–3, etc., *Heracl.* 474–7; Ar. *pax* 979–85, *thesm.* 789–94, *eccl.* 992–3; Lycurg. *in Leocr.* 40. But cf. Lewis 1996: 11–12, 22–3.

[63] Cf. Christ 1896: 128–9 'aedibus egredientes in publico'.

where, apart from festive occasions, maidens were mostly confined. Here the meaning of *πρὸ δόμων* would approach that of *θυραῖος* or *θύρασι*: 'in public'.

(2) H. Lloyd-Jones raised a possibility with a more specific reference: we might imagine a public religious occasion at which each maiden stood—separately—outside her own house.[64] But then *ἀπύει* cannot denote choral song (as it should: see above).

(3) *Epinicia* and *Encomia* were frequently sung (by a chorus) outside the laudandus' house.[65] This suggests that *P.* 2.18 *δόμων* (as plural for singular) might be the house of Hieron.[66] But it is hard to imagine either that Hieron had a house in Locri, or that a chorus of Locrian maidens travelled to a house of Hieron on Sicily.[67]

(4) *πρὸ δόμων* might perhaps mean 'in front of the houses' of the city. Here *δόμοι* would be metonomy for *ἄστυ*.[68] On this view, *πρὸ δόμων* would denote a suburban location, just as *προάστιον* means 'suburb'. This designation would fit the extramural area of Locri known to archaeologists as Centocamere, where Aphrodite had a sanctuary and cult in the fifth century BC (see Figure 2a no. 3 and Figure 2b).[69] Greek sanctuaries and deities were commonly designated as *πρὸ πόλεως*.[70] It has been argued that religious prostitution was carried out in Aphrodite's sanctuary at Centocamere, in the so-called 'U-shaped stoa'(see Figure 2b no. 5).[71] It is possible that this 'U-shaped stoa' is to be identified with the 'brothel', *lupanare*, of Justin (Trogus) 21.3.4, where the hundred Locrian maidens were to stay for one month to discharge the

[64] Lloyd-Jones 1973: 119 n. 61, on the basis of the description of the cult of Arsinoe Philadelphos at Alexandria by Satyros, *On the Demes of Alexandria*, P. Oxy. 2465 fr. 2 col. i.12–15 'let those who want to sacrifice to Arsinoe Philadelphos sacrifice in front of their own houses or on the houses (*θυέτωσαν πρὸ τῶν ἰδ[ίων οἴκ]ων ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν [δω]μάτων*) or in the street where the basket-bearer shall walk'. On this text, see also Robert 1966: 192–5.

[65] Bacch. 6.10–15 (but at Ceos or Olympia?); *N.* 1.19–20, *N.* 9.1–3, *I.* 8.1–4, *O.* 1.10–11; Eur. *HF* 691–4 (paeans outside Herakles' house).

[66] Cf. Lloyd-Jones 1973: 119 n. 61 'Does *πρὸ δόμων* refer to the singer's house, or to Hieron's?'

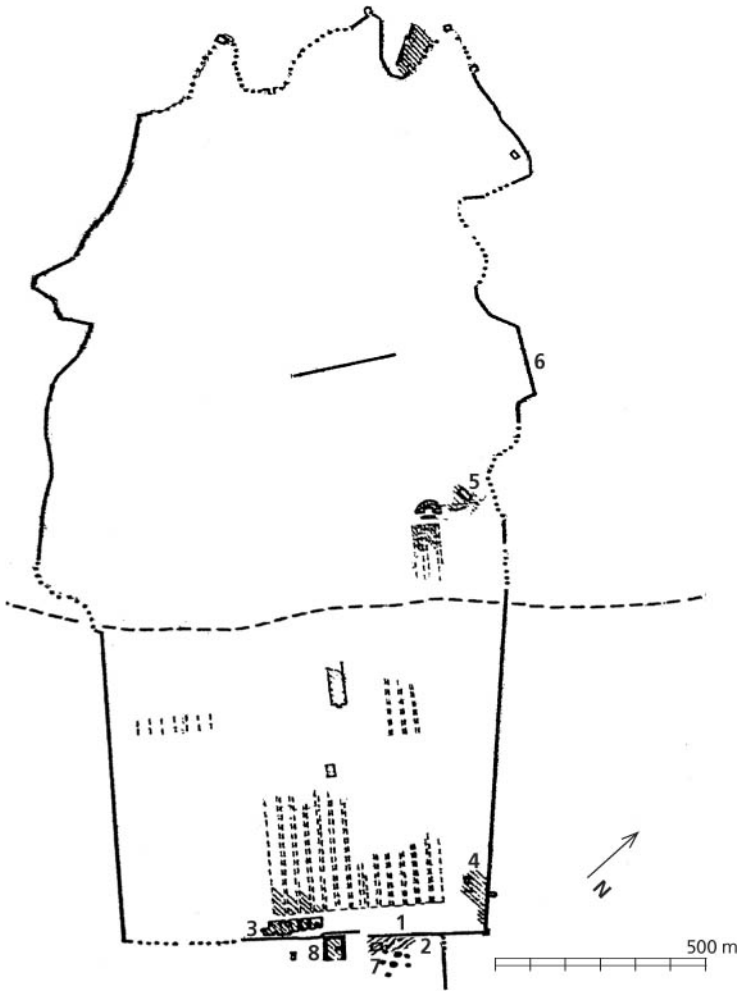
[67] For the improbability of the former, cf. Woodbury 1978: 293–4.

[68] Cf. Σ *P.* 5.129, glossing Pindar's phrase *πρὸ δωμάτων* as *πρὸ τῶν τῆς πόλεως πυλῶν*. The gloss there is very likely incorrect: see Ch. 11.

[69] Torelli 1976: 155; Barra Bagnasco 1990: 51 '[*sc.* il santuario di Afrodite] si trova . . . immediatamente all'esterno delle mura, nei pressi di una torre'. Differently, Pembroke 1970: 1269. On Centocamere, see most conveniently Costamagna and Sabbione 1990: 211–50.

[70] Robert and Robert 1983: 171–6 (esp. 171 n. 70, 172 and n. 78 for the strictly local sense, 'devant la ville').

[71] Torelli 1976: 147–9, 155; Guarducci 1985: 10; Barra Bagnasco 1994: 231. Differently, Rolley 1976: 213–14. For a neutral discussion, see Costamagna and Sabbione 1990: 213–15.



KEY

1 Marasà
2 Marasà-sud
3 Centocamere
4 Sanctuary of Marasà
5 Temple of Casa Marafioti
6 Sanctuary of Grotta Caruso
7 Buildings outside the walls, Marasà-sud
8 'U-shaped stoa', Centocamere

FIGURE 2a. Plan of Locri

After L. Costamagna and C. Sabbione *Una città in Magna Grecia. Locri Epizefiri. Guida archeologica* (Reggio Calabria 1990) fig. 38 facing p. 48, by kind permission of Laruffa Editore.

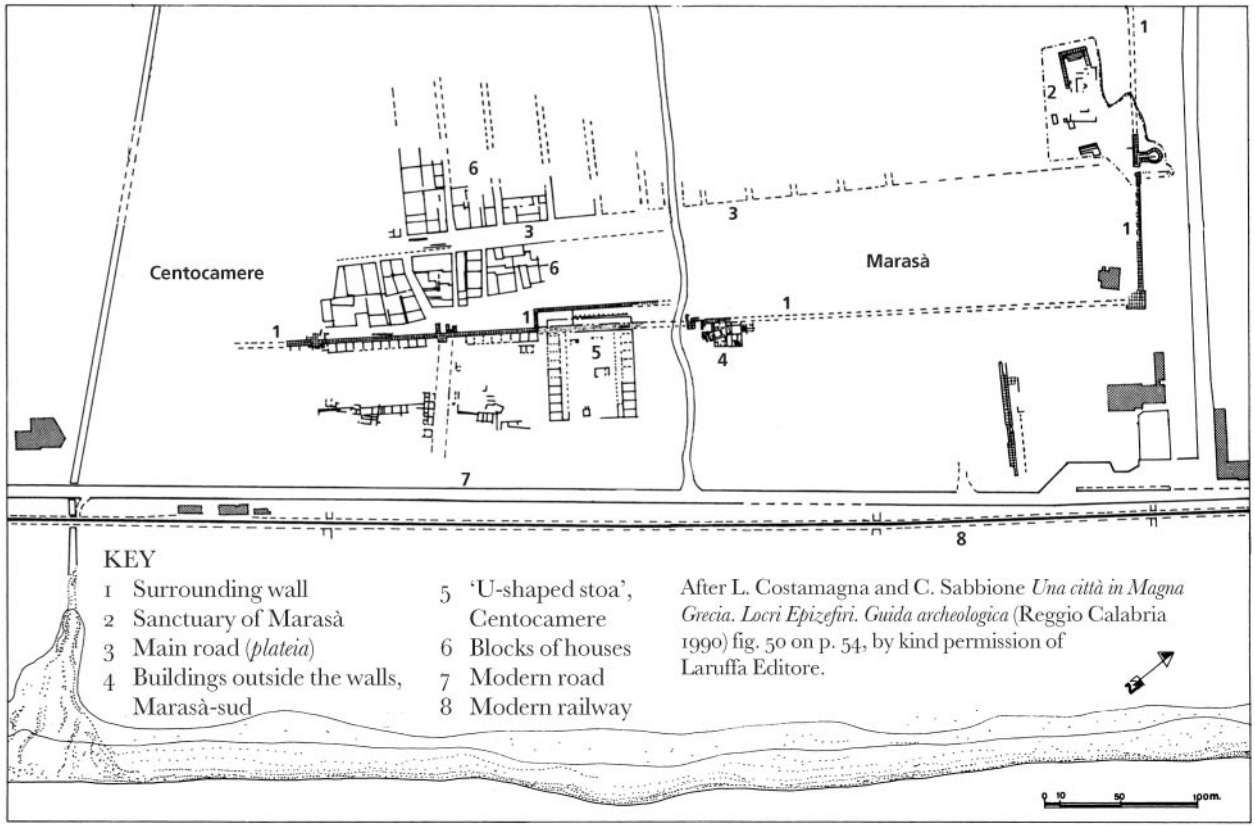

Centocamere
Marasà
KEY
1 Surrounding wall
2 Sanctuary of Marasà
3 Main road (*plateia*)
4 Buildings outside the walls, Marasà-sud
5 'U-shaped stoa', Centocamere
6 Blocks of houses
7 Modern road
8 Modern railway
After L. Costamagna and C. Sabbione *Una città in Magna Grecia. Locri Epizefiri. Guida archeologica* (Reggio Calabria 1990) fig. 50 on p. 54, by kind permission of Laruffa Editore.
0 10 50 100m.

FIGURE 2b Plan of Centocamere and Marasà, Locri

Locrian vow.[72] *P.* 2.18–19 could then denote maiden songs in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Centocamere at Aphrodite's festival.

(5) *πρὸ δόμων* might mean 'in front of the temple'. 'Temple' is an attested meaning for *δόμος* or *δόμοι* (as a poetic plural).[73] The temple in question might be identified as the Ionic temple at Marasà in Locri (see Figure 2a no. 4, Figure 2b no. 2, and Figure 2c).[74] It is not known for sure to whom this temple was dedicated, but Aphrodite is a favoured candidate.[75] The temple was constructed in *c.*480–470 BC, and a link has been proposed between its construction and the Locrian vow of 478–476 BC. We might be tempted further to identify this temple with the 'temple of Aphrodite' mentioned by Justin (Trogus) (21.3.3 *templum Veneris*), the site where, on Dionysios II's fourth-century revival of the vow, the Locrian women congregated before one hundred were chosen by lot for religious prostitution (the prostitution itself took place in a sacred 'brothel', *lupanar*: perhaps the 'U-shaped stoa' at Centocamere).[76] It has been argued that Hieron himself was involved in the construction of the Ionic temple at Marasà.[77] If so, this temple would have been an obvious setting for songs in which Locrian maidens sang the praises of Hieron. This suggestion must remain tentative, but raises interesting possibilities.

To summarize the arguments so far: both Justin (Trogus) 21.3.2 *quo voto intermisso* and the gratitude of the Locrian maiden at *P.* 2.18–20 probably presuppose that the Locrian prostitution vow was implemented in the 470s. The *παρθένος* of *P.* 2.19, a collective singular, is to be linked with the *virgines* of Justin (Trogus) 21.3.2, who performed religious prostitution in fulfilment of the vow. A likely occasion for the maidens' songs to Hieron is the 'festival of Aphrodite' (Justin (Trogus) 21.3.2 *die festo Veneris*), when the Locrian maidens began their (short-term) service as prostitutes. *P.* 2.18 *πρὸ δόμων* does not permit a definitive localization of these songs. We may choose to see this expression as a vague indicator of their public setting ((1) above); but if we look

[72] Strictly, Justin (Trogus) records these details only in connection with Dionysios II's renewal of the vow in the 350s BC; but these details of the fourth-century vow may reasonably be retrojected onto the earlier one: so Prückner 1968: 11; Santi Amantini 1984: 49.

[73] LSJ s.v. I.2.

[74] So Gullini 1980: 105; Torelli 1997: 278. Differently, Gigante 1976: 635. On the Ionic temple at Marasà, see Costamagna and Sabbione 1990: 195–210.

[75] See Gullini 1980: 106; Costamagna and Sabbione 1990: 210; more confidently, Torelli 1997: 278.

[76] For an architectural affinity between the area of Marasà (site of the Ionic temple) and that of Marasà Sud (site of the 'U-shaped stoa'), see Barra Bagnasco 1994: 234.

[77] Gullini 1980: 105–6, followed by van Compernolle 1992: 72; Torelli 1997: 278.

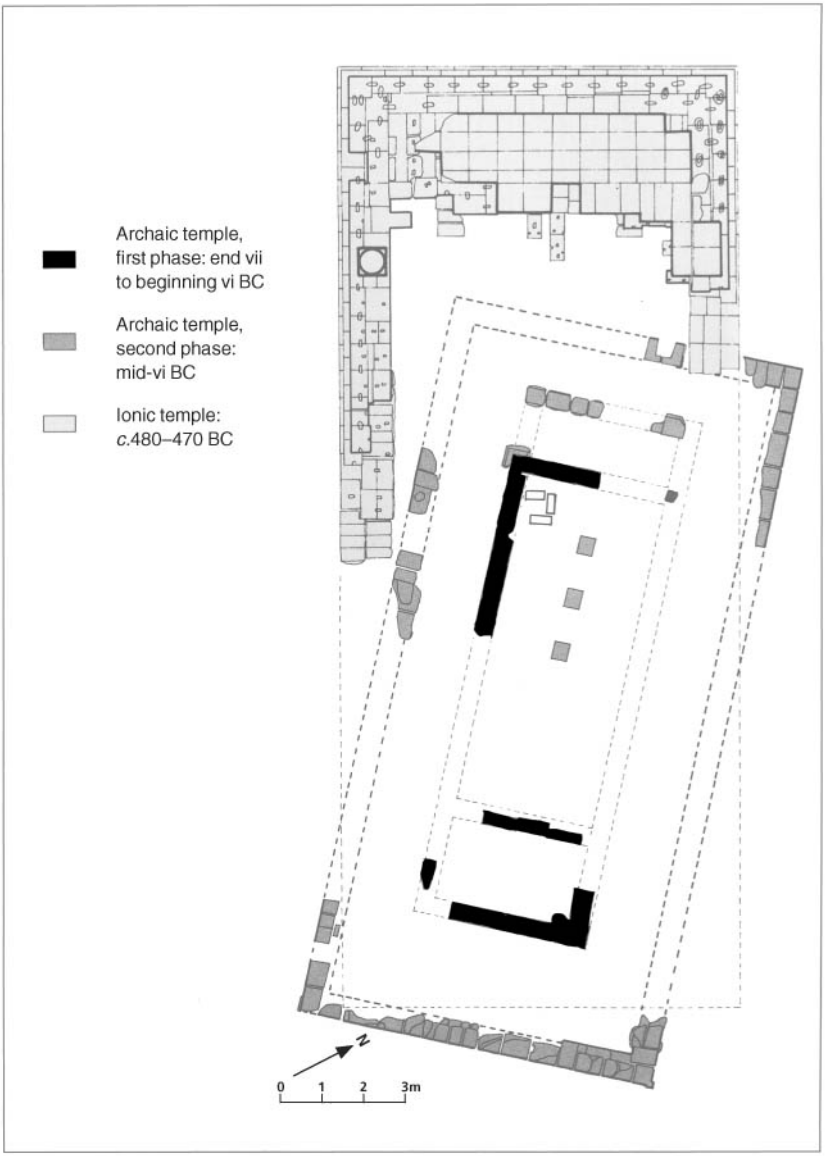

Archaic temple, first phase: end vii to beginning vi BC
Archaic temple, second phase: mid-vi BC
Ionic temple: c.480–470 BC
N
0 1 2 3m

FIGURE 2c. Plan of the successive temples at Marasà, Locri

After L. Costamagna and C. Sabbione *Una città in Magna Grecia. Locri Epizefiri. Guida archeologica* (Reggio Calabria 1990) fig. 265 on p. 189, by kind permission of Laruffa Editore.

for a specific location, the temple of Aphrodite at Locri mentioned by Justin (Trogus), which was perhaps the Ionic temple uncovered at Marasà, comes strongly into consideration. The gratitude of the Locrian maiden to Hieron will not be the girls' personal gratitude for saving them from religious prostitution, but the gratitude of the whole city, expressed in public choral songs, for Hieron's saving of the city from destruction in war at the hands of Anaxilas and Leophron.

This interpretation assumes that religious prostitution was practised at Locri, at least in the context of the vow of 478–476 BC. This remains a point of much contention; numerous other indications of religious prostitution at Locri have also been alleged (textual, archaeological, iconographical, and epigraphical), but all are controversial. Of these, three can be mentioned briefly.[78] First and foremost, the fourth–third century BC peripatetic writer Clearchus, in the fourth book of his *Lives*, writes that 'not only the women of the Lydians, who are available for all comers, but also those of the Western Locrians, and those of the Cyprians, and generally those of all who make their daughters ritually pure by prostitution, seem in truth to be a reminder of, and an atonement for, some ancient offence' (fr. 43a Wehrli, in Athenaeus 12 515e *οὐ μόνον δὲ Λυδῶν γυναῖκες ἄφετοι οὖσαι τοῖς ἐντυχοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ἐπιζεφυρίων, ἔτι δὲ τῶν περὶ Κύπρον καὶ πάντων ἁπλῶς τῶν ἑταιρισμῷ τὰς ἑαυτῶν κόρας ἀφοσιούντων παλαιᾶς τινος ὕβρεως ἔοικεν εἶναι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὑπόμνημα καὶ τιμωρίας*). Clearchus in this passage names the Lydians, the Western Locrians, and the Cyprians as among those who practise a rite of religious prostitution for their daughters; his testimony has been challenged, but on no compelling

[78] In addition, the iconography of the fine relief sculpture known as the 'Ludovisi throne' (apparently Locrian workmanship of mid-v BC) has been related to religious prostitution: see Prückner 1968: 89–91; Guarducci 1985; but differently, Sourvinou-Inwood 1974*b*; Dillon 2002: 202–3; Redfield 2003: 332–45. Further, Locrian inscriptions of iv BC with the words *ἱαρᾶν μίστωμα* (de Franciscis 1972: nos 23.10, 30.13, 31.9) have been been interpreted as referring to 'payment from sacred [prostitutes]' (see de Franciscis 1972: 151–3 esp. 153 n. 56; Musti 1979: 221–2; Guarducci 1985: 10), but more likely they mean 'payment from sacred [lands]', and have no connection with religious prostitution (so Pembroke 1970: 1270; id. in *OCD* 1264; Sourvinou-Inwood 1974*a*: 186–7 and 187 n. 2; van Compernolle 1976: 379–81; Gigante 1976: 669; Graf 1978: 73 n. 81; Burkert 1985*a*: 408 n. 9).

[79] See Prückner 1968: 11. Clearchus' testimony is challenged by Sourvinou-Inwood 1974*a*: 186–7; Dillon 2002: 202, who suppose that Clearchus is alluding to the Locrian vow, which he wrongly believes to have been implemented. But, first, it is unclear whether Clearchus is alluding to prostitution in the context of that vow. Secondly, that vow probably *was* implemented: Justin's language (21.3.2 *quo voto intermisso*) implies that it was, and Pindar's language (*P.* 2.18–20) does not contradict this (see above). Thirdly, it is not apparent why Clearchus should have thought that the vow was implemented if it was not (and we should note the probability that Clearchus' source for the vow was much fuller than Justin (Trogus)).

grounds.[79] Second, there is the unclear evidence of the 'U-shaped stoa'. This cult building in Aphrodite's sanctuary at Centocamere (Locri) features many small chambers which were used for ritual dining and also, in the view of some archaeologists, for religious prostitution.[80] Third, there are the famous Locrian *pinakes* (plaques): these beautiful and important iconographical documents dating from *c.*470s to *c.*400 BC have been interpreted as depicting scenes relating to religious prostitution in the cult of Aphrodite at Locri, but again the interpretation is controversial.[81] We may also mention here the possibility, equally incapable of proof, that religious prostitution may have been practised in Locri prior to the vow of the 470s.[82]

Kinyras

We may now consider Kinyras' role on Cyprus.[83] Regular celebration of Kinyras on Cyprus, in the context of a cult, is implied by *P.* 2.15–16, 'the voices of the Cyprians celebrate Kinyras often (πολλάκις)'. The word πολλάκις and its synonyms are frequently used for the repeated celebration of festivals.[84] Kinyras is said to have been buried in Aphrodite's sanctuary at Paphos (Ptolemy of Megalopolis, *On Philopator* Book 1 = *FGrH* 161 F1).[85] Like other mythical priest-kings, Kinyras seems to have been interred in the vicinity of a deity's temple and to have received cult there.[86] We should therefore recognize Kinyras as a cult hero at Paphos.[87] Kinyras also has a place in epic tradition

[80] Torelli 1976: 147–9, 155; Guarducci 1985: 10; Barra Bagnasco 1994: 231. Differently, Rolley 1976: 213–14; Redfield 2003: 413. A neutral position is held by Costamagna and Sabbione 1990: 213–15.

[81] Prückner 1968: *passim*, esp. 15, 87. Cf. Zuntz 1971: 500; Boardman 1971: 144–5; de Franciscis 1972: 154; Burkert 1983: 63 n. 21; MacLachlan 1992: 161 n. 51. Differently, van Compernolle 1976: 372; Sourvinou-Inwood 1978; Dillon 2002: 222–8; Redfield 2003: 346–85.

[82] Cf. Ashmole in Sourvinou-Inwood 1974*a*: 196 n. 1; Woodbury 1978: 291 n. 18; Graf 1978: 74; Guarducci 1985: 10. Differently, Sourvinou-Inwood 1974*a*: 186; Pembroke in *OCD* 1264.

[83] Brown 1965; Burkert 1979: 194 n. 18; Baurain 1980; Ribichini 1982; Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 325; West 1997: 57.

[84] *pae.* 6.16 θαμινά, *pae.* 2.98 θαμά, *pae.* 12.5–8 θαμά, *N.* 11.6–7 πολλὰ μὲν . . ., | πολλὰ δὲ . . . λύρα δέ . . ., *P.* 3.78 θαμά. Eur. *Hipp.* 1428 ἀεί, *Alc.* 445 πολλά.

[85] Add Euseb. *praepar. evang.* 2.6.6 as a source for the fragment.

[86] Cf. Erechtheus: *Il.* 2.547–51; Phaethon: Hes. *th.* 988–91; Iphigeneia: Eur. *IT* 34, 1464, cf. Hes. fr. 23(a).21–4. See, in general, Pfister 1909–12: 450–9 esp. 452–3. On Kinyras, see Maier 1989.

[87] So Pfister 1909–12: 303; West 1966: 428; Woodbury 1978: 285 n. 3, 286; Richardson 1991: 125. Differently, Ribichini 1982: 483; West 1997: 57 'In reality [Cinyras] is nothing but the mythical eponymous ancestor of the Kinyradai'.

(*Iliad* 11.20).[88] Tacitus mentions a tradition that Aphrodite's temple at Paphos was dedicated by Kinyras (*Histories* 2.3). He also mentions a rival tradition according to which that temple was founded by a 'king Aërias' (*ibid.*; compare *Annals* 3.62). This latter tradition, which Tacitus ascribes to 'ancient memory', *vetus memoria*, does not seem to carry as much weight as the former.[89] Probably those ancient authorities (in Tacitus *Histories* 2.3) are correct who saw in 'Aërias' an epithet of Aphrodite herself.[90] Kinyras was also 'founder', ἀρχηγέτης, of the dynastic priest-kings of Aphrodite at Paphos, the 'Kinyradai'.[91] Like Kinyras, the Kinyradai were buried in Aphrodite's sanctuary (Ptolemy of Megalopolis *FGrH* 161 F1).[92]

Kinyras and religious prostitution

An apparent link between Hieron at Locri and Kinyras on Cyprus is ritual prostitution. Several sources attest religious prostitution on Cyprus; the earliest is Herodotus, who, after describing Babylonian women's custom of performing religious prostitution for the goddess Mylitta, adds: 'in certain parts of Cyprus too there is a custom very similar to this' (1.199.5).[93] A Phoenician inscription of the first half of the fourth century BC from Citium on Cyprus mentions '(sacred) prostitutes' (*CIS* I.86B.9).[94] Several Christian writers speak darkly of Kinyras

[88] Cf. Apollod. *epit.* 3.9; Eustath. on *Il.* 11.20 (perhaps in the *Cypria*: cf. West 2003*a*: 72).

[89] Blinkenberg 1924: 31 'Le nom de Kinyras seul possède quelque réalité . . . Le nom de Aërias est pure fiction et probablement assez tardif.' Differently, Frazer 1927: 1.42. See in general Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 330–3.

[90] Ἀφροδίτη Ἀερία would be equivalent to Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανία. Cf. Ζεὺς Οὐράνιος (LSJ s.v. I.1) and Ζεὺς Ἀέριος (LSJ Supplement (1996) s.v.). This would explain the intrusion of *Uranium* as a gloss on *Aëriam* at Tac. *hist.* 2.3 (see Baurain 1980: 290). Alternatively, Aëria may have been a name for Cyprus: cf. Hsch. s.v. ἀερία / Ἀερία. In that case, Ἀερία would be a geographical epithet comparable to *Κύπρις*. Divine epithets could be detached and regarded as independent figures: see Farnell 1896–1909: ii. 465–6; Burkert 1985*a*: 202–3.

[91] Tac. *hist.* 2.3 *Cinyrades sacerdos*; Σ *P.* 2.27b; Hsch. s.v. *Κινυράδαι*. A number of syllabic inscriptions from Cyprus of iv BC show the formula: *ὁ Πάφω βασιλεὺς ὁ δεῖνα, ὁ ἱερεὺς τᾶς Fανάσ(σ)ας*, '[so-and-so], the king of Paphos, the priest of the Lady': *ICS* 5 (?), 6, 7, 16, 17, 90, 91. See Baurain 1980: 283 n. 26; Maier 1989: 376. The expression *ὁ ἀρχὸς τῶν Κινυραδῶν* occurs on a Hellenistic dedication, and *Κινύραρ[χος]* is also found (Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 346). The fifth–fourth century Cyprian king Euagoras I claimed descent from Kinyras: Paus. 1.3.2.

[92] See Maier 1989: 377.

[93] Later testimonies are: Clearchus fr. 43 Wehrli; Justin 18.5.4; Lactantius *divin. instit.* 1.17.10. See in general Rudhardt 1975: 121–4; MacLachlan 1992: 152–7; Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 344–6.

[94] Masson and Sznycer 1972: 26–8, 64–5.

as the instigator of this practice.[95] Religious prostitution is attested in some Greek cults of Aphrodite and in the cults of various goddesses in the Near East, although its existence is hotly disputed by scholars.[96] We may note that Kinyras' name has an apparently Semitic derivation.[97] He is, moreover, associated especially with Syria.[98] In view of this oriental background, Kinyras could have aptly symbolized the introduction of religious prostitution to Cyprus.[99]

Kinyras and a ram sacrifice

Kinyras, buried in the sanctuary of Paphian Aphrodite, enjoyed cult there as the goddess' first 'priest-king' (*P.* 2.17 ἱερέα . . . Ἀφροδίτας). The meaning of κτίλον in the same verse is, however, unclear.[100] Three alternatives have been suggested. It may be taken as a substantive meaning (1) '(tame) ram (which leads the flock), bellwether'.[101] Or it may be taken as an adjective meaning (2) 'tame, obedient, gentle, dear,

[95] Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5.19, cf. 4.24; Clem. Al. *protr.* 2.13.4; Firm. Mat. *de err.* 10.1. It is possible, too, that the fate which befalls Kinyras' three daughters in the myth told by Apollod. *bibl.* 3.14.3 is a reflex of religious prostitution: see *RE* xi. 485.52–4. See, in general, Frazer 1927: i. 41; Atallah 1966: 120–1, 221–2; Woodbury 1978: 291 n. 18. Some scepticism is expressed about this tradition by Cingano 1995: 372–3; cf. Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 342–4.

[96] Its existence is accepted by Frazer 1927: i. 36–9; *RE* viii. 1333.45–1334.12, 1459.48–1468.37; Atallah 1966: 114–21; Yamauchi 1973; Burkert 1985*a*: 153, 408 n. 9, cf. 108; id. 1983: 63 and n. 21; MacLachlan 1992; Pembroke in *OCD* 1263–4; Kurke 1996; Dillon 2002: 199–202. It is denied by Beard and Henderson 1997 (denied for Corinth by Conzelmann 1967; Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 104–27).

[97] Ribichini 1982: 484–5. However, Kinyras is variously attested as a person's name in Linear B (*ki-nu-ra*): PY Qa 1301, Vn 865.7. See Aura Jorro and Adrados 1985–93: i. 360; Palmer 1963: 428. Cf. Lesky 1966: 29–30.

[98] Kinyras' eastern origins: Hyg. *fab.* 58, 242 (an Assyrian king); Eustath. on *Il.* 11.20 (son of Theias, an Assyrian king); Apollod. *bibl.* 3.14.3 (born in Cilicia); Strab. 16.2.18 755 (his kingdom in Byblus); Lucian *de dea Syr.* 9 (founded temple of Aphrodite at Libanos, near Byblos). Syrian connection: cf. Hdt. 1.105.3 (temple of Aphrodite on Cyprus (Paphos) derived from that at Askalon in Syria). Kinyras as an inventor of copper-mining (Plin. *n.h.* 7.195) may point to a Phoenician background: cf. Moscati 1968: 84, 180–1.

[99] Yamauchi 1973: 219 'There is good reason to believe that Phoenician influence is responsible for the importation of cultic prostitution as part of the Greek worship of Aphrodite by way of Cyprus and by way of Cythera'; cf. Farnell 1896–1909: ii. 635; Burkert 1985*a*: 153.

[100] See Morpurgo 1960; Woodbury 1978: 285 n. 3; Most 1985*a*: 73 n. 14; Dettori 1988–9: 95–8; Malkin 1994: 153–4.

[101] So Blinkenberg 1924: 25; Morpurgo 1960: 30–3; cf. Woodbury 1978: 285–6. For κτίλος as a noun 'ram', cf. *Il.* 3.196–8, 13.491–3; Σ *P.* 2.31c; Hsch. s.v. κτίλος; Σ Nic. *ther.* 452c. Thompson 1932 adduces some interesting comparative material.

beloved'.[102] Or it may be either substantival or adjectival, meaning (3) 'leader'.[103]

On interpretations (2) and (3) the literal sense 'ram' recedes in favour of a metaphorical one. Both (2) and (3) yield a fair sense. However, the meaning 'ram' is appropriate.[104] The ram could apparently be a sacred animal in some cults of Aphrodite.[105] The expression 'priest-ram' might be paralleled by the practice in Greek religion of a priest(ess) or hero(ine) being identified with, and taking their title from, an animal sacred to the deity: we find 'bears' for Artemis and 'bees' for Demeter.[106] *P.* 2.17 *ἱερέα κτίλον Ἀφροδίτας* would thus make good sense as 'priest-ram of Aphrodite'. It would imply a ram sacrifice at Paphos at which the priest (Kinyras and after him the Kinyradai) was identified with the ram, perhaps wearing a ram mask in the cult.[107] There are vague hints of such a practice on Cyprus.

Evidence for the ram as a sacrificial animal on Cyprus is forthcoming in the form of statuettes, votive pottery, masks, and coins.[108] Many coins from Cyprian Salamis of *c.*520–430 BC show a ram or ram's head.[109] Large quantities of sheep bones have been found at Astarte's temple at Citium; a sheep sacrifice is, moreover, attested there in a Phoenician inscription from the end of the ninth century BC.[110] Although bull masks (bucrania) have been found in Cyprian sanctuaries, as well as

[102] So Rumpel 1883 s.v.; Lloyd-Jones 1973: 119 and n. 59; Carey 1981: 29; Kirkwood 1982: 148; Most 1985*a*: 73. For *κτίλος* as an adjective 'tame', 'dear', cf. Hes. fr. 323 (?); Emped. 31 B130.1–2 *VS*; Nic. *ther.* 452 (*κτίλα* = *φίλα*?); Σ *P.* 2.31a, d; Hsch. s.v. *κτίλος*, cf. *κτίλον*; Σ Nic. *ther.* 452c.

[103] So Dettori 1988–9: 97–8; Cingano 1995: 371. For *κτίλος* as 'leader', cf. Hsch. s.v. *κτίλος*. For the appropriateness of the designation 'leader' for Kinyras, cf. *ὁ ἀρχὸς τῶν Κινυραδῶν* and *Κινύραρ[χος]* (Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 346); Hsch. s.v. *ἀγήτωρ· ὁ Ἀφροδίτης θυηλῶν ἡγούμενος ἱερεὺς ἐν Κύπρῳ*.

[104] Lefkowitz 1976: 15, 37 n. 20.

[105] See *RE* xi. A.392.49–51; Robertson Smith 1927: 475–9. Differently, Lloyd-Jones 1973: 119 n. 59. In general on the range of animals offered to Aphrodite, see Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 384–90 (who lists: cow, heifer, kid, goat, pig).

[106] *Pace* Lefkowitz 1976: 37 n. 20. Priestesses of Demeter as *μέλισσαι*: *P.* 4.60, Σ *P.* 4.107a–c; Pind. fr. 158; Call. *h.* 2.110; Apollodorus *FGrH* 244 F89. Priestess of Artemis at Cyrene as *ἄρκος* (i.e. *ἄρκτος*): *LSS* 115 B16; *SEG* IX.13.12. In general, Cook 1914–40: i. 441–4. In many cults of Greece and the Near East identity is implied between cult hero and sacrificial victim: see Burkert 1983: 21 n. 35; id. 1985*a*: 65–6.

[107] Morpurgo 1960: 34, 39–40; *RE* xiv. 2070.60–2071.65 (esp. 2071.48–57). Cf. Dowden 1989: 199 'Cows, bears, and deer imply animal costume'; Burkert 1985*a*: 65, 103, 372 n. 94; Lubsen-Admiraal and Crouwel 1989: 132. On the wearing of a ram's fleece, see Burkert 1983: 113–16, 145 and n. 38; id. 1985*a*: 65 and 372 n. 96.

[108] Robertson Smith 1927: 476–8; Morpurgo 1960: 36–40.

[109] Kraay 1976: nos. 1078–82; *BMC Cyprus* lxxxiv esp. lxxxv n. 1, plates x, xi, xxiii, xxiv.

[110] Karageorghis 1976: 105–6.

terracotta figurines of men wearing bull masks, evidence for the use of ram masks is scantier.[111] However, a sixth-century BC terracotta figurine from the sanctuary of Meniko in central Cyprus shows Baal Hamman with ram's horns, and a ram is likely to have played a role in the cult there.[112] A fuller picture of what we may surmise for Kinyras is attested in Egypt, where the god Ammon was portrayed with a ram's face (Herodotus 2.42.4 *κριοπρόσωπον τοῦ Διὸς τῶγαλμα ποιεῦσι Αἰγύπτιοι*). According to a myth told in Egyptian Thebes, Ammon once flayed a ram and disguised himself with its skull and fleece; in the ritual, a ram was killed, flayed, and the god's statue clothed in the fleece (Herodotus 2.42.4–6).[113] A similar connection of ideas is found on Greek soil. In the aetiological myths of the Spartan Karneia festival, a man called Karnos (or Krios) seems to be the human embodiment of the ram which was sacrificed in the ritual.[114] In this context, an identification in myth of Kinyras with a ram and a ram sacrifice in the cult is not unlikely.

There is no textual evidence for the sacrifice of a ram to Aphrodite on Cyprus earlier than the sixth century AD, when we find the following in John the Lydian's antiquarian treatise *On Months* (4.65):

ἐν δὲ τῇ Κύπρῳ πρόβατον κῳδίῳ ἐσκεπασμέν⟨οι⟩[115] *συνέθυον τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ, ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς ἱερατείας ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Κορίνθου παρῆλθέ ποτε, εἶτα δὲ καὶ σύας ἀγρίους ἔθυον διὰ τὴν κατὰ Ἀδώνιδος ἐπιβουλὴν τῇ πρὸ τεσσάρων Νωνῶν, ἤγουν τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ Ἀπριλίου.*

[111] Bull masks: Karageorghis 1976: 102, 105; id. 1982: 49, 101, 141–3 and Fig. 109; Burkert 1985*a*: 65, 103, 372 n. 94.

[112] Karageorghis 1977: 44–5, cf. 28 no. 20, 33 no. 91, Plates A, VI.

[113] Zeus Ammon with ram's horns on Cyrenean coins: *BMC Cyrenaica* Plates V–XII. For a possible relationship between Baal Hamman and Ammon, see Karageorghis 1977: 44; cf. Moscati 1968: 138; Lubsen-Admiraal and Crouwel 1989: 138. Differently, Lipiński 1986.

[114] Burkert 1985*a*: 235–6.

[115] An emendation of Robertson Smith (1927: 473–4), accepted by Burkert 1983: 115. The manuscripts read *ἐσκεπασμένον*, which would have to mean 'they sacrificed a sheep clothed in its fleece'. This manuscript reading is accepted by Nilsson (1906: 368), and understood to refer to a sheep holocaust. This is difficult, given, first, the availability of the straightforward *πρόβατον αὐτῷ κῳδίῳ συνέθυον* (or perhaps *πρόβατον αὐτοκῴδιον*: cf. Metrodorus *FGrH* 43 F3 *αὐτόδορον*) and, second, the fact that *σκεπάζειν* more naturally describes men wearing an animal's skin (cf. P. Oxy. 1241.iv.17–18 *δοραῖς τὸ σῶ-* | *[μ]α σκεπαζόντων*) than an animal in its natural coat. Other emendations are *προβάτ⟨ου⟩ κῳδίῳ ἐσκεπασμένον σῦν ἔθυον*, 'they sacrificed a pig clothed in the fleece of a sheep' (Wünsch in Blinkenberg 1924: 23 n. 3) and *προβάτ⟨ου⟩ κωδίῳ ἐσκεπασμέν⟨οι⟩ σῦν ἔθυον*, 'clothed in the fleece of a sheep they sacrificed a pig' (Blinkenberg 1924: 23–4). Both of these presuppose an unlikely sequence of ritual: two consecutive pig sacrifices (cf. Nilsson 1906: 368 n. 1); and an implausible verbal antithesis (*σῦν ἔθυον . . . εἶτα δὲ καὶ σύας ἀγρίους ἔθυον*). Despite the textual problems, Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 360 is too pessimistic in calling John the Lydian's testimony 'inutilisable'.

On Cyprus they used to perform, clothed in a fleece, a collective sacrifice of a sheep to Aphrodite—the manner of the priesthood on Cyprus came at some time from Corinth—and then they sacrificed wild pigs to her on account of their attack on Adonis on the day before the four Nones [*sc.* on the fourth day before the Nones], that is, on the second day of April.

Here we have a description of a Cyprian sacrifice of a sheep (sex not specified) to Aphrodite in which the sacrificers wore a fleece. The wearing of fleeces at sacrifice is most closely paralleled (other than in Egyptian Thebes) in Syria and on Crete, which, like Cyprus, was strongly exposed to Near Eastern influence.[116] The ritual belongs in the general category of substitution sacrifice, which is especially associated with the Near East.[117] John the Lydian's text, then, bears out the kind of mask-wearing which we found to be implied by *P.* 2.17 *ἱερέα κτίλον*. The persons who performed the sacrifice described by John the Lydian were probably the Kinyradai, Aphrodite's priests at Paphos.[118] By donning a sheep's fleece at the sacrifice they would have imitated Kinyras, the first 'priest-ram of Aphrodite' (*P.* 2.17).[119]

The festival described by John the Lydian is an Adonis festival.[120] However, an association of Adonis with Cyprus is not attested before the end of the fifth century BC, in the *Adonis* of the Athenian comic poet Plato (3 *PCG*). Kinyras' association with Cyprus, on the other hand, is at least as old as Homer (*Iliad* 11.20). In Plato Comicus' *Adonis*, Adonis' association with Cyprus is an indirect one, mediated through Kinyras ('king of the Cyprians'), who appears as Adonis' father. It has been inferred that Adonis' links with Cyprus were still tentative in the late fifth century.[121] In that case, the forerunner in Archaic times of the festival described by John the Lydian will have had a recipient other than Adonis, and then Kinyras is the obvious candidate.[122] We should note that the Semitic word *'adôn*, which gave rise to 'Adonis' in Greek, was in Semitic a divine title ('lord'), not a god's name; moreover, although Greeks were employing *Ἄδωνις* as a theonym already by the seventh century BC (Sappho 168 *PLF*), the god in question continued to

[116] Syria (Hierapolis): Lucian *de dea Syr.* 55. Crete: Porph. *vit. Pyth.* 17. Compare Eleusis: Burkert 1983: 266–8, 282–3 and nn. 38–41; Cyrene: *LSS* 115 B52 (Burkert 1992*a*: 72).

[117] Burkert 1992*a*: 73–5.

[118] Cf. Hsch. s.v. *Κινυράδαι· ἱερεῖς Ἀφροδίτης.*

[119] For historical priests as 'real-life correlatives' of a mythical first-priest, see Kearns 1989: 25, 33.

[120] Cf. Nilsson 1906: 368, 385.

[121] Atallah 1966: 35; Soyez 1977: 11–12; Baurain 1980: 284–5.

[122] Cf. Rudhardt 1975: 115; Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 364.

be known regionally under diverse names.[123] On Cyprus in the early period the names 'Aos', 'Gauas', 'Pygmaion', and 'Kyris' are attested.[124] It is tempting to regard 'Kinyras' at Paphos in the same way, especially in view of the pervasive links between Kinyras and Adonis.[125]

The ram sacrifice and religious prostitution

Kinyras seems to have had an association with religious prostitution and a ram sacrifice. The possibility of linking these two will now be suggested by comparison with another city; for Phoenician Byblos, which was geographically and culturally close to Cyprus, seems to have had a ritual akin to the Cyprian ritual described by John the Lydian. The Byblian ritual is described in *On the Syrian Goddess*, ascribed to Lucian (6):

εἶδον δὲ καὶ ἐν Βύβλῳ μέγα ἱρὸν Ἀφροδίτης Βυβλίης, ἐν τῷ καὶ τὰ ὄργια ἐς Ἄδωνιν ἐπιτελέουσιν. ἐδάην δὲ καὶ τὰ ὄργια. λέγουσι γὰρ δὴ ὧν τὸ ἔργον τὸ ἐς Ἄδωνιν ὑπὸ τοῦ συὸς ἐν τῇ χώρῃ τῇ σφετέρῃ γενέσθαι καὶ μνήμην τοῦ πάθεος τύπτονταί τε ἑκάστου ἔτεος καὶ θρηνέουσι καὶ τὰ ὄργια ἐπιτελέουσιν καὶ σφίσι μεγάλα πένθεα ἀνὰ τὴν χώρην ἵσταται. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀποτύψωνταί τε καὶ ἀποκλαύσωνται, πρῶτα μὲν καταγίζουσι τῷ Ἀδώνιδι ὅκως ἐόντι νέκυι, μετὰ δὲ τῇ ἑτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ζώειν τέ μιν μυθολογέουσι καὶ ἐς τὸν ἠέρα πέμπουσι. καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ξυρέονται ὅκως Αἰγύπτιοι ἀποθανόντος Ἄπιος. γυναικῶν δὲ ὁκόσαι οὐκ ἐθέλουσι ξυρέεσθαι, τοιήνδε ζημίην ἐκτελέουσιν· ἐν μιῇ ἡμέρῃ ἐπὶ πρήσι τῆς ὥρης ἵστανται. ἡ δὲ ἀγορὴ μούνοισι ξείνοισι παρακέεται καὶ ὁ μισθὸς ἐς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην θυσίη γίγνεται.

I saw also in Byblos a great temple of Aphrodite Byblia, in which they also perform the mysteries for Adonis. I learned the mysteries too. They say that the deed done to Adonis by the boar took place in their land, and in memory of his mishap they beat themselves every year and sing dirges and perform the mysteries; and great ceremonies of mourning take place all over their land. Once they have finished beating themselves and weeping, first they sacrifice to Adonis as if he were dead, and then on the second day they tell the story that he is alive and send him off to the sky. And they shave their heads like the

[123] e.g. 'Abobas' in Perge (Pamphylia): Hsch. s.v. *Ἀβώβας*. See Atallah 1966: 305–6; Burkert 1979: 105–6 and 192 n. 3, 193 n. 15.

[124] Aoos: *FGrH* 758 F7. Gauas: *FGrH* 758 F8. See Atallah 1966: 306; Rudhardt 1975: 119–20; Burkert 1979: 106–7; Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 365.

[125] For Kinyras an 'Adonis figure', see Frazer 1927: i. 31–56 esp. 49; Atallah 1966: 61; MacLachlan 1992: 152–3. Kinyras is the father of Adonis according to (apart from Plat. Com. 3 *PCG*) Apollod. *bibl.* 3.14.3; Σ Lyc. *Alex.* 831; Hyg. *fab.* 248, 251, 271. Both Kinyras and Adonis are associated with Byblos: Strab. 16.2.18 755.

Egyptians at the death of Apis. All those of the women who are unwilling to have their heads shaved pay the following penalty: for one day they stand for the sale of their maidenhood. The transaction is open only to foreigners and the pay becomes an offering to Aphrodite.

On the Syrian Goddess raises various problems; Lucian's authorship of the work has been called into question, but it should be accepted.[126] In keeping with the satirical character of other works of Lucian, *On the Syrian Goddess* is probably to be regarded as a humorous pastiche of Herodotus.[127] However, this is to not denude it of religious-historical value.[128] It is possible that the description of the rite at Byblos reflects authentic, and possibly ancient, details of the Adonis cult.[129]

The Byblian rite as described in *On the Syrian Goddess* shows significant similarities with the Cyprian rite described by John the Lydian. First, both the Phoenician rite and the Cyprian rite are 'Adonis' festivals. Second, the aetiological myth of each is Adonis' wounding by the boar. Third, both involve sacrifices on two consecutive days, the evening before and the morning after. Fourth, the sheep sacrifice on Cyprus is a preliminary rite which 'probably repeats the death of the Great Goddess's "lord" and lover', and in the preliminary sacrifice at Byblos, worshippers relive the death of Adonis and sacrifice to him 'as if he were dead' (*ὅκως ἐόντι νέκυι*).[130] Thus far the explicit parallels. The Byblian rite furthermore includes prostitution, which lasts for one day and is confined to strangers.[131] Religious prostitution is also attested on Cyprus: according to Justin (Trogus), it occurred 'on appointed days' (18.5.4 *statutis diebus*), that is, at a festival.[132] The Aphrodite festival

[126] Lightfoot 2003: 184–208; cf. Oden 1977: 7–14, 41–3, 46.

[127] Lightfoot 2003: 196–9; cf. Oden 1977: 16–24; also Bompaire 1958: 648–9; Robinson 1979: 22.

[128] See Lightfoot 2003: 209–21; cf. Oden 1977: esp. 43–6 (43 'satire as satire must be firmly based on fact to be effective'), cf. 6–7.

[129] So, cautiously, Lightfoot 2003: 325; rather less cautiously, Seyrig 1972: 97–100 esp. 99 'un rite d'origine initiatique, que ces femmes accomplissaient au cours de la fête une fois dans leur vie'; Soyez 1977: 35–41 esp. 40–1; Torelli 1997: 245–6, 268.

[130] The characterization of the Cyprian rite is that of Burkert 1983: 115.

[131] Performing religious prostitution is here presented as an alternative for women to shaving the head. On the symbolic equivalence of hair offerings to religious prostitution, see Frazer 1927: i. 38; Rudhardt 1975: 123; cf. Dowden 1989: 3 (on Paus. 1.43.4). The personnel of Astarte's temple at Citium on Cyprus included both sacred barbers and sacred prostitutes (*CIS* I.86 A.12, B9; Masson and Sznycer 1972: 26–8, 50–1, 64–5).

[132] Justin's statement is rejected by Nilsson 1906: 365, 'an einem bestimmten Tag war der Gebrauch . . . nicht gebunden, weder [in Babylon], noch in Armenien, noch in Lydien, und so wird es auch auf Kypros gewesen sein.' But at Byblos religious prostitution *did* occur at a festival: Lucian *de dea Syr.* 6 (cf. Nilsson 1906: 367 n. 3).

on the first and second of April, described by John the Lydian, may reasonably be reckoned among these 'appointed days'.[133] In that case, religious prostitution will have taken place in Cyprus in the context of a festival featuring a sheep sacrifice to Adonis-Kinyras. This reconstruction of the Cyprian ritual is speculative, but it makes good sense of the implications of *P.* 2.15–17. Those Pindaric verses seem to presuppose: a festival celebrating Kinyras (verses 15–16, especially 15 *πολλάκις*), a ram sacrifice (17 *κτίλον*), and religious prostitution (verses 15–20: Cyprus paired with Locri in 478–476 BC).

Kinyras and Hieron reconsidered

It is possible that several points of similarity underlie the comparison between Kinyras and Hieron at *P.* 2.15–20.[134] Both were exceptionally wealthy.[135] Both were loved by the gods.[136] Both were priests.[137] However, the main point of the collocation of Cyprus and Locri is doubtless their shared practice of religious prostitution.[138] In a similar vein, a century and a half after Pindar, Clearchus of Soli, himself a Cyprian, mentioned Locri and Cyprus in one breath for this reason (fr. 43b Wehrli: see above). It is possible that there were specific cultural links between Locri and Cyprus in addition to their shared practice of religious prostitution.[139] It is also notable that Aphrodite at Locri and on Cyprus seems to have had Near Eastern traits.[140]

[133] It is tempting to identify the Cyprian festival described by John the Lydian with a *panegyris* at Paphos described by Strabo (14.6.3 683 *πανηγυρίζουσι . . . κατ' ἔτος ἐπὶ τὴν Παλαίπαφον ἄνδρες ὁμοῦ γυναιξὶν συνιόντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων*: compare Lydus *de mens.* 4.65 *συνέθυον*). Rudhardt 1975: 114 and Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 342 suggest that this *panegyris* provided the occasion for the celebration of the mysteries reputedly founded by Kinyras (Clem. Al. *protr.* 2.13.4, etc.). It is natural to think that religious prostitution was part of the same occasion. This will not preclude its also being practised elsewhere on Cyprus (cf. Hdt. 1.199.5 *ἐνιαχῇ δὲ . . . τῆς Κύπρου*, 'in certain parts of Cyprus'). Contrast Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 345.

[134] See Σ *P.* 2.27b, c; Cingano 1995: 370.

[135] Kinyras' wealth was proverbial: cf. *N.* 8.18; Tyrt. 12.6 *IEG*; Plat. *leg.* 660e5–6; Suda s.v. *Σαρδανάπαλος* (IV. 326.21–5 Adler). For Hieron's wealth, cf. *P.* 2.58–61, *O.* 1.10; Bacch. 3.13–19.

[136] Kinyras: *P.* 2.16–17. Hieron: Bacch. 4.1–3, *O.* 1.106.

[137] Cf. Bell 1984: 6–7.

[138] So Lefkowitz 1976: 38 n. 21; Woodbury 1978: 291 n. 18; Guarducci 1985: 11–12; Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: p. xlvi; Cingano 1995: 370, 372–3.

[139] Guarducci 1985: 12; Barra Bagnasco 1990: 53 n. 29.

[140] Near-Eastern influence on religious prostitution at Locri is rejected by Pembroke in *OCD* 1264. However, the votive inscription [*τᾶ*]*ς Ϙυβάλας* of VII–VI BC from the 'U-shaped

The 'songs of the Cyprians' in which Kinyras was celebrated (*P.* 2.15–16) probably allude to an Aphrodite festival at Paphos (of the Adonia-type) involving religious prostitution. The Byblian Adonis festival at which women were obliged either to shave their head or to perform religious prostitution probably also included cult songs commemorating Adonis.[141] The songs of the 'Locrian maiden' (*P.* 2.18–19) may have been performed in a similar context, a Locrian Aphrodite festival involving religious prostitution.[142] Women's songs, and unusual sexual licence, were a regular component of Adonia.[143]

Pindar's collocation of Cyprus and Locri may thus have drawn on real similarities in cult practice in the two places. However, there is a salient difference. In the songs of the Locrian maidens the historical, still-living Hieron was celebrated, not a hero of myth like Kinyras. The encomiastic function of the comparison in *Pythian* 2 is clear: it serves to elevate Hieron to a heroic status.[144] The 'obvious differences' which have struck scholars are in fact the essence of the comparison.[145] The point seems to be that the similarities between Hieron and Kinyras, both in their achievements and their honours, are such as to efface the gap between them as, respectively, contemporary historical and remote mythical personages. Hieron's saving of Locri has a heroic dimension no less than Kinyras' *φίλα ἔργα* for the Cyprians; the

stoa' suggests that the Locrian Aphrodite had Eastern traits at an early date; so Guarducci 1970; Torelli 1976: 148, 150; Vermaseren 1977: 23; Santi Amantini 1984: 44; de la Genière 1985 (suggesting that she was imported via Sparta); Roller 1999: 123. (On the identification of Kybele with Aphrodite, cf. Charon *FGrH* 262 F5 *τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν καὶ Λυδῶν Κυβήβην λέγεσθαι*. Burkert 1985*a*: 154, 409 n. 25, 178.)

[141] Cf. Lucian *de dea Syr.* 6: 'they sing dirges (*θρηνέουσι*) . . . they tell the myth that . . . (*μυθολογέουσι*)'.

[142] There may have been a cult of Adonis at Locri: Barra Bagnasco 1994; Torelli 1997: 278. For the controversial presence of Adonis on Locrian *pinakes*, cf. (sceptically) Prückner 1968: 31–4; Price 1999: 27 Fig. 2.8; Dillon 2002: 234.

[143] Women's songs at Adonia: Lesbos, *c.*600 BC (Sapph. 140 *PLF*); Alexandria, iii BC (Theocr. 15.135, 98, 100–44; cf. Bion 1; Praxilla 747 *PMG*; cf. Atallah 1966: 105–35); Athens, v BC, and later (Ar. *Lys.* 387–98 esp. 392–3, 398; Men. *Sam.* 46; Plut. *Alc.* 18.5; cf. Atallah 1966: 98–104). Athenian Adonia were not public festivals (cf. Σ Ar. *Lys.* 1, 389), and had no place for shaving of heads or religious prostitution, as at Lucian *de dea Syr.* 6 (cf. Versnell 1990: 104–5). Nevertheless, they are portrayed as a time of sexual licence (especially in comedy: Ar. *Lys.* 387; Men. *Sam.* 41–2). The sexual aspect is emphasized by Detienne 1994: 64–6; cf. Vernant 1980*c*: 140–1, 146. However, it is played down by Will 1975: 96–7 and 97 n. 2; Versnel 1990: 103 n. 26, 104 and n. 30; Winkler 1990: 199–200. We must also bear in mind that female sexual licence at night-time festivals was a (comic) topos: Blume 1974: 16 n. 31.

[144] Cf. Bell 1984: 6 'The mythic Kinyras and the present Hieron are juxtaposed to one another, as if to suggest that Hieron too may aspire to the condition of timelessness characteristic of the heroes of myth.'

[145] Oates 1963: 378.

celebration, moreover, of Hieron by the Locrian maidens evinces a religious attitude no less than the Cyprians' celebration of Kinyras.[146] The religious character of the Locrian maidens' celebration of Hieron is indicated by the use of the verb *ἀπύει* (19). It is important to allow this verb its full religious significance.[147] In the present tense the verb implies a habitual action, parallel to *κελαδέοντι* used of the Cyprians' celebration of Kinyras (which is further qualified by the adverb *πολλάκις*, 'often', 15). There is no mention here of sacrifices or an actual cult for Hieron. Nevertheless, Hieron's being repeatedly celebrated in songs of a religious character (every time the Locrians celebrated Aphrodite's festival?) invites comparison with other individuals who in the Classical and early Hellenistic periods were honoured with religious songs in the context of their cult: Lysandros received paeans on Samos, and Demetrios Poliorketes the 'ithyphallic' song at Athens (Plutarch, *Lysandros* 18.4; Duris *FGrH* 76 F13).[148] Finally, it is instructive to notice here again how the treatment of a living person (displaying a religious character stopping short of cult) is paired with the cult offered to a dead hero. Earlier, we considered how the exceptional treatment a person received in his lifetime might be seen as a partial anticipation of a hero cult which he received on his death (Chapter 9). The pairing of Hieron and Kinyras seems designed to show the treatment of the living Hieron at Locri as a partial anticipation of heroic honours.

Hieron as saviour of the Locrians

On the reconstruction offered here, *P.* 2.18–20 alludes to the regular celebration, in his own lifetime, of Hieron as saviour of Locri in songs performed by choruses of Locrian girls at a festival. To save a city in antiquity was as much a heroic feat as to found one; the cult

[146] Cf. Christ 1896: 129.

[147] Cf. Σ *P.* 2.36b, c; Carey 1981: 31 'the worshipful gratitude of the Locrian girls to their saviour', 62 'Hieron . . . whom the Locrian virgin praises almost as a god'; Most 1985*a*: 74. Differently, Woodbury 1978: 294–6; Taeger 1957: 83 'Wenn . . . der Scholiast Pindars *ἀπύει* . . . mit Ausdrücken der Kultsprache interpretiert, hat er die Intentionen des Dichters und des Herrschers sicherlich mißverstanden', cf. 89. Note that Taeger's position results from his twin assumptions that, first, the tyrants of the Archaic and early Classical periods, such as Hieron, did not receive attentions of a religious character in their lifetime (83–4), and, second, that Pindar permitted no blurring of the boundaries between man and god (89). Both these assumptions are challenged in this book.

[148] Cf. too *Od.* 22.348–9, with the comment of Taeger 1957: 61 '[Phemios] will [Odysseus] so etwas wie Kultlieder singen.' In general, cf. Pfister 1909–12: 555–7, 585–7.

of the saviour (σωτήρ) in the fifth and fourth centuries BC was closely modelled on that of founders.[149] Hieron's saving of Locri might thus rank as a heroic feat as much as his founding of Aitna, for which he received posthumous cult (Diodorus 11.49.2, 11.66.4). Hieron was a saviour of other cities of Magna Graecia too: of Cumae in 474 BC and of the Sybarites against Croton in 476 BC.[150]

The cult of the (living) saviour is often held to have become formalized only in the fourth–third centuries BC.[151] Yet the treatment of Hieron as saviour in his lifetime at Locri as presupposed by *P.* 2.18–20 seems to anticipate the later cult of the saviour in interesting respects. First, Hieron as a powerful ruler and an outsider to Locri is ascribed sole responsibility for Locri's survival (20 διὰ τεὰν δύναμιν δρακεῖσ' ἀσφαλές, 'wearing a look of safety on account of your power'). His situation thus parallels closely that of the saviours of the fourth–third centuries when, typically, 'a foreigner who stands himself outside the civic community intervenes to rescue or to help the city, and makes it the object of his personal protection'.[152] In displaying the 'power' (20 **δύναμιν**) to rescue men from a 'desperate plight of war' (19 πολεμίων καμάτων ἐξ **ἀμαχάνων**), Hieron demonstrated a quality conventionally ascribed to deity: we may compare the language used of Herakles in *Nemean* 7, 'you have the power often to give men a defence against impossible states of desperation (96–7 **δύνασαι** δὲ βροτοῖσιν ἀλκάν | **ἀμαχανιᾶν** δυσβάτων θαμὰ διδόμεν).

The second respect in which *Pythian* 2 anticipates the later cult of saviours is terminological: it employs language which is later standard in the cult of saviours: χάρις, 'gratitude' (17), and εὐεργέταν, 'benefactor' (24).[153] Strictly speaking, the former applies to Kinyras, the latter to Ixion, but in fact both are applicable to Hieron.[154] The Hellenistic cult of the living saviour was regularly conceived as an act of 'gratitude'

[149] Cf. Brasidas: Thuc. 5.11.1; Euphron: Xen. *Hell.* 7.3.12; Aratos: Plut. *Arat.* 53.3. See Habicht 1970: 169 and n. 14; Hornblower 1983: 179. See in general Habicht 1970: 165–71 esp. 165.

[150] Cumae: Σ *P.* 1.137c τοὺς . . . Κυμαίους διέσωσε; cf. Diod. 11.51.1–2. Sybaris: Σ *O.* 2.29b, d; Diod. 11.48.4. (On the continued existence of the Sybarite state in the period 510–453 BC, after its destruction by Croton, see Dunbabin 1948*a*: 365–6.)

[151] *RE* iiiA.1213.36–1214.37; Nock 1972: ii. 720–35; Versnel 1970: 385–6 and 385 nn. 2–3; Habicht 1970: 165; Hornblower 1983: 179–80; id. 1996: 455–6.

[152] Habicht 1970: 168 (translated from the German).

[153] χάρις and εὐεργεσία already conjoined: Hes. *th.* 503; West 1966: 304.

[154] Cf. Σ *P.* 2.33d τοῦτο δὲ εἶπε διὰ τὸ τοὺς Λοκροὺς χάριν ὁμολογεῖν τῷ Ἱέρωνι, προευεργετήσαντι αὐτούς, '[Pindar] said this [*P.* 2.17] because the Locrians were grateful to Hieron, who had done them a good service first.'

(χάρις) to a community's 'benefactor' (εὐεργέτης).[155] But the connection between 'benefaction' and cult predates the Hellenistic period. According to Demosthenes, addressing an Athenian jury in 343 BC, it is in recognition of Harmodios and Aristogeiton's 'benefactions' (διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας) that they receive cult on a par with the gods and heroes (*On the False Embassy* [19] 280). Aristotle in the first book of the *Rhetoric* states that the proper reward for 'benefactors' (οἱ εὐεργετηκότες) is τιμή, 'honour', which he explicitly understands to encompass 'cult' (1361ª28–37: note θυσίαι, 'sacrifices'). The designation of Theron in Pindar's second *Olympian* as 'benefactor' (94 εὐεργέταν) is especially interesting, given that Theron went on to receive posthumous hero cult (Diodorus 11.53.2).[156] The language used of Theron elsewhere in that ode suggests a saviour figure: it is reminiscent of the language used of the Homeric hero, who is frequently cast as saviour of the city.[157] A semi-technical use of εὐεργέτης can be detected in historical contexts in the first half of the fifth century BC.[158] It is interesting if Pindar's odes give us glimpses of such a use.[159]

P. 2.18–20 offers an intriguing sidelight on a possible treatment of saviours in the 470s.[160] The picture it presents both supplements and is supplemented by two other texts. First, there is Pindar's own presentation of Theron in *Olympian* 2, which has just been mentioned. Second, there is the assertion of Diodorus that Gelon at Syracuse was acclaimed by the Syracusans in his lifetime in 479 BC as 'benefactor and saviour and king' (11.26.6 εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ βασιλέα: see above, Chapter 9). Diodorus has been suspected of anachronism here.

[155] Habicht 1970: 163–5, 202. Cf. *OGIS* 6.18–20 ὅπως δ' ἂν Ἀντίγονος τιμηθῆι καταξίως τῶμ πεπραγμέ[νων καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνηται χάριν. *SIG* 372.21–3 ὅπως ἂν ἀξίας | [χά]ριτας ἀποδιδῶι ἡ πόλις τοῖς | [εὐ]εργέταις. Diod. 20.100.3 χάριτος. For the conjunction of the titles εὐεργέτης and σωτήρ, see Habicht 1970: 156 nn. 76–7. In the Roman Imperial cult: *IGRR* iii. 721.

[156] Willcock 1995: 165 'That Theron was popularly seen as a εὐεργέτης is shown by the heroic honours accorded to him after his death'; cf. Hampe 1952: 46–51, esp. 51.

[157] *O.* 2.6 ἔρεισμ' Ἀκράγαντος (cf., of the Homeric hero, *Il.* 3.229 ἔρκος Ἀχαιῶν, 16.549 ἔρμα πόληος, etc.; cf. Σ *O.* 2.12a). *O.* 2.7 ὀρθόπολιν (Σ *O.* 2.14b ἐρυσίπολιν καὶ σωζόπολιν). Cf. Xenokrates (another Emmenid): *I.*2.17 Ἀκραγαντίνων φάος (cf. *Il.* 18.102). Contrast *RE* iiiA.1211.61–5.

[158] Hdt. 8.136.1, 8.140.β.1, 8.143.3 (referring to 480 BC); *IG* I³.18.1–2 (*c.*450 BC). For other public uses of 'benefactor' (εὐεργέτης) in the Classical period, cf. 'Sim.' 40c.1–2 *FGE*; Andoc. 1.60; Xen. *Hell.* 7.3.12; Dem. 23.196; *GHI* 85.20–1, 28; 89.35, 39.

[159] On εὐεργέτης in Pindar, cf. Hampe 1952: 50. Differently, Cingano 1995: 374. In general, cf. Bundy 1962: 85–91.

[160] Differently, Taeger 1957: 67 n. 11, 83, 89, 97 and nn. 72, 74, 107, 120, etc. Taeger's line of argumentation is countered by Habicht 1970: 243–5. Cf. Hornblower 1983: 179.

But if *Pythian* 2 alludes to an extraordinary treatment of Hieron in his lifetime as saviour in Magna Graecia within a couple of years of Gelon, then the testimony of the first-century historian finds suggestive confirmation in that of the fifth-century poet, pertaining to another Deinomenid. It is striking that Gelon, Hieron, and Theron form a cohesive group: all were Sicilian rulers in the early fifth century and all received a posthumous hero cult.[161]

The fifth century presents other evidence that a religious attitude was already possible towards saviours. Aeschylus' *Suppliants* shows that a (divine) cult of a living σωτήρ was thinkable in the 460s or 470s BC: Danaos says to his daughters, 'children, we must pray and sacrifice to the Argives, and pour them libations as Olympian gods, as they are our saviours in no uncertain way' (980–2: already cited in Chapter 9).[162] Athenian drama later sometimes reflects the treatment of the saviour.[163] In Aristophanes' *Knights* of 424 BC, the Sausage Seller is hailed as σωτὴρ τῇ πόλει καὶ νῷν φανείς, 'appearing as a saviour to the city and to us' (149).[164] Aristophanes' language here may be hitting off tragedy (paratragedy), but it could just as well be the attitudes of real life that are being caricatured.[165] According to Andokides, the Athenians in 415 BC briefly lavished semi-religious attention on Diokleides, false informant on the mutilation of the herms, 'regarding him as the saviour of the city' (*On the Mysteries* [1] 45 ὡς σωτῆρα ὄντα τῆς πόλεως).[166] Andokides adds that Diokleides 'seemed to be the greatest benefactor' (60 μέγιστος εὐεργέτης ἐδόκει εἶναι). A key moment in the history of the saviour cult is the *posthumous* hero cult received by Brasidas as 'saviour' at Amphipolis in 422 BC (Thucydides 5.11.1: 'deeming that Brasidas had been their saviour'). It seems that the ideology of the cult of the saviour was not born of the unique circumstances of the fourth–third centuries BC; it is detectable already in the early Classical period, and seems in fact to be clearly evidenced by the Homeric poems.[167]

[161] Malkin 1987: 237–9; cf. Pfister 1909–12: 587. Compare and contrast Sanders 1991: 279–80.

[162] The date of Aesch. *suppl.* has recently again become controversial: see Scullion 2002 (arguing again for a date in the 470s rather than the 460s). Habicht 1970: 235–6 n. 46 emphasizes that this 'saviour cult' is performed by the Danaids as individuals, not a city. Nock 1972: ii. 721 emphasizes that the Argives honoured are a community, not an individual. It probably does not matter here that the Danaids are non-Greeks (*suppl.* 234–7; but cf. 274–5 for their Argive pedigree).

[163] e.g. Soph. *OT* 47–51, 303–4; Ar. *av.* 545. See Kleinknecht 1937; cf. Dunbar 1995: 371.

[164] Cf. *eq.* 458, 836, 1319, 1338.

[165] An instance of paratragedy: cf. Dunbar 1995: 371.

[166] On the honours given Diokleides and their significance, see above, Ch. 8.

[167] *Il.* 9.603, cf. 302–3; *Od.* 8.467–8; cf. *Il.* 11.761. Cf. Charlesworth 1935: 8–9.

Divine and human saviours

It seems that in fulfilment of the Locrian vow the cult of Aphrodite at Locri was reorganized in the 470s BC.[168] Part of this reorganization was the enlargement of Aphrodite's sanctuary and the prostitution of Locrian girls at Aphrodite's festival. This festival doubtless served thereafter to commemorate Locri's deliverance from Rhegium, taking on the character of a *σωτήρια*, 'festival of deliverance'.[169] We may compare the revitalized cult of the Dioskouroi after the battle of the Sagra (Strabo 6.1.10 261). Aphrodite, to whom the Locrians had turned in desperation, was probably judged to have given efficacious help and regarded as *σώτειρα*, 'saviour'.[170] The Locrians' celebration of Hieron as *σωτήρ* would quite naturally have been integrated into the goddess' festival. The archaeological record raises some further interesting possibilities: it has been conjectured that Hieron was himself involved in the construction of the Ionic temple in the region of Marasà in Locri, a temple which is often assumed to have been Aphrodite's (see above, and Figure 2c on p. 273).[171] Hieron's involvement is suggested, first, by the possible use of limestone imported from Syracuse in the construction of that temple and, second, by the possible input of Syracusan architects and craftsmen into the project.[172] If it could be known that the temple was Aphrodite's and that it was built on Hieron's initiative, we would have here valuable evidence of Hieron's desire to commemorate his role as Locri's saviour and to cultivate his association with Aphrodite. On one interpretation, the Ionic temple was built, under the auspices of Hieron, in compensation for the prostitution vow which was *not* carried out.[173] According, however, to the argument advanced in this chapter, Justin (Trogus) 21.3.3 *quo voto intermisso* and *P.* 2.18–20 presuppose that the vow was indeed carried out (see above).

[168] For vows leading to changes in state religion, cf. Burkert 1985*a*: 264; id. 1987*a*: 14.

[169] So MacLachlan 1992: 161. For *σωτήρια*, cf. Hdt. 7.192.2. *RE* iiiA.1221.41–1231.16; Habicht 1970: 231–2; Pritchett 1971–91: iii. 192–6. Cf. Parker 1996: 186 'A conditional vow made before a battle was, of course, in one sense a way of seeking a practical good from the gods; but psychologically such "thank-offering" cults (whether pledged in advance or not) were also, above all, celebrations of the great event.'

[170] For gods as *σωτῆρες*, cf. Habicht 1970: 231–2.

[171] See Gullini 1980: 105–6; van Compernolle 1992: 72; Torelli 1997: 278.

[172] The use of Syracusan limestone for this temple is hypothesized (without scientific confirmation) by Gullini 1980: 82; cf. Costamagna and Sabbione 1990: 195. Syracusan craftsmen: Costamagna and Sabbione 1990: 209.

[173] Gullini 1980: 106; Torelli 1997: 278.

In this case, Hieron's (hypothetical) involvement in the Ionic temple at Marasà will be, rather, a sign of Hieron's desire to provide a lavish new setting in which the new festival of Aphrodite could take place. That festival (on this argument) will have been the occasion on which Locrian girls were invested as religious prostitutes and sang choral songs in praise of Hieron.

This proposed integration of Hieron into a festival of Aphrodite would have parallels in the Classical period. We may recall the celebration of Lysandros at the Heraia ('Lysandreia') and of Demetrios at the Dionysia ('Demetria') (see above, Chapters 8 and 9). The closest parallels, however, for the conjunction of human and divine saviours come from the third and second centuries BC.[174] In 213 BC Aratos received cult at Sicyon in conjunction with Zeus Soter (Plutarch, *Aratus* 53.5–6).[175] In 183 BC Philopoimen received cult at Megalopolis at the σωτήρια festival of Zeus Soter (*SIG* 624).[176] The proposed conjunction of Hieron and Aphrodite as joint σωτῆρες of Locri would be a forerunner of these. A particularly suggestive parallel comes from Rhodes at the end of the fourth century BC: in 304 BC Ptolemaios I 'Soter' intervened to save the Rhodians from Demetrios Poliorketes and obtained cult from them as 'saviour' (σωτήρ). Athena Lindia was nevertheless ascribed a role in the city's deliverance: it was a dream apparition of 'Athana Lindia' that led to the summoning of Ptolemaios.[177] There was scope, then, for the Locrians to feel gratitude to Aphrodite, even though it was Hieron's intervention that had saved them. For his part Hieron would very probably have embraced the association with the goddess. In the Classical period, generals could ascribe their achievements to a cooperation between the human and the divine. When Brasidas sacked Lekythos in 424/3 BC, he dedicated to Athena the thirty minas he had promised to the first person to scale the wall, 'deeming that the capture had come about in a way other than human', and consecrated the entire site of the sacked city to the goddess (Thucydides 4.116.2). There is Homeric precedent for a community offering thanks jointly to divine and human saviours: after Nestor had helped the Pylians to defeat the Epeans, 'all prayed to Zeus among gods and to Nestor among men'

[174] See *RE* iiiA.1222.39–41. [175] *RE* iiiA.1228.65–1229.23. [176] *RE* iiiA.1229.24–42.

[177] Ptolemaios' cult: Diod. 20.100.3–4; Paus. 1.8.9. Dream apparition of Athana Lindia: Blinkenberg 1941: no. 2 D95–115 (i BC). Cf. Habicht 1970: 233–4. For similar dream apparitions in V BC, cf. Themistokles and Artemis Aristoboule (Plut. *Them.* 22.1–2, *de Her. mal.* 37 869c–d); Arimnestos and Zeus Soter (Plut. *Aristid.* 11.5–8; Garland 1992: 73–5). Cf. Kearns 1990: 325–6, 329–30.

(*Iliad* 11.761 *πάντες δ' εὐχετόωντο θεῶν Διὶ Νέστορί τ' ἀνδρῶν*). It is certainly possible that Hieron's role in saving Locri was reconciled with a belief in the collaboration of Aphrodite. The newly (re)organized festival of Aphrodite and her newly constructed temple would (on this interpretation) be a lasting reflection of that partnership.

The presentation of Hieron in *Pythian* 2

It has been argued that *P.* 2.18–20 alludes to an exceptional treatment which Hieron actually enjoyed at Locri in his lifetime, being celebrated in girls' choruses at a festival of Aphrodite. It was argued further that the purpose of the comparison of Hieron to Kinyras in verses 15–20 is to reveal Hieron as the living counterpart of a (cult) hero. The comparison between Hieron and Kinyras is not simply rhetorical, but draws on real parallels in the honours paid to Kinyras and Hieron, and on real affinities between rites performed at Locri and on Cyprus. The discussion so far has dwelt exclusively on the verses 15–20 and their historical and religious context. Before concluding our discussion of *Pythian* 2, a very brief attempt will be made to integrate the interpretation given of these verses into an interpretation of the ode as a whole. The final triad, however, which throws up intractable problems of its own, will be left out of the discussion.[178]

In the verses immediately preceding the comparison of Kinyras and Hieron, an unusually close relationship is suggested between Hieron and the gods Artemis, Hermes, and Poseidon: 'the virgin who showers arrows [*sc.* Artemis] and Hermes overseer of the games with both their hands place the shining apparel on [Hieron's foals] whenever [he yokes his chariot], calling upon the trident-shaker [*sc.* Poseidon], god of vast strength' (7–12).[179] Hieron is here ascribed a closeness to the gods which is largely confined to mythical heroes.[180] This passage thus prepares the way for the heroic status imputed to Hieron through his comparison with Kinyras (15–20), the latter also a favourite of the gods (16–17).

[178] The problems of this triad are addressed by Most 1985*a*: 101–21; Woodbury 1991*c*; Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: 51–4; Brillante 2000.

[179] Carey 1981: 26, 62; Most 1985*a*: 71; Bell 1984: 4.

[180] Cf. *Il.* 5.840, 23.388–400; *Od.* 13.287–310. Mythical heroes and the gods in Pindar: *O.* 1.86b–87, *O.* 13.65–6, *O.* 13.85, *P.* 10.45. In general in Pindar: Thummer 1957: 65–90 ('Gottesnähe').

The comparison of Hieron and Kinyras is immediately followed by the mythical example of Ixion (21–48). The ostensible relevance of these verses to the preceding ones is given in the injunction to 'repay one's benefactor with noble returns' (24). This injunction is explicitly upheld in the Cyprians' treatment of Kinyras (17) and is implicitly upheld in the Locrians' treatment of Hieron (18–20). In Pindar, however, a mythical example may have various points of relevance to the narrative besides the point that most explicitly serves to motivate the myth.[181] (Similarly in Homer, 'besides the primary point of comparison between narrative and simile other parallels might be developed in the course of the simile-description and add to the effect'.[182]) In *Pythian* 2, although the example of Ixion is explicitly offered by way of illustrating the principle 'repay your benefactor', the theme which really dominates verses 21–52 is the limitations of mortality.[183] Social intercourse with the gods, such as Ixion enjoyed (25–6), and sexual intercourse with a goddess, such as Ixion hazarded with Hera (27–8), are motifs typically associated with the attempt to transcend the mortal condition.[184] While Kinyras provides a parallel and positive example for immortality in hero cult for Hieron, Ixion provides a warning and a negative example. Similarly in *Olympian* 1 the positive example for Hieron consists in Pelops' hero cult (90–5), while Tantalos' irreligious and doomed attempt at immortality (54–66) provides a negative example.[185] The negative example of Ixion and the *gnomai* which insist on human limitations and on the supremacy of the divine (33, 49–52) should not be understood as precluding *all* forms of 'immortality' for Hieron (hero cult, for instance). Here, as elsewhere, the *gnomai* and the cautionary example set the parameters within which an exploration of the laudandus' legitimate eschatological ambitions is to take place (cf. above, Chapter 6).

[181] Cf. Miller 1993–4: 23–30, esp. 23–4.

[182] Edwards 1991: 30.

[183] Cf. Carey 1981: 37; Most 1985*a*: 82.

[184] For humans enjoying table-fellowship with the gods, cf. *O.* 1.37–9; *Od.* 7.203; Hes. fr. 204.102–4; Emped. 31 B146.4–5 *VS*. Note that the original separation of gods and men was accompanied by the institution of sacrifice, with different shares for each: Hes. *th.* 535–57. Union with a goddess features either as a reward for an exemplary mortal (Herakles–Hebe, Menelaos–Helene, Kadmos–Harmonia, Peleus–Thetis), or else it has a cautionary purpose (Alcm. 1.16–18 *PMG*; *P.* 4.90–2). The themes of table-fellowship with the gods and union with a goddess are sometimes combined: *P.* 3.88–96 (Kadmos, Peleus), *N.* 1.71–2 (Herakles).

[185] For Pelops as positive example, see Gerber 1982: p. xv. For Tantalus as negative example, see Burton 1962: 116–17; Young 1971*a*: 37–8.

The *gnome* in verses 51–2, '[the god] curbs a mortal who has lofty thoughts, but to others he has given ageless glory (*κῦδος ἀγήραον*)', looks back to verses 15–20 where Kinyras and Hieron enjoy a lasting renown, thanks to the songs of respectively the Cyprians and the Locrian maiden.[186] It has been recognized that *κῦδος* in verse 52 'includes posthumous renown'.[187] We should recognize that an inclusive conception of immortality, consisting of both renown and cult (see above, p. 72), is in play here. Kinyras receives both cult and renown: it is his hero cult that provides the occasion for the 'songs of the Cyprians'.[188] The comparison between Kinyras and Hieron is again recalled in verses 62–3:

> **εὐα***νθέα δ' ἀναβάσομαι στόλον ἀμφ'* **ἀρετᾷ**
> **κελαδέων** . . .

I shall embark on an expedition well decked with flowers as I celebrate your excellence.

These verses contain (tautometric) responsions with verses 14–15, which introduce the section on Kinyras:

> **εὐα***χέα βασιλεῦσιν ὕμνον ἄποιν'* **ἀρετᾶς.**
> **κελαδέον***τι* . . .

a well-resounding song for kings as a reward for excellence. They celebrate . . .

These verbal echoes re-establish, now indirectly, a relationship between Hieron and Kinyras (the first being established directly through the balancing clauses, . . . *μὲν* . . . and . . . *δὲ* . . . in 15–20).[189] Now, in verses 58–61, it is claimed that 'if someone says that anyone else in Greece of those of old was superior [to you] in point of wealth or honour, he is wrestling in vain with an idle mind' (*εἰ δέ τις ἤδη κτεάτεσσί τε καὶ περὶ τιμᾷ λέγει | ἕτερόν τιν' ἀν' Ἑλλάδα τῶν πάροιθε γενέσθαι ὑπέρτερον, | χαύνᾳ πραπίδι παλαιμονεῖ κενεά*). Instead of the earlier, named, comparison with Kinyras (15–20), we have here an anonymous comparison with *ἕτερόν τιν' ἀν' Ἑλλάδα τῶν πάροιθε*: Hieron is not inferior to 'anyone else in Greece of those of old' (60). This designation undoubtedly extends to personages of myth, such as Kinyras.[190] The implications of the simple collocation of Kinyras and Hieron at 15–20 thus seem

[186] Cf. Cingano 1995: 370.
[187] Carey 1981: 41–2; cf. Most 1985*a*: 88.
[188] Cf. *I.* 5.27–33; see above, Ch. 6 and Currie 2004: 66–8.
[189] For the echoes, cf. Fennell 1893: 158; Most 1985*a*: 94; Cingano 1995: 370, 389.
[190] Cf. *I.* 7.1 *τῶν πάρος*; Isoc. 5.142 *τῶν προγεγενημένων*.

to have become bolder: now not even Kinyras (or any other hero of myth) could claim to outdo Hieron. We have seen this kind of bold claim made for other historical persons, the war dead and athletes (see Chapters 7 and 8). It is striking that the comparison in verse 59 is 'in point of wealth and honour (*τιμᾷ*)', a term which includes 'cult'. The implications of this verse thus reinforce those of 15–20, where Hieron's celebration by the Locrian maidens is placed on a par with the celebration of Kinyras by the Cyprians, the latter celebration clearly encompassing cult.

Verses 63–5 may refer to battles waged by Hieron, in concert with Gelon, against Carthage from 489 BC, including the battle of Himera of 480 BC.[191] The pairing of 'boldness' (63 *θράσος*) and 'counsels' (65 *βουλαί*), as well as of 'youth' (63 *νεότατι*) and 'old age' (65 *πρεσβύτεραι*) is a conventional one.[192] But it is possible that 'older counsels' (65 *βουλαὶ . . . πρεσβύτεραι*) allude specifically to Hieron's recent *diplomatic* resolution of the Locri-Rhegium crisis (*πρέσβυς* is not only an 'old man', but also an 'ambassador').[193] The 'battles' in the *μέν*-clause (63–5) lie in the past (note the aorist infinitive, *φαμὶ . . . σὲ . . . εὑρεῖν*) and are foil for the 'counsels' in the *δέ*-clause. These 'counsels' (i.e. diplomacy?) seem to be the real grounds for praise in the poem: 'your counsels . . . give me cause to praise' (65–7 *βουλαὶ ἐπαινεῖν παρέχοντι*).[194] We might accordingly see Hieron's saving of Locri as the real grounds for encomium in *Pythian* 2, rather than a victory in what may have been a relatively minor athletic festival (if that was the Theban Iolaia: see above).

This section of *Pythian* 2 is concluded with *χαῖρε*, 'farewell' (67). Here this expression may be borrowed from hymns, where it is a common formula addressed to the divine addressee; the salutation might thus be seen as implying a more than human status for Hieron.[195] If it is

[191] Σ *P.* 2.116a; cf. Dunbabin 1948*a*: 411–12. If *P.* 2 was composed shortly after 478–476 BC, there can be no reference to the battle of Cumae (474 BC).

[192] *N.* 1.26–7, *P.* 8.3–4, *P.* 5.109–12, *P.* 4.281–2; Aesch. *sept.* 622; Lys. 2.42 *ἱκανώτατον . . . καὶ γνῶναι καὶ πρᾶξαι*. Bundy 1962: 24 and nn. 55–6; Loraux 1975: 4 n. 17; Vernant 1991*b*: 60–1; Cingano 1995: 389, 390.

[193] For the opposition of *βουλή* to *πόλεμος* (of 'counsels' to 'war'), cf. *P.* 8.3; *Il.* 16.630, and often. For Hieron as 'ambassador' in the Locri–Rhegium conflict, cf. Σ *P.* 2.38 *διαπρεσβευσάμενος*.

[194] For the *κίνδυνος* (66 *ἀκίνδυνον . . . ἔπος*) incurred by the laudator in praising the laudandus, cf. *N.* 8.20–1.

[195] Oates 1963: 382 '*χαῖρε* in the context of praise reminds us of the hymn form and subtly but strongly puts Hieron on a very elevated if not divine level'; Most 1985*a*: 97–8; Race 1990: 175, 184. Cf. *I.* 1.32 (of Kastor and Iolaos); Sim. *El.* 11.19 *IEG* (of Achilleus: cf. Boedeker 1998: 236–7). See Schadewaldt 1928: 69 n. 2; Bundy 1962: 45–7, 77–9. In epigraphs: Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 180–216. For the Pythia's 'threefold *χαῖρε*' to Battos (*P.* 4.61), see Ch. 11.

indeed this hymnic idiom that is evoked at *P.* 2.67, we would have here another reflection of the more than human status implied for Hieron by the songs of the Locrian maidens (verses 18–19). However, χαῖρε need not necessarily have this association with hymnic language; at *N.* 3.76, χαῖρε φίλος is a toasting formula from the symposium: 'cheers, friend!'.[196]

Conclusion

The comparison in 15–20 of Hieron to the Cyprian hero Kinyras, in the context of the latter's cult, and the implications of this comparison for Hieron's status, seem to be a major concern of *Pythian* 2. Hieron's specific claim to heroic stature in *Pythian* 2 rests on his saving of Locri in 478–476 BC. It is crucially important to note that this is not just a Pindaric conceit, but reflects a treatment which Hieron actually enjoyed at Locri in the 470s BC. Once again, the encomiastic rhetoric of epinician tracks reality.

[196] See Σ *N.* 3.132a; Instone 1996: 168. For this usage, cf. *Il.* 9.225; *FGE* 135.1.

13

Nemean 7
Boy Pentathlete and Delphian Hero

Date and occasion of the ode

Nemean 7 is one of the most controversial of Pindar's odes. It celebrates the Nemean victory of the Aeginetan Sogenes in the boys' pentathlon. Its date is unknown: the text gives no indications and the date assigned by the scholia is incurably corrupt.[1] It is clear from 83 δάπεδον ἂν τόδε, 'on this soil', that the ode was performed on Aegina. We seem to have a choral first person in 85 ἐμᾷ: only an Aeginetan chorus could speak of Aiakos as 'ruler of cities in my illustrious land'.[2] Our first concern in this chapter will be with verses 34–5 and 44–7, which seem to describe a cult of Neoptolemos; we shall then try to determine the significance of this passage for Sogenes. In the latter part of the chapter we will tackle the critical issue that has dominated discussion of *Nemean* 7: the relationship of the ode to *Paean* 6.

Neoptolemos' cult at Delphi: *N.* 7.34–5, 44–7

Pindar refers twice to the tomb of Neoptolemos within Apollo's sanctuary at Delphi. First, verses 34–5:

> ἐν Πυθίοισι δὲ δαπέδοις
> κεῖται . . . Νεοπτόλεμος.

Neoptolemos lies buried in Pythian ground.

Second, verses 44–7:

> ἐχρῆν δέ τιν' ἔνδον ἄλσει παλαιτάτῳ
> Αἰακιδᾶν κρεόντων τὸ λοιπὸν ἔμμεναι
> θεοῦ παρ' εὐτειχέα δόμον, ἡροΐαις δὲ πομπαῖς
> θεμισκόπον οἰκεῖν ἐόντα πολυθύτοις.

[1] Σ *N.* 7 Inscr. See Carey 1981: 133. Differently, Gentili 1988: 277–8 n. 60.

[2] So Ruck 1972: 152; Carey 1981: 173, cf. 16 n. 37; Most 1985*a*: 200; d'Alessio 1994: 134–5. Differently, Kirkwood 1982: 275; Lefkowitz 1991*b*: 66–7; cf. Hutchinson 2001: 365 n. 9.

It was destined for some one of the Aiakid lords to be within the ancient sanctuary for all time, beside the well-walled house of the god, and to dwell there as the rightful overseer of a hero's processions consisting of many sacrifices.

Later literary sources confirm the location of Neoptolemos' tomb within the Delphic sanctuary.[3] The archaeological record has thrown up more than one candidate for Neoptolemos' cult site (see Figure 3).[4]

N. 7.44–7 apparently takes a cult of Neoptolemos at Delphi for granted. Pausanias attests annual *ἐναγίσματα* to Neoptolemos at Delphi in his day: 'the Delphians perform destruction sacrifices to him every year' (10.24.6 *καί οἱ κατὰ ἔτος ἐναγίζουσιν οἱ Δελφοί*). However, in another passage Pausanias apparently dates the institution of these to Neoptolemos' help in repelling the Gauls in 278 BC: 'the Delphians perform destruction sacrifices to Pyrrhos from the time of this alliance' (1.4.4 *ἐναγίζουσι δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης Δελφοὶ τῆς συμμαχίας Πύρρῳ*). Because of this passage several scholars have accepted 278 BC as the beginning of Neoptolemos' cult at Delphi (see below). It would follow then that neither *N.* 7.34–5 nor 44–7 can allude to a cult of Neoptolemos. The elucidation of Pindar's text is critical here. Everything hinges on the interpretation of 46–7 *ἡροΐαις . . . πομπαῖς | θεμισκόπον*, for which two translations are possible.

(1) 'An overseer of justice at the processions of heroes'.[5] Here the adjective *ἡροΐαις* is equivalent to a possessive genitive *ἡρώων*, 'of heroes'.[6] These multiple heroes would be recipients of a *ξένια*-type festival at Delphi.[7] The 'heroes' processions' may refer to the bringing of their effigies to the feast.[8] Or it may refer to processions of sacrificial victims which are to be sacrificed to the heroes. It is possible to take

[3] Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F64a, b; Eur. *Andr.* 1239–42; Paus. 10.24.6, cf. 1.4.4 *τὸ μνῆμα*; Strab. 9.3.9 421; Σ *N.* 7.62b.

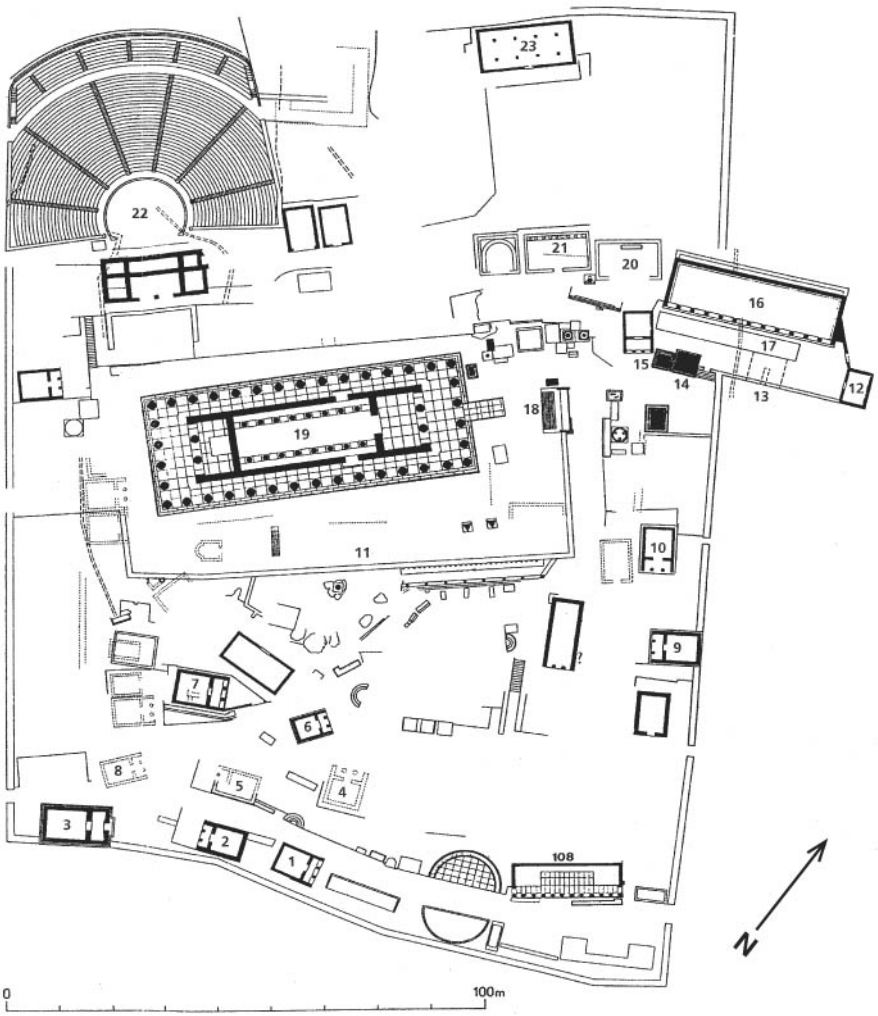
[4] (1) An enclosure whose extant architecture dates to late iv or to iii BC: see Fig. 3 no. 19. See Pouilloux 1960: 49–60 esp. 49 n. 1, 54–60; Fontenrose 1960: 191, 194, Pl. 18a and b, 193 Fig. 1 no. 3; Burkert 1983: 119 n. 12. Objections to this identification are raised by Bommelaer 1991: 200. (2) A giant altar (?): see Fig. 3 no. 16. See Bommelaer 1991: 190–5 esp. 195. For objections to this identification, see Suárez de la Torre 1997: 164 n. 57.

[5] For this interpretation, see Σ *N.* 7.62c, Σ *N.* 7.68a, b; Mezger 1880: 368; Bury 1890: 118; Wilamowitz 1922: 130; *RE* xvi.2455.63–5; Burkert 1966: 440; id. 1983: 120; Slater 1969*a*: s.v. *θεμισκόπος*; Nagy 1979: 119; Carey 1981: 154; Most 1985*a*: 173; Gentili 1988: 142–3; Rutherford 2001*a*: 314–15.

[6] Similarly at *O.* 13.51 *ἡρωΐαις ἀρεταῖσιν* = *ἡρώων ἀρεταῖσιν*.

[7] See Σ *N.* 7.68a, Σ *N.* 7.62c. So Wilamowitz 1922: 130–1; Carey 1981: 154; Most 1985*a*: 173.

[8] Nilsson 1906: 161–2; Wilamowitz 1922: 129; Amandry 1944–5: 413. For similar rituals, cf. Hdt. 1.51.2 *Θεοφανίοισι*; Pollux 1.34 (*θεοφάνια* juxtaposed with *θεοξένια*); *IG* VII.48.10, 12 (Megara, ii BC) *Ἡροφάνεια*. Salviat 1958: 255 and n. 4. A comparable rite is the Roman *lectisternium*. For effigies of heroes, cf. Hdt. 5.80.2, 8.64.2.



KEY

1–10 Treasuries
11 Polygonal supporting wall of temple terrace
12–17 Complex and monuments of the terrace of Attalos
18 Altar of Apollo
19 Temple of Apollo
20 Enclosure ('sanctuary of Neoptolemos')
21 Daochos monument
22 Theatre
23 Cnidian lesche

FIGURE 3. Plan of Delphi.

After J.-F. Bommelaer *Guide de Delphes. Le Site* (Paris 1991) fig. 5, by kind permission of the École française d'Athènes/D. Laroche.

θεμισκόπον in one of two constructions. It may be used absolutely, with *ἡροΐαις . . . πομπαῖς . . . πολυθύτοις* as temporal datives: 'one who oversees justice at the processions'.[9] Or those datives may be governed by *θεμισκόπον*: 'one who by right oversees the processions'.[10]

(2) 'A rightful onlooker at processions fit for a hero'. Here *ἡροΐαις* is equivalent to *ἡρωϊκαῖς* and means 'pertaining to a hero'.[11] The adjective *ἡροΐαις* will here express Neoptolemos' status as a *ἥρως*, and the 'processions' will be those in which the victims are brought to sacrifice in Neoptolemos' own cult.[12] The adjective *θεμισκόπος* will mean a 'divinely-ordained observer': the element *θεμι(σ)-* elsewhere in Pindar means 'in accordance with Right'.[13] The datives *ἡροΐαις . . . πομπαῖς . . . πολυθύτοις* will be temporal datives (as above).[14] Neoptolemos is then to 'observe' the performance of his own hero cult at Delphi. This interpretation agrees with the description given by Heliodorus of a hero cult of Neoptolemos at Delphi in three significant respects. First, in Heliodorus, Neoptolemos as the 'greatest of heroes' 'beholds' the rites performed for him (*Aethiopica* 3.10 **ἐποπτεύει** *ὁ μέγιστος ἡρώων Νεοπτόλεμος*: compare *θεμι***σκόπον**). Second, there is a 'procession' in his honour: 'to accomplish the destruction sacrifice to the hero [Neoptolemos] and the procession in his honour' (*Aethiopica* 2.35 *τὸν ἐναγισμὸν τῷ* **ἥρωι** *καὶ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ* **πομπὴν** . . . *ἐπιτελεῖν*: compare **ἡροΐαις . . . πομπαῖς**). Third, the sacrifice is on a massive scale: 'the number [of the oxen] was precisely a hecatomb and truly fulfilling that name' (*Aethiopica* 3.1 *ὁ δὲ ἀριθμὸς* [*sc. τῶν βοῶν*] *ἀκριβῶς ἑκατόμβη καὶ εἰς ἀλήθειαν τὸ ὄνομα πληροῦντες*: compare **πολυθύτοις**). It does not seem likely that Heliodorus depends on Pindar, but it is conceivable that details of an ancient Delphic ritual may have been preserved in Heliodorus' account.[15]

[9] So Σ*N.* 7.68b; Carey 1981: 154; LSJ s.v. For such temporal datives, cf. *O.* 5.5, *N.* 2.24, *N.* 5.5; Dem. 21.171 *ταῖς πομπαῖς*. See Hummel 1993: §140.

[10] So Σ*N.* 7.62c; Σ*N.* 7.68a.

[11] Cf. *ἡρωϊκαὶ τιμαί*, 'honours pertaining to a hero' (e.g. A.R. 1.1048; Diod. 11.38.5, 11.49.2, 11.66.4). At Pind. fr. 520.37 *ἡρῳδὸς θεαρίας* probably means a 'delegation in honour of a hero': see above Ch. 5.

[12] Cf. *O.* 7.80. In general: Burkert 1985*a*: 99–100.

[13] *pae.* 6.131 *τὰν θεμίξενον ἀρετ[άν]*: 'hospitable in accordance with Right' (cf. Slater 1969*a*: s.v.), rather than 'just to strangers' (LSJ s.v.). Cf. *N.* 9.52–3 *θεμιπλέκτοις . . . στεφάνοις* 'plaited in accordance with Right' (Σ*N.* 9.123a, b). *P.* 5.28–9 *Βαττιδᾶν . . . θεμισκρεόντων* 'ruling in accordance with Right'.

[14] Smyth 1956: §1527a; Hummel 1993: 129–32.

[15] So Fontenrose 1960: 195; cf. Suárez de la Torre 1997: 173–4. The historical value of Heliodorus' account is controversial. It is assessed negatively by Nilsson 1906: 461–2 and Farnell 1921: 315. But it is assessed positively by Fontenrose 1960: 195; Pouilloux 1960: 58 and n. 2, cf. id. 1983; Feuillatre 1966: 50–7, 67; Suárez de la Torre 1997: 157, 173.

These two interpretations differ crucially in the status and function they assign to Neoptolemos. On (1) he is overseer of the cult of other heroes at Delphi; on (2) he is himself the hero and recipient of cult. If we wish to reconcile Pindar's text with Pausanias' statement (1.4.4) that Neoptolemos' cult was instituted after 278 BC we must favour (1). However, the context and language of Pindar's ode suggest that (2) is correct. In the first place, verses 31–2 'honour comes about for people . . . when they are dead' (*τιμὰ δὲ γίνεται | . . . τεθνακότων*) seem to prepare for a hero cult of Neoptolemos.[16] Second, Neoptolemos' burial in Delphi (34–5, 45–6) is clearly intended as a signal honour, and burial in a god's sanctuary is the prerogative of a cult hero.[17] The phrase 'beside the well-walled house of the god' (46 *θεοῦ παρ' εὐτειχέα δόμον*) conveys the spatial proximity which typically obtains between god and hero.[18] The relationship between a god and a hero seems also to be expressed in the antithesis *θεοῦ . . . ἡρωΐαις* (46). The whole passage (30–47) falls into four sections, in each of which a setback is juxtaposed with a compensating honour.[19] The last section of the four (40–7) juxtaposes Neoptolemos' death at Delphi (40–3) with his honorific burial there (44–7). Thus verses 44–7 have a 'triumphal tone'.[20] The honour paid the dead Neoptolemos (compare 31–2 *τιμὰ . . . τεθνακότων*) is emphasized in various ways. First, through being fated (44 *μόρσιμον*, 44 *ἐχρῆν*, 47 *θεμισκόπον*). Second, for the distinction of Neoptolemos' burial place (44 *ἔνδον ἄλσει παλαιτάτῳ*, 46 *θεοῦ παρ' εὐτειχέα δόμον*). Third, for its permanence (45 *τὸ λοιπόν*). Fourth, for the abundance of sacrifices made to him (46–7 *ἡρωΐαις . . . πομπαῖς | . . . πολυθύτοις*). It is likely that the emphasis on the abundance of these sacrifices is meant to redound to Neoptolemos' honour; these sacrifices should be attached to him, not to a plethora of other (nameless) heroes. Numerous sacrifices for Neoptolemos find some support in the archaeological evidence of abundant sacrificial activity at each of the sites that have been (controversially) identified as the site of Neoptolemos' cult.[21] Literary confirmation is to be found in Heliodorus'

[16] So Schadewaldt 1928: 302 n. 2; Tugendhat 1960: 402 n. 3; Köhnken 1971: 46 and n. 46; Ruck 1972: 147–8; Nagy 1979: 119 §1 n. 4; Crotty 1982: 127; Most 1985*a*: 158.

[17] Pfister 1909–12: 450–9 (esp. 453).

[18] Kearns 1992: 77–93; Ekroth 1999: 150–1 n. 27.

[19] Setback: 30–1 *κοινὸν . . . ἔρχεται κῦμ' Ἀΐδα*; compensation: 31 *τιμὰ δὲ γίνεται*. Setback: 36–7 *ἀποπλέων . . . ἅμαρτε*; compensation: 38 *Μολοσσίᾳ δ' ἐμβασίλευεν*. Setback: 38 *ἐμβασίλευεν ὀλίγον χρόνον*; compensation: 39–40 *ἀτὰρ γένος αἰεὶ φέρει τοῦτό οἱ γέρας*. Cf. Carey 1981: 181.

[20] Most 1985*a*: 173, cf. 171.

[21] See above, n. 4. On identification (1) (Fig. 3 no. 19), see Pouilloux 1960: 58; cf. Burkert 1966: 440. On identification (2) (Fig. 3 no. 16), see Bommelaer 1991: 195 ('autel . . . gigantesque').

account of Neoptolemos receiving a literal hecatomb (*Aethiopica* 3.1). Finally, it is a pattern in Pindar for the narration of a hero's exploits and setbacks to be followed by a description of his cult.[22] *O.* 1.90–3 provides the closest parallel to our passage. Pelops' cult continues into the present, *O.* 1.90 *νῦν δ'* (compare *N.* 7.45 *τὸ λοιπόν*); his cult involves hero sacrifices, *O.* 1.90–1 *αἱμακουρίαις | ἀγλααῖσι* (compare *N.* 7.46–7 *ἡροΐαις . . . πομπαῖς | . . . πολυθύτοις*); and Pelops has a tomb in the sanctuary of the god, *O.* 1.93 *τύμβον ἀμφίπολον ἔχων πολυξενωτάτῳ παρὰ βωμῷ* (cf. *N.* 7.45–6 *ἔμμεναι | θεοῦ παρ' εὐτειχέα δόμον*). In sum, *N.* 7.46–7 seems to indicate that Neoptolemos received a hero cult at Delphi in the fifth century.[23] Those verses present Neoptolemos himself as *ἥρως*, and it is in that capacity that he receives 'processions involving many sacrifices'.[24] Pausanias (1.4.4) must then be wrong to date Neoptolemos' cult to after 278 BC; this is a problem to which we will return.

Neoptolemos and the Theoxenia

The myth of Neoptolemos' death as told in *Nemean* 7 and elsewhere closely reflects Delphic sacrificial ritual.[25] In that ritual pilgrims drove sheep to Apollo's sanctuary.[26] Priests performed the sacrifice and, in a ceremony of ritualized greed, took for themselves as much as they could with distinctive cultic knives.[27] At *N.* 7.40–2 Neoptolemos comes to Delphi bringing dedications to the god, like the worshippers bringing their sacrificial victims. The 'meat' (42 *κρεῶν*) presupposes a sacrifice. The 'fight over the meats' (42 *κρεῶν . . . ὕπερ μάχας*) evidently alludes

[22] Cf. *O.* 1.90–6, *O.* 7.77–80, *P.* 5.93–5, *I.* 4.61–8.

[23] This is the conclusion of Ohlert 1865: 10; Farnell 1921: 314; Fontenrose 1960: 192, 196–7.

[24] Differently, Carey 1981: 154 *θεμισκόπον* 'suggests the regulator, not the recipient, of a festival'; Most 1985*a*: 163, cf. 212.

[25] See Burkert 1966: 440; id. 1983: 119–20; Nagy 1979: 123–7; Suárez de la Torre 1997: 161–3.

[26] See *h. Hom.* 3.536–7. Cf. *P.* 3.27 *μηλοδόκῳ Πυθῶνι*; Eur. *Andr.* 1138 *βώμου . . . δεξίμηλον ἐσχάραν*. Burkert 1983: 118 and n. 7.

[27] Ritualized greed of the Delphic priests: Burkert 1966: 440 and n. 1; id. 1983: 118–19; Nagy 1979: 126. Cf. Call. fr. 191.26–8 Pfeiffer. Their 'snatching': Σ *N.* 7.62a; Σ *pae.* 6.118b; Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F64a; P. Oxy. 1800 fr. 2.ii.37–44. The sacrificer himself could go without: P. Oxy. 1800 fr. 2.ii.44–6; *CPG* 1. p. 393 no. 95. Radt 1958: 167 nn. 5–6. The Delphic knife: Arist. *pol.* 1252b2; Hsch. *Δελφικὴ μάχαιρα*; *CPG* 1. p. 393 no. 94; *h. Hom.* 3.535; *N.* 7.42; Σ *N.* 7.62a; Eur. *Andr.* 1074–5, 1118, 1150; Ar. fr. 705 *PCG*; P. Oxy. 1800 fr. 2.ii.36. Burkert 1983: 119 and n. 10. *Μαχαιρεύς* ('Knife-man') as a name of Neoptolemos' killer: Asclepiades *FGrH* 12 F15; Strab. 9.3.9 421.

to a tumult in the division of the viands.[28] The 'knife' with which Neoptolemos is killed (42 μαχαίρᾳ) recalls the cultic knife.[29]

This struggle for a share in the sacrificial meats at Delphi seems to be associated particularly with the Theoxenia festival.[30] Pindar's *Paean* 6 was performed at that festival (*Paean* 6.61) and narrates the myth of Neoptolemos (100–20). This suggests that Neoptolemos may have been honoured at the Theoxenia.[31] A certain amount is known about this festival.[32] Naturally, it featured a sacrifice.[33] It was held annually in the month Theoxenios: that is, March–April.[34] Leto, Dionysos, and other gods were invited to the feast.[35] The festival featured what has been called a 'scurrilous agon': whoever brought the largest onion to Leto was awarded a share from the sacrificial table.[36] A generous share was also set aside by the priests for Pindar's descendants as a special honour to the poet.[37] A Delphic inscription of the fourth century BC perhaps testifies to delegates of Sciathos being awarded 'shares' as an honour at the Theoxenia.[38] In myth, competition for a share in the sacrificial meats seems to have been the cause of Neoptolemos' death.[39]

[28] Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F64a. See Burkert 1983: 119.

[29] Cf. *O.* 1.49 μαχαίρᾳ of the knife with which Pelops is dismembered, in a myth which reflects cult at Olympia. See Burkert 1983: 99–100; Krummen 1990: 178.

[30] Σ *pae.* 6.118b. Wilamowitz 1908: 347, 349; id. 1922: 129–30; Nagy 1979: 124–5.

[31] So Robert 1921–6: 1459; Amandry 1944–5: 415 and n. 1; Rutherford 1997: 1; Suárez de la Torre 1997: 175. Heliod. (*Aeth.* 2.34), however, makes the Pythian festival the occasion of his death and of the sacrifice performed in his honour.

[32] Pindar *pae.* 6, Philodamus *pae.* 39 Käppel, and Kleochares T95 Käppel were composed for the festival. See Radt 1958: 83–4; Burkert 1985*a*: 107 and n. 85; Rutherford 2001*a*: 310.

[33] Cf. *pae.* 6.62 θύεται. Philodamus *pae.* 39.112 Käppel θυ[σ]ίαν. Kleochares T95 Käppel τᾷ θυσίᾳ τῶν Θεοξενίων. Polemon in Athen. 9.372a τῇ θυσίᾳ τῶν Θεοξενίων. *BCH* 66–7 (1942–3) 130 τὰν θ[υσίαν Θε]οξενίων. The Theoxenia is listed with other Delphic θοῖναι ('sacrificial feasts') in the 'Labyadai inscription': Rougement 1977: no. 9 (= Rhodes and Osborne 2003: no. 1) D.9.

[34] Annual: Philodamus *pae.* 39.110 Käppel. Σ Pind. *pae.* 6.62.

[35] Polemon in Athen. 9.372a; Philodamos *pae.* 39 Käppel (*passim*). Wilamowitz 1922: 129 'Es sind . . . alle Götter anwesend zu denken'; Radt 1958: 83.

[36] Burkert 1985*a*: 107. Polemon in Athen. 9.372*a*.

[37] Plut. *de ser. num. vind.* 13 557f. Various scholars have seen in *pae.* 6.11 an allusion to this honour. See Radt 1958: 116; Fogelmark 1972: 46; Gentili 1988: 278 n. 61; Rutherford 2001*a*: 309, 179–80; cf. Pavese 1993: 475 and n. 9. The possibility that such honours were paid to Pindar in his lifetime is suggested additionally by *vit. metr.* 16–18 Drachmann 1.9. But the first person of *pae.* 6.11 may be better referred to an Aeginetan chorus: see below, this chapter.

[38] Amandry 1939: 211; id. 1944–5: 415 and n. 3: Θ[εοξε]νίοις δὲ τὰς | [?μοίρ]ας διδόμεν (*sc.* Δελφοὺς Σκιαθίοις).

[39] *Pae.* 6.118–19 [?κ]υριᾶν περὶ τιμᾶν | [δηρι]αζόμενον (on this reading, see below). Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F64a. Σ *N.* 7.62a. For Delphic μοῖραι, cf. further P. Oxy. 1800 fr. 2.ii.43 μοῖραν, 45–6 ἄμοιρον.

A Delphic 'Heroxenia'

The scholia to *Nemean* 7 attest a 'Heroxenia' at Delphi in which Apollo summoned heroes to a feast.[40] The existence of this 'Heroxenia' has been questioned.[41] Scholars who accept its existence are divided on the question whether Theoxenia and Heroxenia coincided.[42] However, the honours attested for Pindar himself argue for both the existence of a Delphic Heroxenia and its coincidence with the Theoxenia.[43]

Pausanias and the date of Neoptolemos' cult

According to Pausanias the Delphians instituted a hero cult for Neoptolemos only after his assistance in repelling the Gauls, 'previously holding his tomb in dishonour as being that of an enemy' (1.4.4). This testimony has been accepted by several scholars.[44] It would entail that Neoptolemos had a tomb at Delphi for a least two centuries without receiving cult. Support for this has been found in various pieces of negative evidence. First, in Herodotus' account (8.38–8.39.1) of the Persian attack on Delphi in 480 BC, it is the heroes Phylakos and Autonoos, not Neoptolemos, who defend the sanctuary.[45] Second, no cult of Neoptolemos is mentioned in the 'Labyadai inscription': this Delphic inscription of *c.*400 BC includes a list, whose content reaches back into the late Archaic period, of 'customary sacrificial feasts' performed at Delphi (*θοῖναι . . . | [. . . νόμι]μοι*).[46] Third, the scholia to *Nemean* 7 do not mention any cult of Neoptolemos.

We may take these points in reverse order. The Pindar scholia seem to have been less concerned with the religious reality than with the

[40] Σ*N.* 7.68a. Cf. Σ*N.* 7.62c, Σ*N.* 7.68b. For other 'Heroxenia', see Salviat 1958: 195 line 3 *Ἡροξενίοις* (Thasos, last quarter iv BC); Ekroth 2002: 136.

[41] Fontenrose 1960: 197.

[42] Coincided: Robert 1921–6: 1459; Wilamowitz 1922: 130; Vollgraff 1925: 121 n. 6; Farnell 1930–2: ii. 295; Carey 1981: 154. Did not coincide: Nilsson 1906: 161 n. 2, cf. 461–2. In general, for heroes called to the feast, see Plut. *Aristid.* 21.5; Call. fr. 43.54–5, 78–9 Pfeiffer.

[43] Plut. *de ser. num. vind.* 13 557f; Paus. 9.23.3; *Pind. vit. Ambr.* Drachmann i. 2.14–16 (but here *daily* honours); *vit. Thom.* Drachmann i. 5.7–10; Eustath. *prooem.* 27 Drachmann iii. 297.27–298.5; *vit. metr.* 16–18; cf. Liban. 20.2. Rutherford 2001*a*: 179–80.

[44] Wilamowitz 1922: 131 n. 1; *RE* xvi. 2454.25–2456.21; Tugendhat 1960: 397–8 n. 2; Carey 1981: 153; Suárez de la Torre 1997: 156–7, 176; Burnett 1998: 508–9 n. 59.

[45] Cf. Paus. 10.8.7.

[46] On the Labyadai inscription, see Rougemont 1977: 26–85 (inscription no. 9); Rhodes and Osborne 2003: 8–13. The relevant section is side D, lines 2–11. No mention there of Neoptolemos: Suárez de la Torre 1997: 175.

philological exegesis of the difficult verses *N.* 7.46–7, especially the two expressions *ἡροΐαις . . . πομπαῖς* and *θεμισκόπον*. Their exegesis of this passage (argued above to be in error) led them away from the hero cult to Neoptolemos, which we have found Pindar's text probably to presuppose, to a heroxenia for many nameless heroes. The silence of the Labyadai inscription is also not significant.[47] The list of Delphic festivals there does not include other festivals which we know of from literary sources.[48] Finally, the absence of Neoptolemos from Herodotus' list of Delphic helping heroes of 480 BC is not especially troubling.[49] It has been suggested that we may see the Phylakos whom Herodotus mentions as a doublet of Neoptolemos, in which case Neoptolemos *will* have participated in the repulsion of the Persians.[50] Alternatively, we might accept that Neoptolemos was not among the heroic helpers in 480 BC, but ascribe his absence to political considerations rather than to the fact that he was not yet a cult hero at Delphi. Neoptolemos was connected with Thessalians, Phthiotan Achaeans, and Ainianes, all of whom medized in 480 BC (Herodotus 7.132.1); it is conceivable that the legend of Delphi's supernatural defenders told by Herodotus took shape at a time when those peoples and their hero were in disfavour.[51]

The one incontrovertible testimony that contradicts a fifth-century cult of Neoptolemos is Pausanias 1.4.4. But, apart from *N.* 7.44–7, two other indications may tell against Pausanias. First, archaeological evidence: one of the sites proposed as the sanctuary of Neoptolemos contains buildings dating to the fourth–third centuries BC (Figure 3 no. 19 on p. 298).[52] The site in question had already been a focus of cult in the Mycenaean period.[53] If this (controversial) identification of Neoptolemos' sanctuary is correct, Neoptolemos would be shown to have received a cult at Delphi at least a century before the Gallic invasion of 278 BC.

[47] Suárez de la Torre 1997: 175.

[48] Homolle 1895: 65 '[il est surprenant] que les fêtes dont les anciens nous ont conservé . . . les noms fassent toutes défaut'; Rougement 1977: 57–8; Rhodes and Osborne 2003: 10–11.

[49] Cf. Loscalzo 1998: 122–3.

[50] Fontenrose 1960: 198–202 (cf. already Nilsson 1906: 461 n. 7). But the identification seems wilful.

[51] On this legend, note also Fehling 1989: 12–16.

[52] Bommelaer 1991: 200. In view of the altar, this was a cult site: Fontenrose 1960: 194.

[53] Pouilloux 1960: 56–7; Burkert 1966: 440 'eine uralte Opferstätte'. However, the Mycenaean *πίθος* was not a *βόθρος*: Müller 1992: 80; Suárez de la Torre 1997: 164 n. 58, 175. There was, moreover, no continuity of cult through the Geometric period: Amandry 1956: 269; cf. Pouilloux 1960: 57. Pouilloux 1960: 59 suggests that the *πίθος* contained the ashes of a hero subsequently identified as Neoptolemos.

Second, there is the evidence of the Cnidian *lesche*. Pausanias himself describes the paintings of Polygnotos which decorated the Cnidian *lesche* at Delphi: an *Ilioupersis* and a *Nekyia* (10.25.1–31.12).[54] The former painting showed Neoptolemos alone of the Greeks still killing Trojans 'because, directly above the tomb of Neoptolemos, the whole painting was intended to be his' (Pausanias 10.26.4). It is generally assumed that the representation of Neoptolemos in this painting is unfavourable.[55] But it is possible that it was, on the contrary, honorific.[56] It has been suggested that the Cnidian *lesche* was a ἡρῷον to Neoptolemos.[57] Polygnotos' representation of Neoptolemos as 'still killing the Trojans' in a 'Neoptolemeion' would have a suggestive parallel in the representation of Theseus in the Athenian Theseion by the painter Mikon, a known collaborator of Polygnotos. Mikon's painting of the Centauromachy showed Theseus, the hero of the shrine, as 'already having killed a centaur' while the Lapiths were still locked in uncertain combat (Pausanias 10.26.4; cf. 1.17.2). These, then, would be ways of focusing the viewer's attention on the heroes to whom the shrines were dedicated. But regardless of whether the *lesche* was a Neoptolemeion and whether Neoptolemos' representation in Polygnotos' *Ilioupersis* was favourable or not, the connection made by Pausanias between that painting and Neoptolemos' tomb is telling, for the painting was, in Pausanias' view, an 'honour' (τιμή) for Neoptolemos. As such, it is hardly compatible with the same author's claim (1.4.4) that Neoptolemos' tomb was held in 'dishonour' (ἀτιμία) before 278 BC.[58]

Two suggestions have been made to reconcile a fifth-century cult of Neoptolemos at Delphi with Pausanias 1.4.4. The first suggestion is that the Delphians themselves instituted honours after 278 BC, but that previously the cult was the concern of non-Delphians (e.g. Ainianes from Thessaly: cf. Heliodorus, *Aethiopica* 2.34–3.10).[59] The second

[54] See Pouilloux 1960: 120–39; Kebric 1983; Stansbury-O'Donnell 1989; id. 1990; Castriota 1992: 89–133; Suárez de la Torre 1997: 156 and n. 18.

[55] Pouilloux 1960: 138–9; Pouilloux and Roux 1963: 107; Defradas 1972: 152–3; Woodbury 1991*b*: 288; Stansbury-O'Donnell 1990: 232 and n. 67; Castriota 1992: 115.

[56] Cf. Kebric 1983: 22–3; Burnett 1998: 514 n. 75; Loscalzo 1998: 131.

[57] Pouilloux 1960: 138 and n. 4; Stähler 1989: 15–16. 'Tomb' was an early sense of λέσχη (*IG* XII.i.709; LSJ s.v. I.1; Chantraine 1968–80: s.v.). The Cnidian *lesche* was a meeting place (Paus. 10.25.1; cf. Plut. *de def. or.* 6 412d) and heroes' tombs were meeting places (see *Il.* 10.414–15; Paus. 1.43.3; Martin 1951: 47–8; Hadzisteliou-Price 1973: 137–9).

[58] Cf. Pouilloux 1960: 138 'il semble impossible de dissocier les représentations de Polygnote du culte héroïque que l'on célébrait tout auprès'; Kebric 1983: 3, 23.

[59] Defradas 1972: 149; Woodbury 1991*b*: 320.

suggestion is that annual *ἐναγίσματα* were instituted after 278 BC, but that previously the cult had taken some other form.[60] Against the first suggestion it can be objected that, in Heliodorus' description, Delphians and not just Ainianes are involved in Neoptolemos' cult.[61] Moreover, Pausanias' language, 'holding his tomb in dishonour as being that of an enemy' (1.4.4 *ἔχοντες ἅτε ἀνδρὸς πολεμίου καὶ τὸ μνῆμα ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ*), suggests not just that the Delphians abstained from paying honour to Neoptolemos' tomb themselves, but that they kept it bereft of *all* honours. The same consideration seems to rule out the second attempt at reconciliation: *ἔχοντες . . . καὶ τὸ μνῆμα ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ* cannot be limited to *ἐναγίσματα*, but must encompass all forms of *τιμή*.

The *ἀτιμία* of Neoptolemos before 278 BC alleged by Pausanias 1.4.4 is in irreconcilable conflict with the *τιμά* of *N.* 7.31 and with the whole burden of *N.* 7.44–7.[62] Pausanias' testimony should in this case be rejected.[63] The reason advanced by Pausanias 1.4.4 for Neoptolemos' *ἀτιμία* before 278 BC, namely his supposed hostility towards Delphi and to Delphian Apollo, may be an overliteral understanding of a typical mythical motif: commonly the god and hero who are paired symbiotically in cult are presented antagonistically in myth.[64] Moreover, in Neoptolemos' mythical role as assailant of Delphi and his cultic role as saving hero we find a familiar pattern exemplified: that of the once hostile helping hero.[65] Alleged hostility between the Delphians and Neoptolemos might have been a mythical articulation of the hero's cultic character, not a historical fact, and not a reason for the Delphians actually to withhold cult honours.[66] That hostility might have been taken literally by Pausanias or his source in referring it historically to the period before 278 BC (already a remote past by Pausanias' time). It is possible, further, that the influence around 278

[60] Fontenrose 1960: 197; Suárez de la Torre 1997: 176.

[61] Fontenrose 1960: 196.

[62] Farnell 1921: 315; Defradas 1972: 149; Nachtergael 1977: 163 n. 171.

[63] So too Ohlert 1865: 10; Pouilloux 1960: 55 n. 6, cf. 60; Pouilloux and Roux 1963: 107–8; Fontenrose 1960: 197; Nachtergael 1977: 163 n. 171; Most 1985*a*: 163 n. 135; Gentili 1988: 142–3; Brown in *OCD* p.1035; Rutherford 2001*a*: 314 n. 36. (For some other errors of Pausanias, cf. Habicht 1998: 98–9.)

[64] See Farnell 1921: 319–20; Delcourt 1965: 45–6; Burkert 1975: 19; Nagy 1979: 120; Lyons 1997: 71–7; Suárez de la Torre 1997: 162 and n. 48.

[65] Cf. e.g. Eurystheus at Athens, Eur. *Heracl.* 1049 *ἐχθρὸς μὲν ἀνήρ, ὠφελεῖ δὲ κατθανών*. See Visser 1982 (esp. 409); Kearns 1989: 49–50.

[66] Neoptolemos' atrocities in myth are unlikely to have impeded cult. See Brelich 1958: 255, 313; Delcourt 1965: 38; Slater 1977: 207; Most 1985*a*: 163; Gentili 1988: 144; Lyons 1997: 67; cf. Lloyd-Jones 1973: 136.

BC of king Pyrrhos of Epirus, who claimed descent from Neoptolemos, might have led to a revival (but not the institution) of Neoptolemos' cult at Delphi at that time.[67]

If 278 BC is rejected as a *terminus post quem* for Neoptolemos' cult at Delphi there is no difficulty in accepting the implications of *N.* 7.46–7 *ἡροΐαις . . . πομπαῖς | . . . πολυθύτοις* for a fifth-century cult of Neoptolemos. These sacrifices may have coincided with the Theoxenia (and Heroxenia?). It is not impossible that the *θεωρία*, *πομπή*, and *ἐναγισμός* of 100 victims described by Heliodorus, *Aethiopica* 2.34–3.10 was a quadrennial amplification of these annual rites, though we would then have to assume that Heliodorus has changed the setting from the Theoxenia to the Pythia. Finally, it is doubtful whether an Amphictyonic law of *c.*380 BC alludes to a cult of Neoptolemos.[68] We cannot establish how long before *Nemean* 7 Neoptolemos may have been receiving cult at Delphi.[69]

Parallels between Neoptolemos and Sogenes

Nemean 7 presents a number of parallels between Neoptolemos and Sogenes, concentrated in the verses 38–47 and 93–101.[70] Here, first, is 38–47, on Neoptolemos:

Μολοσσίᾳ δ' ἐμβασίλευεν ὀλίγον
χρόνον· ἀτὰρ γένος αἰεὶ φέρει
τοῦτό οἱ γέρας . . .

. . . . . .
. . . ἐχρῆν δέ τιν' ἔνδον ἄλσει παλαιτάτῳ
Αἰακιδᾶν κρεόντων τὸ λοιπὸν ἔμμεναι
θεοῦ παρ' εὐτειχέα δόμον, ἡροΐαις δὲ πομπαῖς
θεμισκόπον οἰκεῖν ἐόντα πολυθύτοις.

[67] See Lévêque 1957: 567 n. 2; Fontenrose 1960: 205; Nachtergael 1977: 163 n. 171; Loscalzo 1998: 123.

[68] Rougement 1977: no. 10.32 = *SIG* 145.32 [τ]*οῦ βοὸς τιμὰ τοῦ ἥρωος ἑκατὸν στατῆρες Αἰγιναῖοι*. See Nilsson 1906: 461; Farnell 1921: 315 n.; Fontenrose 1960: 197; Rougement 1977: 113–14; Nagy 1979: 119 §1 n. 4; Suárez de la Torre 1997: 156; Loscalzo 1998: 120.

[69] Various *termini ante quos* have been proposed for Neoptolemos' introduction to Delphi. (1) The First Sacred War, 590–586 BC: Fontenrose 1960: 207; cf. Woodbury 1991*b*: 299–300. (2) 'At least in the course of the sixth century': Pouilloux 1960: 60. (3) According to Nagy 1979: 121–3, *Il.* 9.401–5 would be a reflex of an early association of Achilleus with Delphi.

[70] See Bury 1890: 118–19, 124; Köhnken 1971: 78; Carey 1981: 183; Crotty 1982: 138; Most 1985*a*: 203, 210–11; Arrighetti 1987: 94–7.

He [Neoptolemos] ruled in Molossia for a short time, but his descendants enjoy that honour for always . . . It was destined for some one of the Aiakid lords to be within the ancient sanctuary for all time, beside the well-walled house of the god, and to dwell there as the rightful overseer of a hero's processions consisting of many sacrifices.

Secondly, here is 86–101, on Sogenes:

εἰ δὲ γεύεται
ἀνδρὸς ἀνήρ τι, φαιμέν κε γείτον' ἔμμεναι
νόῳ φιλήσαντ' ἀτενεῖ γείτονι χάρμα πάντων
ἐπάξιον· εἰ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ θεὸς ἀνέχοι,
ἐν τίν κ' ἐθέλοι, Γίγαντας ὃς ἐδάμασας, εὐτυχῶς
ναίειν πατρὶ Σωγένης ἀταλὸν ἀμφέπων
θυμὸν προγόνων ἐϋκτή-
μονα ζαθέαν ἄγυιαν.

ἐπεὶ τετραόροισιν ὤθ' ἁρμάτων ζυγοῖς
ἐν τεμένεσσι δόμον ἔχει
τεοῖς, ἀμφοτέρας ἰὼν χειρός. ὦ μάκαρ,
τὶν δ' ἐπέοικεν Ἥρας πόσιν τε πειθέμεν
κόραν τε γλαυκώπιδα· δύνασαι δὲ βροτοῖσιν ἀλκάν
ἀμαχανιᾶν δυσβάτων θαμὰ διδόμεν.
εἰ γάρ σφισιν[71] ἐμπεδοσθενέα βίοτον ἁρμόσαις
ἥβᾳ λιπαρῷ τε γήραϊ διαπλέκοις
εὐδαίμον' ἐόντα,
παίδων δὲ παῖδες ἔχοιεν αἰεί

γέρας τό περ νῦν καὶ ἄρειον ὄπιθεν.

If one man takes any delight in another, we might say that a neighbour who loves with an unswerving mind is a boon worth all the world to his fellow neighbour. If a god were to uphold this, too, then Sogenes would want to inhabit the prosperous holy street of his forefathers, tending a delicate temper for his father, happily in your tutelage, you who conquered the Giants [*sc.* Herakles]. For whether he goes to the left or to the right, he has a house in your precinct, like the yoke of a chariot. Blessed one, it is fitting for you to work persuasion on Hera's husband and his grey-eyed daughter, for you can often grant mortals a way out of impassable difficulties. May you attach an unfaltering life to them and intertwine it with youth and a prosperous old age to make it blessed, and may their children's children have for always the honour which is now present and a greater one hereafter.

The resonances of the latter passage with the former may be considered under three headings.

[71] Emendation of Triclinius (approved by Segal 1967: 469 n. 77; Carey 1981: 175; Race 1997: ii. 80, 81 n. 6). Codd. have *σφιν*. Maas proposed *σύ ἵν* (followed by Snell-Maehler).

(1) Habitation within a divine sanctuary.[72] (a) Neoptolemos is buried in Apollo's *ἄλσος* (34–5, 44–7). (b) Thearion and Sogenes inhabit a *τέμενος* of Herakles (89–94).[73]

(2) Privileges for one's descendants.[74] (a) Verses 39–40 describe the fortunes of Neoptolemos' progeny in Molossia.[75] (b) Verses 100–1 describe the putative fortunes of Sogenes and Thearion's descendants. 100 *παίδων δὲ παῖδες*, 'children's children', is synonymous with 39 *γένος*, 'descendants'.[76] In verses 100–1 *αἰεί | γέρας* picks up exactly 39–40 *αἰεὶ . . . | . . . γέρας*.

(3) Assistance of a god.[77] (a) 'The god' is responsible for Neoptolemos' honours at Delphi (31–3). (b) Sogenes' success is attributable to Herakles (86–97).

The text and interpretation of 31–3 are important and require elucidation. In verse 32, *θεός* is probably general: 'the god(s)'.[78] In its immediate application to Neoptolemos, 'the god' is Apollo, who is also the referent of 40 *θεόν* and 46 *θεοῦ*. Later, applied to Sogenes, 'the god' means Herakles (89 *θεός*). Verses 31–5 are controversial in point of reading, punctuation, and interpretation; the following text seems the most satisfactory.

τιμὰ δὲ γίνεται
ὧν θεὸς ἁβρὸν αὔξει λόγον τεθνακότων
βοαθοέων.[79] *τῶ*[80] *παρὰ μέγαν ὀμφαλὸν εὐρυκόλπου*

[72] This parallel is noted by Callistratus in Σ *N.* 7.150a; Bury 1890: 124; Fennell 1899: 79; Ruck 1972: 152–3; Carey 1981: 175; Rusten 1983: 296 n. 32; Most 1985*a*: 203; Arrighetti 1987: 95. *Pace* Fränkel 1961: 387.

[73] On the important relationship between a hero and a human neighbour, see Rusten 1983; Bremmer 1994: 31. For the name *Ἠρογείτων*, cf. Tod 1948: no. 113.24; *LGPN* i, ii s.v. A humorous sidelight is given by Aesop no. 110 Perry.

[74] This parallel is noted by Bury 1890: 143–4; Segal 1967: 473; Carey 1981: 176; Most 1985*a*: 168, 203; Fennell 1899: 80; Kirkwood 1982: 276.

[75] In verse 39, *γένος* means Neoptolemos' 'descendants'. The kings of Molossia claimed descent from Neoptolemos: Eur. *Andr.* 1247–50; Strab. 7.7.8 326; Plut. *vit. Pyrr.* 1.2; Paus. 2.29.4; Heliod. *Aeth.* 2.34. This claim is likely to have been made in Pindar's time: see Carey 1981: 152, 162; Most 1985*a*: 188 n. 20; id. 1985*b*: 321 n. 26. Differently, Perret 1946: 10–11; Woodbury 1991*b*: 312.

[76] Both expressions may be combined, as at Tyrt. 12.30 *IEG* *παίδων παῖδες καὶ γένος ἐξοπίσω*; Solon 13.32 *IEG*.

[77] This parallel is noted by Carey 1981: 151; Most 1985*a*: 158, 203.

[78] Cf. *O.* 6.101, etc. See Rumpel 1883: s.v. *θεός* 1); LSJ s.v. I.1.a; Farnell 1930–2: ii. 466; Pötscher 1958: 6–7, 10–21 esp. 18–19; François 1957: esp. 71–9; Burkert 1985*a*: 272, 453 n. 44. Differently, Σ *N.* 7.46a, b; Köhnken 1971: 45.

[79] Codd. *βοαθόων*. *βοαθοέω* is Doric for *βοηθέω*. The synizesis of *-εω-* is easy (cf. 65 *οἰκέων*, and very often). For a similar sentence structure (*θεός* at the start of the sentence and a present participle agreeing with it at the end), cf. *O.* 6.101–2 *θεὸς . . . φιλέων*.

[80] Codd. *τοι*. *τῶ* is read by Mezger 1880: 367; Wilamowitz 1908: 336 and n. 1; id. 1922: n. 2;

> *μόλεν*[81] *χθονός, ἐν Πυθίοισι δὲ δαπέδοις*
> *κεῖται, Πριάμου πόλιν Νεοπτόλεμος ἐπεὶ πράθεν.*

Honour comes about for those whose reputation the god swells luxuriantly after their death, coming to their aid. Thus Neoptolemos came to the great navel of the wide-bosomed earth and lies now in Pythian ground after he destroyed Priamos' city.

On this text Neoptolemos is the subject of *μόλεν* (34). The postponement of the subject is Pindaric.[82] An indication that Neoptolemos is the subject of a third-person verb *μόλεν* comes in 40 *ᾤχετο . . . πρὸς θεόν*, 'he went to the god', where Neoptolemos is subject of *ᾤχετο*. Verses 40–1 are in fact in ring composition with verses 33–5, following the brief excursus on Molossia in verses 36–40.[83] Similarly, verse 41 'bringing possessions from the first fruits of Troy' picks up verse 35 'after he destroyed Priamos' city'.

The text offered above has been argued for by G. Most.[84] He takes *τῶ* with *μόλεν*, translating 'for this reason he came', and making a parenthesis of the clause *ἐν Πυθίοισι . . . κεῖται*.[85] Instead we might take *τῶ* as introducing a mythical illustration of the preceding verses, and as going with both *μόλεν* and *κεῖται*: 'in this wise Neoptolemos came to the navel of the earth and now lies buried in Pythian ground', where he is a hero honoured with lavish sacrificial processions: 46–7.[86] The combination of the past tense *μόλεν* with the present tense *κεῖται* is unproblematic in an aetiological context.[87] There is likewise no difficulty in the coordination of the past temporal clause in verse 35 (*Πριάμου πόλιν ἐπεὶ πράθεν*) with the present *κεῖται*.[88]

On this text and interpretation it will be implied that Apollo as 'helper' (32–3 *θεὸς . . . βοαθοέων*) saw to the establishment of Neoptolemos'

Most 1986*a*: 268. This is an interpretation, not an emendation of the transmitted text (see Wilamowitz 1908: 336; Norwood 1943: 326; Most 1986*a*: 268 n. 29).

[81] Codd. *ἔμολε(ν)*. Σ *N.* 7.47 records a variant *ἔμολον*, either 'they came' (reading *τοὶ* as a relative, with its antecedent in *τεθνακότων*); or 'I came'.

[82] Cf. *O.* 10.25–30, *I.* 6.27–30, *I.* 6.31–5. See Silk 1974: 168, 171 n. 3; Kirkwood 1982: 269; Most 1986*a*: 269; Burnett 1998: 508 n. 58.

[83] See Carey 1981: 150.

[84] Most 1986*a*; id. 1985*a*: 157. On the text, cf. Carey 1981: 148–51; Hummel 1993: 290–1.

[85] Most 1986*a*: 271; id. 1985*a*: 160, 166.

[86] Cf. Mezger 1880: 367; Norwood 1943: 326; Ruck 1972: 147 n. 1. On the uses of *τῶ*, see Most 1985*a*: 159 and nn. 110–11; Giannini 1995: 517. *τῶ* means 'therefore' at *P.* 5.23, *I.* 8.5, *I.* 8.66; Bacch. 17.29.

[87] So Pelliccia 1989: 95. For *κεῖται* used of heroes, cf. *P.* 5.93 and Pelliccia 1989: 90–2.

[88] Pelliccia 1989; cf. Hummel 1993: 341. Differently, Lloyd-Jones 1973: 132; Most 1986*a*. The same perceived difficulty led Mezger 1880: 367 to read 34 *μολὼν*.

cult after his death. The 'honour' (τιμά) of verse 31 is exemplified in Neoptolemos' honorific burial at Delphi (33–4) and in the 'heroic processions with many sacrifices' in his honour (46–7). Sogenes, too, has his divine helper, for it is implied that Herakles helped him to Nemean victory (cf. 95–7). One wonders whether after Sogenes' death Herakles may also become a 'god . . . coming to his aid' (32–3 θεὸς . . . βοαθοέων), so that 'honour/cult' (31 τιμά) may attach to him too. Certainly the figure of Herakles itself readily suggests the possibility of heroization, above all perhaps for an athlete.[89]

The first priority of this chapter was to establish that Neoptolemos is presented in *Nemean* 7 as the recipient of a hero cult: it is thus with a hero of cult, not just of myth, that Sogenes is associated through the resonances of verses 93–101 with 38–47. The main question then is the extent of the application of that hero cult of Neoptolemos to Sogenes: in particular, whether hero cult may, however distantly, likewise be in prospect for Sogenes. The possibility of an affirmative answer to this question is suggested by comparison with *Olympian* 1. In that ode there are striking parallels associating Hieron with Pelops, conceived again as a recipient of cult (cf. verses 14–23 with 90–5). These parallels have, plausibly, been taken to intimate that Hieron might in due course become the recipient of a posthumous hero cult, like Pelops (and in this case the interpretation gains plausibility from the fact that Hieron did receive heroic honours after his death).[90] The association between Sogenes and Neoptolemos in *Nemean* 7 is of the same kind as that between Hieron and Pelops in *Olympian* 1, and calls for the same approach. Although Sogenes is a boy victor and his victory is in the lowest-ranking of the Panhellenic games, he has broken into the company of athletes (namely, victors in the crown-bearing games) who might aspire to heroization (see Chapter 8). The road before Sogenes may be very much longer and very much less certain than that before Hieron, but their end point can still be the same. Sogenes' progress on that road will depend on the continuing favour of Herakles (98–100).

An alternative approach to the comparison between Sogenes and Neoptolemos effected by these verbal echoes is to see it as enshrining difference as well as similarity: whereas Neoptolemos enjoys

[89] See Nock 1928: 38; Burkert 1985*a*: 211, 433 n. 40; Sinn 1996: 88–9; Currie 2002: 37 n. 130. Note the depiction of Herakles' labours on the metopes of Zeus' temple, Olympia (Boardman 1985: Fig. 22), as well as his frequency as an exemplum in Pindar's odes. See above, Ch. 8.

[90] See Ch. 6, p. 75.

immortality in cult, Sogenes is to enjoy 'immortality' through Pindar's song.[91] However, Neoptolemos' cult is presented in the ode as an advance on the immortality of posthumous renown: *τιμά* (31) is distinguished from *λόγον* (21, 32), and that which is in the gift of the god is distinguished from that which is in the gift of the poet (see Chapter 6). Given that the example of Neoptolemos introduces precisely this distinction into the ode, it would be odd to make Neoptolemos' cult in the end just into an example for a metaphorical immortality in the poet's song.

Praise and censure in *Nemean* 7

The suggestion that the example of Neoptolemos is used to convey the possibility of heroization for Sogenes prompts a reexamination of the encomiastic strategy pursued in *Nemean* 7. Throughout the ode the laudator reflects on his task and on its reception by the audience. Encomium is always liable to bring censure on the laudator, or the laudandus, or both; in *Nemean* 7 the laudator makes frequent claims to truthfulness and to the avoidance of exaggeration. We can relate these poses of the laudator to what we have just identified as the objective of the laudator's praise: the indirect comparison between Sogenes and Neoptolemos. It is significant that the laudator's most striking disclaimer of impropriety in the ode (102–4) comes immediately after the section in which the parallels between Sogenes and Neoptolemos emerge (93–101). But it is impossible to analyse verses 102–4 without first taking a view of how the poem develops.

In verses 11–12 the laudator states a familiar epinician theme: success in action deserves commemoration in song (cf. *I.* 5.22–5, *N.* 3.7, etc.). This is developed into the thought that song alone preserves one's *καλὰ ἔργα* after one's death, acting as a 'mirror' (14 *ἔσοπτρον*) for one's deeds (verses 12–20). But in verses 20–30 the realization comes that 'words' (16 *ἐπέων*, 21 *ἀδυεπῆ*, 23 *μύθοις*) may also be at odds with 'real-

[91] Cf. Kurke 1992: 111 'The god has given victory to Sogenes and heroic cult to Neoptolemos, and for a brief moment Pindar equates the two', 111 n. 81 'there is as much an equation as a contrast operating in these lines between heroic cult honors and epinician immortalization.'

[92] 21 *πάθαν* is probably to be understood in a neutral sense: 'one's experience'. So Σ *N.* 7.29a (glossing as *πεπραχέναι*). Cf. Hdt. 1.52, 1.122.2, 5.67.4 *πάθεα*; Soph. *Ai.* 295. Cf. *εὖ παθεῖν*, 'fare well': *P.* 1.99, *N.* 1.32. Differently, Carey 1981: 143; Most 1985*a*: 149; Kirkwood 1982: 267, who take *πάθαν* as 'suffering', with an allusion to the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 1.4 *πολλὰ . . . πάθεν ἄλγεα*: cf. 'Theogn.' 1123).

ity' (14 ἔργοις, 21 πάθαν, 25 ἀλάθειαν).[92] The image of the mirror, now a distorting one, seems to continue in 24–5 εἰ . . . ἦν | . . . ἀλάθειαν ἰδέμεν, 'if it were possible [*sc.* for the great majority of men] to see the truth'. Homer provided too flattering a mirror for Odysseus' deeds (20–3).[93] For eloquence (23 σοφία, embracing both Homer's 'poetic art' and Odysseus' 'cunning') has the power to deceive (23–4).[94] It was able to make an inferior man, Odysseus, seem better than Aias, his superior (24–30). Verses 14–30 are concluded by a transitional formula (30 ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ) and ring composition (30–1 ~ 19–20).[95] Verses 31–47 go on to introduce a new theme. Whereas in verses 12–20 song alone was said to preserve memory of one's deeds after death verses 31–3 now state that τιμά ('cult') comes to those whom the god 'assists' (33 βοαθοέων) and guarantees their posthumous 'renown' (32 λόγον ~ 21 λόγον). The claim is exemplified by Neoptolemos' cult at Delphi (33–47). Verses 48–9 recall the antithesis of 'words' (48 ἔπεα) and 'deeds' (49 ἔργμασιν) which was developed in verses 20–30.[96] Various candidates have been proposed for the 'witness' (μάρτυς) of verse 49: Pindar, Apollo, 'the god' of verse 32, and Neoptolemos.[97] It seems best to take it as generic, equivalent to ὅς ἂν μαρτυρῇ ἔργοις: 'whoever bears (true) witness to *deeds*', *sc.* those of Neoptolemos or Sogenes, is contrasted with Homer 'of the sweet *words*', false witness to Odysseus' πάθαν (20–3).[98] Verbal echoes indicate that verses 48–9 engage with the concerns of 20–30: 49 οὐ ψεῦδις picks up 22 ψεύδεσσι, while 48 τρία **ἔπεα**, 'brief (unembellished) words', picks up 21 ἄδυ**επῆ** (and also 22 ποτανᾷ . . . μαχανᾷ).[99] This section too is concluded by ἀλλὰ γάρ (52) and ring composition (54–5 ~ 4–6).[100]

Homer is often invoked as a paradigm for the laudator, who thus hopes to bestow a similar 'immortal fame' on his subject. At *I.* 4.37–44

[93] Carey 1981: 180.

[94] For the thought, cf. *O.* 1.28–34; Eur. *Hec.* 1187–94.

[95] Ring composition suggests that 31 ἀδόκητον . . . καὶ δοκέοντα is synonymous with 19 ἀφνεὸς πενιχρός τε: so Thummer 1968–9: i. 96 n. 78; Young 1971*b*: 249–53. Differently, Carey 1981: 148; Kirkwood 1982: 268.

[96] For the λόγος–ἔργον antithesis, cf. Tugendhat 1960: 402–3; Most 1985*a*: 147, 181, 211.

[97] Pindar: Wilamowitz 1922: 163 n. 1; Schadewaldt 1928: 313; Tugendhat 1960: 395 and n. 1; Fogelmark 1972: 109; Lloyd-Jones 1973: 133. Apollo: Ruck 1972: 146, 148–9; Carey 1981: 155; Most 1985*a*: 177–8. Indefinite θεός: Woodbury 1991*b*: 301–3. Neoptolemos: Farnell 1930–2: ii. 296.

[98] At fr. 94b.39, *O.* 6.21 μάρτυς refers to the laudator.

[99] For the sense of τρία ἔπεα, cf. *O.* 13.98 παύρῳ ἔπει θήσω; Ar. *nub.* 1402; Dem. 19.209. See Mezger 1880: 368; Wilamowitz 1922: 162; Ruck 1972: 146; Lloyd-Jones 1973: 133; Carey 1981: 154; Most 1985*a*: 174. Differently, Σ *N.* 7.70.

[100] Ruck 1972: 149; Most 1985*a*: 183.

Homer's 'wondrous words' (39 *θεσπεσίων ἐπέων*) are the vehicle for preserving Aias' 'fine deeds' (42 *ἐργμάτων . . . καλῶν*), and his commemoration of Aias' *ἀρετή* is the model for Pindar's commemoration of Melissos (43–4). Homer has this role of exemplary laudator also in Simonides' Plataea elegy (11.15–18 *IEG*) and elsewhere.[101] At *N.* 7.14–50, however, Homer is a negative paradigm.[102] This too is paralleled: 'Perikles' in his Thucydidean funeral oration calls the Athenians 'in no need either of Homer as their panegyrist or of anyone else to provide short-term gratification with his words, while the truth of the matter undermines the impression created of the deeds' (2.41.4 *οὐδὲν προσδεόμενοι οὔτε Ὁμήρου ἐπαινέτου οὔτε ὅστις ἔπεσι μὲν τὸ αὐτίκα τέρψει τῶν δ' ἔργων τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἡ ἀλήθεια βλάψει*). Here, as at *N.* 7.14–50, but unlike *I.* 4.37–42 and Simonides 11 *IEG*, a gap opens up between 'words' and 'deeds': *ἔπεσι μὲν . . .* is opposed to *τῶν δ' ἔργων*.[103] Words may give pleasure (*ἔπεσι . . . τέρψει*: compare *N.* 7.21 *ἀδυεπῆ*) but diverge from the reality (*ἡ ἀλήθεια*: cf. *N.* 7.25 *ἀλάθειαν*). For 'Perikles', the facts themselves are to give proof of Athens' greatness: 'displaying your power with great proofs and not leaving it without a witness' (Thucydides 2.41.4 *μετὰ μεγάλων . . . σημείων καὶ οὐ δή τοι ἀμάρτυρόν γε τὴν δύναμιν παρασχόμενοι*), 'the power of the city itself shows that this is not a boast of words more than of deeds' (2.41.2 *ὡς οὐ λόγων . . . κόμπος τάδε μᾶλλον ἢ ἔργων ἐστὶν ἀλήθεια, αὐτὴ ἡ δύναμις τῆς πόλεως . . . σημαίνει*). In *Nemean* 7 the laudator similarly claims: 'no false witness is set over deeds' (49 *οὐ ψεῦδις ὁ μάρτυς ἔργμασιν ἐπιστατεῖ*).[104]

Homer, then, may be a positive or a negative paradigm for the laudator, whether in a victory ode or in a funeral oration. When a positive paradigm, the greatness of his theme and his poetic skill are conceded: the laudator prays for like skill in commemorating like deeds. When a negative paradigm, his poetic skill is ambiguous and his subject is seen as unworthy: the laudator repudiates such skill, claiming that his subject is, simply, intrinsically worthy. Despite their opposite premises, these are both rhetorical strategies by which the laudator can proclaim the worthiness of his own theme.

The function of the (negative) Homer–Odysseus–Aias paradigm

[101] Cf. 'Sim.' 40.(a).3 *FGE*; Theocr. 22.218–21. Goldhill 1991: 12; Nagy 1990*a*: 202–5.

[102] For the laudator's rejection of the 'Odysseus-paradigm', cf. *N.* 8.32–6. For the negative view of Homer, compare, perhaps, Hsch. *ὁμηρίδδειν· ψεύδεσθαι*.

[103] Contrast *I.* 4.38 *πᾶσαν ὀρθώσαις ἀρετάν*; Sim. 11.17 *IEG* [*πᾶσαν ἀλη*]*θείην*. Cf. Isoc. 9.66 *τοὺς μύθους* opposed to *τὴν ἀλήθειαν*. Calame 1999: 131; Brillante 1990: 124.

[104] The sentence should be punctuated to end on 49 *ἐπιστατεῖ*: see Carey 1981: 154; Race 1997: ii. 76.

(20–30) and the (positive) Neoptolemos-paradigm (33–47) is to construct a programme for the laudator's praise in *Nemean* 7. That programme is explicitly proclaimed in 62–3: 'bringing, as it were, streams of water to a man who is dear to me, I will praise fame that is genuine' (*ὕδατος ὥτε ῥοὰς φίλον ἐς ἄνδρ' ἄγων | κλέος ἐτήτυμον αἰνέσω*). The pure 'streams' of the laudator's song (compare the unembellished words, *τρία ἔπεα*, of verse 48) will *not* distort the truth (contrast Homer–Odysseus–Aias, 20–5), but will reflect it like a faithful mirror (cf. 14, and contrast 25). The emphasis on Sogenes' 'deeds' (11 *ἔρδων*, 16 *μόχθων*, 74 *πόνος*) indicates that the laudator is conforming to the positive paradigm.

Since the inclusion of the example of Neoptolemos in *Nemean* 7 serves to construct a paradigm of praise for the laudator, we can see verses 20–50 as obeying Bundy's 'master principle', being 'in [their] primary intent enkomiastic . . ., designed to enhance the glory of [the] patron'.[105] This is important, as many scholars have found a different intent in these verses: to offer a revision of the narrative of Neoptolemos which Pindar gave at *Paean* 6.100–20. On this influential view (the 'apology theory': discussed below), Pindar's negative portrayal of Neoptolemos in the paean angered the Aeginetans, and in *Nemean* 7 Pindar took the opportunity to soothe them with a more positive account of the Aiakid hero. The foregoing analysis aims to show that a sufficient motivation for the narrative of *Nemean* 7 is to be found in the internal dynamics of that ode.[106] The various self-justificatory poses struck by the laudator of *Nemean* 7 have nothing to do with an unfavourable Aeginetan reception of *Paean* 6, but everything to do with the laudator's concern for his audience's reception of his praise of Sogenes. We may now consider five such poses of the laudator, ending with the most controversial, verses 102–4.

(1) 64 *ἐὼν δ' ἐγγὺς Ἀχαιὸς οὐ μέμψεταί μ' ἀνήρ*, 'an Achaean man who is nearby will not find fault with me'. The first person here is best understood of the laudator (see the Appendix to this chapter, below). Some ancient commentators understood this first person of Pindar in a strong autobiographical sense, as the poet who also composed *Paean* 6.[107] They explained the 'reproach' (64 *μέμψεται*) as the offence which *Paean* 6 allegedly caused the Aeginetans.[108] However, verses 64–5 are not designed to placate Aeginetans.[109] Rather, the danger of reproach

[105] Bundy 1962: 3. On Bundy, see further Ch. 1.
[106] Lefkowitz 1991*a*: 144 'no external explanations need be sought'.
[107] Aristarchus/Aristodemus in Σ *N.* 7.94a.
[108] Σ *N.* 7.150a *μεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Αἰγινητῶν*; Σ *N.* 7.94a *ἠτιῶντο τὸν Πίνδαρον*.
[109] Cf. Carey 1981: 159–60.

countered here is that inherent in encomium, which could bring opprobrium on laudator or laudandus.[110]

(2) 66–7 *οὐχ ὑπερβαλών, | βίαια πάντ' ἐκ ποδὸς ἐρύσαις*, 'not exaggerating, dragging all violence out of the way'. The laudator here claims that in the eyes of Thearion's townsmen he will not be seen as guilty of excess or violence.[111] The laudator's concern to avoid excess is also voiced at 71 *μὴ τέρμα προβαίς*, 'not overstepping the mark', and 75 *εἴ τι πέραν ἀερθείς*, 'if soaring a little too high'.[112] Encomium may be marred if the claims advanced by the laudator for the laudandus are felt to be excessive. Precisely this charge, of excessive praise, is levelled at Homer in *Nemean* 7: 'I consider that the repute of Odysseus became greater than what he did (suffered?) on account of sweet-voiced Homer' (20–1 *ἐγὼ δὲ* **πλέον'** *ἔλπομαι | λόγον Ὀδυσσέος ἢ πάθαν διὰ τὸν ἁδυεπῆ γενέσθ' Ὅμηρον*). The same concern for perceived excess is voiced in 'Perikles'' funeral oration: 'the inexperienced (listener) might perhaps consider that some things are even being exaggerated' (Thucydides 2.35.2 *ὅ τε ἄπειρος [sc. ἀκροατὴς τάχ' ἄν] ἔστιν ἃ καὶ* **πλεον**άζεσθαι *[sc. νομίσειε]*). The laudator's repudiation of 'violence' (67) is picked up subsequently in 76 *οὐ τραχύς εἰμι*, 'I am not harsh' and in 102–4 (see below).

(3) 68–72 *μαθὼν δέ τις ἀνερεῖ | εἰ πὰρ μέλος ἔρχομαι ψάγιον ὄαρον ἐννέπων. | Εὐξένιδα πάτραθε Σώγενες, ἀπομνύω | μὴ τέρμα προβαὶς ἄκονθ' ὥτε χαλκοπάραον ὄρσαι | θοὰν γλῶσσαν*, 'after he has heard, someone will declare whether I come speaking a dissonant speech. Sogenes of the clan of Euxenidai, I swear that I will not overstep the mark and hurl a swift tongue like a bronze-tipped javelin.' Some ancient scholars again took verses 68–9 as self-justification by Pindar for his treatment of Neoptolemos in *Paean* 6.[113] Again, however, the verses should be understood of the relation between laudator and public within *Nemean* 7. Verse 69 *πὰρ μέλος* and *ψάγιον* denote praise which is 'dissonant' or 'awry', that is, which does not 'ring true'.[114] 68 *μαθών* is probably 'once he has heard' rather than 'having just heard': it refers to *Nemean* 7 as a whole rather than to the verses immediately preceding.[115] Similarly, verses 70–1 *ἀπομνύω | μὴ . . . ὄρσαι* is forward-looking:

[110] Bundy 1962: 40–1. Cf. Thuc. 2.35.2; Anon. Iamblichi 89.2.(2)–(3) *VS*.

[111] Bundy 1972: 81–2 n. 99; Lefkowitz 1991*e*: 145. Differently, Carey 1981: 162. For *ὑπερβάλλειν* 'be in excess', cf. LSJ s.v. A.II.3.a. For *βίαιος* of rhetorical style, cf. Thuc. 3.36.6 (*βιαιότατος*, of Kleon); Hornblower 1991: 420.

[112] For the former metaphor, cf. *P.* 1.44. Cf. too Ar. *ran.* 995 with Dover 1993: 316.

[113] Σ *N.* 7.100a.

[114] Carey 1981: 165.

[115] Differently, Carey 1981: 164.

'I swear that I will not'.[116] The bulk of the praise is still outstanding at 68–72.

(4) 75–6 *ἔα με νικῶντί γε χάριν – εἴ τι πέραν ἀερθεὶς | ἀνέκραγον, οὐ τραχύς εἰμί—καταθέμεν*, 'allow me to discharge my service to a victor —if I soared a little too high and squawked, I am not harsh'.[117] Here the language of exaggeration and violence returns, but in a different metaphor. *ἀερθεὶς* likens the laudator to a soaring bird; one thinks above all of an eagle.[118] *ἀνέκραγον* conveys ill-considered, blustering speech.[119] *τραχύς* means 'harsh', 'savage'.[120] These verses are important: they demonstrate that the laudator's concern for violence and excess relate specifically to his duty to praise the laudandus (*νικῶντι . . . χάριν . . . καταθέμεν*). This increases the likelihood that the same is true for the analogous expressions at verses 67 and 103.

(5) 102–4 *τὸ δ' ἐμὸν οὔ ποτε φάσει κέαρ | ἀτρόποισι Νεοπτόλεμον ἑλκύσαι | ἔπεσι*, 'my heart will never say that it dragged Neoptolemos with harsh words'.[121] *ἑλκύσαι*, 'dragged' (103), is a metaphor from the abusing of a hero's corpse, either by dogs or by a human enemy.[122]

[116] Carey 1981: 169–70.

[117] For this punctuation and sense (*καταθέμεν* governed by *ἔα*), cf. Σ *N.* 7.110. (For *χάριν κατατιθέναι*, cf. LSJ s.v. *κατατίθημι* I.3.a, II.4.) Alternatively, *ἔα με* may be a complete sentence and *καταθέμεν* governed by *οὐ τραχύς εἰμι*: so Σ *N.* 7.112; Carey 1981: 170–1.

[118] Cf. esp. Bacch. 5.14–33; also *I.* 1.64–5; *O.* 9.11–12; Ar. *av.* 1372–1409. Bundy 1962: 82; Dunbar 1995: 665.

[119] Cf. *Od.* 14.467; Ar. *vesp.* 1311, *eq.* 670, 674, *ecc.* 431; Andoc. 1.43. The verb *κράζω* is used by Ar. of Paphlagon's (*sc.* Kleon's) manner of speaking in the Athenian assembly: *eq.* 137, 256, 274, 285, 287, 303, 487, etc.; cf. the synonym *κλάζω* of Kyon (*sc.* Kleon) at Ar. *vesp.* 929–30. Cf. Thuc.'s *βιαιότατος* of Kleon (3.36.6). Schadewaldt 1928: 320 and nn. 3–4; Nagy 1979: 236; Carey 1981: 171; Most 1985*a*: 197 n. 70; Lefkowitz 1991*e*: 141.

[120] LSJ s.v. I.4.

[121] Slater 1969*b*: 92–3 argued that *οὔ ποτε* goes with *ἑλκύσαι*, not *φάσει*: 'my heart declares that I have at no time . . .'. The case for taking *οὔ ποτε* with *φάσει*, not *ἑλκύσαι*, has been restated by Carey 1981: 178; Pelliccia 1995: 317–19, 332–4; Pfeijffer 1999*b*: 47–8 and n. 6. Differently, Pelliccia 1995: 346–50 proposes to take the transmitted text to mean: 'My heart will never say: "Abuse Neoptolemus!" ', or else to emend to *οὔ ποτ' ἐφήσει*, 'My heart will never bid [me] to do violence to Neoptolemus'. Neither seems promising. Further on *N.* 7.102–4, see Fränkel 1961: 385–7; Fogelmark 1972: 110–16; Lefkowitz 1991*e*: 141–3; Burnett 1998: 506; Steiner 2001.

[122] So Σ *N.* 7.150a. For the metaphor in *ἑλκύσαι ἔπεσι*, cf. *N.* 4.94 *τῷ λόγῳ ἕλκειν* (where the expression is helped by a wrestling metaphor); Plat. *resp.* 539b5–7 *χαίροντες ὥσπερ σκυλάκια τῷ ἕλκειν τε καὶ σπαράττειν τῷ λόγῳ τοὺς πλήσιον ἀεί*. For the literal 'dragging' of the warrior's corpse in epic (by men or dogs), see *Il.* 22.335–6, 395–404, 24.417–18 (Achilleus and Hektor); 17.556–8, cf. 389–97, 18.155–6, esp. 175–7 (Patroklos); cf. Hdt. 1.140.1. Thus Bury 1890: 115 n. 1; Lloyd-Jones 1973: 136; Lefkowitz 1991*e*: 143. Differently, Slater 1969*b*: 93; Köhnken 1971: 81 n. 197; Burnett 1998: 505 n. 44. Pindar's *ἑλκύσαι* is not the same as the scholiasts' *παρέλκειν*: Fränkel 1961: 386; Heath 1993: 180. For the 'dragging' metaphor of 'blame poets', cf. Nagy 1979: 225–7; Gentili 1988: 108; Vernant 1991*d*: 88.

ἔπεσι (104) recalls the earlier leitmotiv of 'words' (48 ἔπεα, 16 ἐπέων, 21 ἀδυεπῆ, 23 μύθοις): the laudator here denies having used 'words' in the way decried in the first two triads. ἀτρόποις (103) denotes words 'not adapted to one's present company or circumstances' and therefore, potentially, 'harsh' words.[123] This links up with the laudator's other denials of 'violence' in the poem (67, 76). The sense is: 'my heart will never say it has dishonoured Neoptolemos with harsh (or "unfitting") words'. It is here above all that commentators have felt constrained to see a reference to the circumstances surrounding the allegedly hostile reception of *Paean* 6 by the Aeginetans.[124] On that view, the first person behind verse 102 is the historical Pindar, poet of *Nemean* 7 and *Paean* 6; and the 'violence to Neoptolemos' refers to verses 100–20 of *Paean* 6. Two objections may be made to this view. First, verses 102–4 are, as we have seen, of a piece with other expressions in *Nemean* 7 voicing the concern of the laudator in his capacity as laudator—not of the poet as author of *Paean* 6. Second, verses 102–4 follow immediately on that section of the poem in which parallels are drawn between Sogenes and Neoptolemos (93–101). Verses 102–3 should therefore be understood in relation to those parallels. There is a logical connection between the laudator's denial that he has dishonoured the hero and his comparison of the laudandus to the hero through the parallels developed in 93–101. While the comparison of Sogenes to Neoptolemos elevates the former, it runs the risk of degrading the latter. We may cite two illustrations of the danger that was inherent in encomia which compared the laudandus to a hero or god. First, Isocrates' encomium of Philippos II (*Philippos* [5] 142–3):

ἀλλὰ μὴν τῶν γε προγεγενημένων ἔχω μὲν ὑπερβαλεῖν τὰς πράξεις τοῖς ἤδη διὰ σοῦ κατειργασμένοις . . . ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰλόμην ἀποσχέσθαι τῆς τοιαύτης ἰδέας δι' ἀμφότερα, διά τε τοὺς οὐκ εὐκαίρως αὐτῇ χρωμένους καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι ταπεινοτέρους ποιεῖν τῶν νῦν ὄντων τοὺς ἡμιθέους εἶναι νομιζομένους.

[123] One who is εὔτροπος (cf. εὐτράπελος) adapts himself charmingly to his company (Aristot. *EN* 1128[a]10). One who is πολύτροπος is (too) skilful at moulding himself to his situation (Odysseus: *Od.* 1.1, Plat. *Hipp. min.* 364e–365b; Hermes: *h. Hom.* 4.13). Cf. δύστροπος: one who is 'surly' in company. Accordingly, one who is ἄτροπος cannot adapt to his company or situation ('Theogn.' 215–18), and may be 'harsh' (A.R. 4.387, 1006). For different explanations of ἄτροπος, see Tugendhat 1960: 404; Most 1985*a*: 205–6; Arrighetti 1987: 93 and n. 179; Gentili 1988: 143.

[124] So Bury 1890: 116; Schadewaldt 1928: 38; Tugendhat 1960: 404; Lloyd-Jones 1973: 128, 137; Carey 1981: 7, 135, 177–9; Kirkwood 1982: 259, 276; Most 1985*a*: 207–8; Gentili 1988: 143; d'Alessio 1994: 136–8; Rutherford 2001*a*: 322. Differently, Bundy 1962: 28–9; Thummer 1968–9: 95; Slater 1969*b*: 92–3; Köhnken 1971: 80–1; Ruck 1972: 144; Arrighetti 1987: 91–7; Burnett 1998: 505–6.

I could top the deeds of former men with the feats that you have already accomplished; . . . but I choose to abstain from such a literary form for two reasons: first because of those who employ it infelicitously and second because I do not wish to make those who are accounted demigods more lowly than the men of today.

Second, Lucian's encomium of Panthea (*Pro Imaginibus* [*In Defence of Portraits*] 13):

τὸ δὴ ἄνθρωπον οὖσαν Ἀφροδίτῃ καὶ Ἥρᾳ εἰκάσαι τί ἄλλο ἢ ἀντικρύς ἐστιν εὐτελίζειν τὰς θεάς; ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τοιούτοις οὐχ οὕτω τὸ μικρὸν μεῖζον γίνεται τῇ παραθέσει ὡς τὸ μεῖζον ἀποσμικρύνεται πρὸς τὸ ταπεινότερον κατασπώμενον;

To compare a mortal woman [*sc.* Panthea] with Aphrodite or Hera, what else is that than a downright devaluation of the goddesses? For in such things that which is small does not become greater by the comparison so much as that which is greater is belittled by being dragged down towards what is beneath it.

To put humans on a par with gods or heroes is to devalue the latter. Equally, to confer on a human the honours reserved for gods is to devalue those honours.[125] In a comedy performed in Athens at the turn of the fourth century BC, Stratokles, the politician who had proposed various divine honours for Demetrios Poliorketes, was branded 'one who made the honours of the gods human' (Philippides 25.6 *PCG τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς ποιοῦντ' ἀνθρωπίνας*).[126] For the laudator of *Nemean* 7 to compare Sogenes with Neoptolemos was to run the risk of diminishing Neoptolemos—and conforming after all to the negative paradigm for the laudator deprecated in verses 20–30. Those verses recall how, owing to the deceptive power of words, Aias once lost out in the *ὅπλων κρίσις* against Odysseus. In *Nemean* 7, Neoptolemos, another Aiakid, is in potential danger of suffering a similar loss of honour through the comparison with Sogenes. The laudator is at pains in *Nemean* 7 to show that this danger has been averted. Comparisons of the laudandus to a hero were a commonplace in encomia. Isocrates in the passage quoted above calls them a 'literary form' (*ἰδέα*).[127] It is clear from Isocrates' phrase 'those who employ [this literary form] infelicitously' that such comparisons were not always well managed. Fifth-century

[125] Cf. Walcot 1978: 22 'the very act of sharing in itself represents a reduction of privilege; the envy of the gods is provoked by a wish to retain exclusively for themselves something which the mortal who threatens to rival the gods stands to acquire and not to lose.'

[126] Mikalson 1998: 98–9.

[127] For other examples, cf. Isoc. 9.65; Dio Chrys. 29.14; Hyper. 6.39; Virg. *Aen.* 6.801–5.

athletes in their eagerness to equal the heroes did not necessarily baulk at physical comparisons or even physical encounters with them (see Chapter 8). Extant encomia are generally more restrained. Alone of known epinicians Simonides' ode to Glaukos conjures up the image of a physical confrontation between the laudandus and the heroes Polydeukes and Herakles (509 *PMG*). Pindar by contrast declares in *Olympian* 9, 'to revile the gods is a hateful art, and to boast beyond measure sounds a note of madness; don't then babble about such things: leave all war and fighting well away from the immortals' (37–41). It is in this context that the disavowals of excess and violence in *Nemean* 7 should be seen (verses 67, 76, 102–4). Heroes might in truth sometimes receive a 'mauling' (103 ἐλκύσαι) at the hands of encomiasts. In *Nemean* 7, the comparison between the laudandus and Neoptolemos has been so delicately handled (through verbal echoes) that the latter could feel himself honoured without the former feeling himself slighted. In claiming to have effected the comparison 'not . . . with harsh words' (102–4) the laudator may be taken to be distancing himself (in Isocrates' words) from 'those who employ it infelicitously'. The 'defensive tone' which scholars have found so striking in *Nemean* 7 may thus be explicable in relation to the indirect comparison of Sogenes with Neoptolemos and to the problems which naturally arise from a comparison of a human laudandus with a hero.[128] A final parallel: in the first triad of *Olympian* 6 the laudator declares that the laudandus Hagesias merits the same form of praise as was once addressed by Adrastos to Amphiaraos. He immediately follows this direct equation of the laudandus with a hero with a disclaimer: he does not make this comparison in a spirit of contention, but as a sincere witness to the truth (17–21):

> τὸ καί
> ἀνδρὶ κώμου δεσπότᾳ πάρεστι Συρακοσίῳ·
> οὔτε δύσηρις ἐὼν οὔτ' ὢν φιλόνικος ἄγαν,
> καὶ μέγαν ὅρκον ὀμόσσαις τοῦτό γέ οἱ σαφέως
> μαρτυρήσω . . .

This [the praise just addressed to Amphiaraos] is applicable also to that man of Syracuse, the master of the celebration [Hagesias]: being neither overly contentious nor overfond of victory, and swearing a great oath, I will give clear evidence for him of this.

For the laudator to compare the laudandus to a hero may readily be

[128] For *N.* 7's 'defensive tone', cf. Lefkowitz 1991*a*: 137; Kirkwood 1982: 259; Gentili 1988: 143; d'Alessio 1994: 132.

seen as engaging in a 'contention' with the hero (compare 19 δύσηρις).[129] The challenge facing the laudator is to manage the comparison while escaping the impression of contentiousness, that is without seeming to manhandle the hero. This is the context in which we may see *N.* 7.102–4.

The 'apology theory'

It is already clear that this interpretation of *Nemean* 7 does not have recourse to the 'apology theory': the theory that Pindar's *Paean* 6, performed at Delphi, gave an unflattering account of Neoptolemos (*Paean* 6.104–20), at which the Aeginetans took offence; and that Pindar took the opportunity of his next commission from an Aeginetan victor to offer a more favourable account of that hero (*Nemean* 7, verses 33–47).[130] Traditionally, the apology theory has adverted to various passages in *Nemean* 7 as Pindar's self-justification: verses 48–50, 64–5, and 102–4.[131] The argument of the foregoing section was that there was no need to invoke the apology theory to explain those passages. In what follows we will consider other arguments for and against the theory. The theory has had such a central place in interpretation of the poem, and in Pindar criticism in general, that discussion of it cannot be avoided. The theory was first advocated in antiquity by the Alexandrian scholar Aristarchus, adapted by his pupil Aristodemus, and perhaps subsequently elaborated.[132] It has found both adherents and opponents in modern times.[133] Parallels, though mostly doubtful, have been claimed for its main assumptions. An *apologia* of Pindar

[129] Cf. Theocr. 4.8 *φαντί νιν Ἡρακλῆι βίην καὶ κάρτος* **ἐρίσδειν**.

[130] For a statement of the theory, see Rutherford 2001*a*: 321–3 and n. 64.

[131] See esp. Σ *N.* 7.150a; Σ *N.* 7.94a.

[132] For Aristarchus and the apology theory, see Σ *N.* 7.70; cf. Σ *N.* 7.94a. On Aristarchus' methods, see Irigoin 1952: 51–6; Pfeiffer 1968: 210–33; Janko 1994: 25–9. For Aristarchus' historicism, see Σ *I.* 7.23a; Young 1971*a*: 3 n. 6; Irigoin 1952: 56. For Aristodemus and the apology theory, see Σ *N.* 7.150a. Aristodemus as Aristarchus' pupil: Σ *N.* 7.1a (Drachmann iii. 117.12). Aristodemus' methods: Irigoin 1952: 59–60; Young 1970*b*: 636; id. 1968: 48 and n. 2. For subsequent ancient elaboration of the apology theory, see Heath 1993: 189–90.

[133] Adherents include Wilamowitz 1908; id. 1922: 159–60; Schadewaldt 1928: 34; Farnell 1930–2: i. 203–10; Radt 1958: 85–8; Tugendhat 1960; Bowra 1964: 71–4; Fogelmark 1972: 106–116; Lloyd-Jones 1973; Carey 1981: 133–7; Kirkwood 1982: 259; Most 1985*a*: 207–9; Gentili 1988: 142; d'Alessio 1994: 136–8; Rutherford 1997: 14. Opponents: Thummer 1968–9: i. 94–8; Slater 1969*b*; Köhnken 1971: 37–42; Ruck 1972: 143–53; Smith 1984; Arrighetti 1987: 75–97; Lefkowitz 1991*e*: 137–45; Heath 1993; Burnett 1998; Loscalzo 1998: 123.

has a parallel in the controversial 'palinode(s)' of Stesichorus (192–3 *PMG*).[134] The alleged offence of the Aeginetans at Pindar has a parallel in the Corinthians' alleged offence at Simonides (572 *PMG*).[135] The concern of a city-state for the image of its hero is seen for instance in the Megarian historians' defence of Skeiron and Peisistratos' defence of Theseus (Plutarch, *Theseus* 10.2 and 20.1–2 respectively).[136] Finally, various odes of Pindar apart from *Nemean* 7 have been supposed by scholars, ancient and modern, to contain references to other poems in the corpus.[137] *P.* 2.79 has been thought to refer to a hyporchema for Hieron (fr. 105); *O.* 10.9 has been held to refer to *Olympian* 11, the latter poem being the 'interest' (*τόκος*) on the late *Olympian* 10; and most plausibly, but still not conclusively, *I.* 1.1–4 apparently refers to *Paean* 4.[138] As the apology theory derives only dubious support from these parallels, it must be scrutinized on its own terms. We must begin by taking a look at *Paean* 6.

Paean 6

Paean 6 is of unknown date. It was performed at the Delphic Theoxenia (61 *ἐν θεῶν ξενίᾳ*: compare 5 *ἐν ζαθέῳ . . . χρόνῳ*).[139] It is assumed that all Greek states were annually represented by a *θεωρία* at this festival.[140] The presence of Aeginetans is suggested by 177–80:

. . .*φ*[*ιλεῖ*]*τε*
[. . .]*ι πόλιν πατρίαν, φι-*
[*λεῖτε*] *δ' εὔφ*[*ρον*]*α λαόν*
τόνδε[141]

. . . love . . . ancestral city, love this well-disposed people.

[134] Cf. Lloyd-Jones 1973: 137; Lefkowitz 1981: 58, 32–4; Gentili 1988: 126–7. On Stesichorus' 'palinode', see Bowra 1961: 107–12; Arrighetti 1987: 85–6; Pratt 1993: 132–6.

[135] 572 *PMG*.

[136] Skeiron: Lloyd-Jones 1973: 137. Theseus: Connor 1970: 145.

[137] Hubbard 1991: 37–9 finds examples of 'autoreferential intertextuality' in Pindar: *O.* 3.42–4 is taken to refer to *O.* 1.1 and *P.* 6.1–3 to *pae.* 6.1–18. Differently, Burnett 1998: 505 'cross-reference from one performance to another is a dubious matter'.

[138] On *P.* 2.79, see Σ *P.* 2.127 and above, Ch. 12. On *O.* 10.9, see Σ *O.* 11 Inscr. b and, differently, Bundy 1962: 1. On *I.* 1.1–4, see Σ *I.*1 Inscr. b.; Bowra 1933: 41; Privitera 1982: 9, 139; d'Alessio 1994: 64; Race 1997: ii. 132; differently, Käppel 1992: 143–51; cf. Rutherford 2001*a*: 106, 284, 292.

[139] For the performance of paeans at the Theoxenia, see Käppel 1992: 327–8.

[140] Amandry 1944–5: 413, 415; Radt 1958: 83; Burkert 1985*a*: 107.

[141] Text after Rutherford 2001*a*, incorporating readings of d'Alessio and Ferrari 1988.

The subject of 177 φιλεῖτε, 'love', is surely the Aiakidai (compare 177 [Αἰακ]ιδᾶν). In that case, the 'ancestral city' (177) is likely to be Aegina, and 'this people' (179–80) the Aeginetans.[142] The deictic pronoun 'this' (180 τόνδε) implies that Aeginetans were at the very least present at the performance of *Paean* 6; it may imply that they performed it.[143] Non-local choruses were common at Panhellenic festivals, at Delphi and elsewhere.[144] The eulogy of Aegina in verses 123–83 makes sense in the mouths of an Aeginetan chorus. The second person plural pronominal adjective ὑμέτερον (139) is no obstacle to Aeginetans being the performers.[145] It would be possible to refer this second person plural to Aegina on her own, not to Aeginetans.[146] Another solution may be to refer it neither to the Aeginetans nor to Aegina on her own, but jointly to Aegina and Zeus Hellanios.[147] The assumption that an Aeginetan chorus sing these lines is consistent with other indications of the chorus' composition within the poem. A chorus of young men seems to be indicated by 122 νέοι.[148] The first persons of the first triad (especially 5–6 με . . . | ἀοίδιμον Πιερίδων προφάταν) are probably to be referred to the chorus, not to Pindar.[149] Granted that these are choral first persons,

[142] Rutherford 1997: 2. Cf. *O.* 13.27 τόνδε λαόν; *pae.* 3.12 τάνδε πόλιν Käppel; Timoth. 791.239–40 *PMG*.

[143] D'Alessio and Ferrari 1988: 164; Rutherford 1997: 3 and n. 6, 17; id. 2001*a*: 333–5. For Aeginetans as performers of *pae.* 6, see Wilamowitz 1908: 350; id. 1922: 134–5; d'Alessio 1994: 137 and n. 68; Burnett 1998: 503–4; cf. Fogelmark 1972: 44–5; Suárez de la Torre 1997: 172. Hoekstra 1962: 4–7 argues that Aeginetans customarily performed a paean at the Theoxenia, but on the occasion of *pae.* 6 had been prevented and replaced by a Delphian chorus; cf. Bona 1988: 101. The notion that the intended chorus was literally wanting is refuted by Burnett 1998. Aeginetans are rejected as the performers of *pae.* 6 by Radt 1958: 89; Gentili 1988: 140, 278 n. 66.

[144] Hdt. 6.27.2; 'Sim.' 519 fr. 35.12 *PMG* = *pae.* 5.12 Käppel. Similarly at Delos: *I.* 1.3–10; Bacch. 17.130–2; Thuc. 3.104.3, cf. 3.104.6; Call. *h.* 4.279. Cf. Hoekstra 1962: 8; Fogelmark 1972: 132.

[145] As supposed by Pavese 1993: 477, cf. 478. Calder 1977 would emend ὑμέτερον to ἁμέτερον.

[146] Rutherford 2001*a*: 325 'ὑμέτερον stands for a singular, as often in hymnic contexts', cf. 196 and n. 20.

[147] There is no difficulty in applying ἐπιχώριον (139) to Zeus and Aigina (*pace* Radt 1958: 184). *I.* 7.2 applies ἐπιχωρίων to Theba. Aegina is Zeus Hellanios' island (125–6). In 141, [ἔτεκετ'] (with Zeus Hellanios and Aigina subject) can be as easily supplied as [ἔτεκεν] (Snell).

[148] Pavese 1993: 469, 471–2. Rutherford 1997: 18 raises the possibility that these νέοι are distinct from the chorus. For boys' choruses at the Theoxenia, cf. Käppel T95 (iii BC) ὅπως ᾄδωντι οἱ παῖδες τᾷ θυσίᾳ τῶν Θεοξενίων.

[149] So Verrall 1913: 128 and n. 2; Hoekstra 1962: 9–11; Pavese 1993: 470–1; Burnett 1998: 494–6 and n. 5; Rutherford 2001*a*: 335 (contrast 308–9). The general observations of d'Alessio 1994: 119 about how a chorus may style itself are relevant here. Differently, referring the first persons to Pindar, Wilamowitz 1922: 131; Radt 1958: 105; Fogelmark 1972: 118–122; Bona 1988: 119; d'Alessio 1994: 125; Rutherford 1997: 1; cf. id. 2001*a*: 308–9; Furley and Bremer 2001: i. 114; Kurke (forthcoming).

the supposition of a non-Delphian chorus seems easier than that of a Delphian one.[150] The problem is not that Delphians could not address Pytho in the second person (verses 1–2), but rather that the Delphians who are spoken of in the second person, '*your* [*sc.* Pytho's] townsmen[151]' (10–11 *ἕταις . . . τεοῖσιν*) are distinguished clearly from the speaker of the first-person expressions 'I came' (9 *ἦλθον*) and 'my honours' (11 *ἐμαῖς . . . τιμαῖς*).[152] The 'honours' of verse 11 would make sense referred to an Aeginetan speaker either because Aegina is regularly praised at the Theoxenia (cf. 123–83) or because Aeginetan delegates at that festival may have received special privileges.[153]

The assumption of a non-Delphian chorus for *Paean* 6 contradicts the title in the left margin to *Paean* 6.1 in the papyrus (P. Oxy. 841): 'For the Delphians: To Pytho' (*Δελφοῖς | εἰς Πυθώ*).[154] An asteriscus, indicating the beginning of a new poem, and the (sub)title 'For the Aeginetans to Aiakos: a *Prosodion*', has also recently been read in the left margin to *Paean* 6.123–4 in the papyrus (*Αἰγ[ινήτα]ις | [εἰ]ς Αἰα[κὸ]ν | προσ[ό]δι[ο]ν*).[155] In the corresponding right-hand margin the following scholion has been read: 'it is transmitted in book one of the *Prosodia*' (Σ *Paean* 6.124 Rutherford *ἐν τῷ α΄ [τ]ῶν προσοδί[ω]ν φέρεται*).[156] This title and scholion at verse 123 show that our 'fragment 52f' enjoyed a double transmission in antiquity. Not only were verses 1–183 transmitted as a paean (P. Oxy. 841 was a book of Pindar's *Paeans*, containing *Paeans* 1–10), but verses 1–122 were alternatively regarded as a self-

[150] A Delphian chorus is assumed by Verrall 1913: 128 and n. 2; Hoekstra 1962: 9–11; Pavese 1993: 473. A non-Delphian chorus is assumed by Burnett 1998: 493–4 n. 3, 494–6 and nn. 5, 7.

[151] For *ἕταις* as 'fellow-townsmen', see van Wees 1992: 272–3.

[152] Cf. Burnett 1998: 504. Differently, Verrall 1913: 128; Hoekstra 1962: 10; Pavese 1993: 474.

[153] For the latter possibility, see Rutherford 2001*a*: 335–6. Others have referred 11 'my honours' to the honours attested (late) for Pindar at Delphi. See above, this chapter.

[154] Grenfell and Hunt 1908: 40. Cf. Σ *N.* 7.94a *γράφων Δελφοῖς τὸν παιᾶνα*. For the implications of this title, see Rutherford 1997: 1, 3. Rutherford 1997: 13 mentions the 'extreme' possibility that the title at verse 123 'could be original'; Radt 1958: 89 attaches much weight to the title at verse 1. Differently, Fränkel 1961: 396; Krummen 1990: 219–22; Burnett 1998: 503. Cf. Grenfell and Hunt 1908: 15 'appears to be a subsequent insertion'. On the hands of the titles at 1 and 123, see Rutherford 1997: 4, 20. With its marginal position, compare P. Oxy. 2441 (Pind. *Paeans* 14–15), P. Lond. 733 (Bacch.), and contrast P. Oxy. 2430 fr. 35.(b).12 (Sim. 519 fr.35.12 *PMG*).

[155] Rutherford 1997: 3–6. This title is followed by three erased lines: see Grenfell and Hunt 1908: 46, 98; Radt 1958: 35*; Rutherford 1997: 3 and n. 8 and the apparatus criticus at Rutherford 2001*a*: 303. Do we perhaps have traces in these lines of an abbreviation for *Ἀρ(ίσταρχος)* or *Ἀρ(ιστόδημος)* and *προσ[οδίων]*?

[156] Rutherford 1997: 6–8.

contained paean and verses 123–83 as an independent prosodion.[157] It is further possible that another, very fragmentary, papyrus (P. Oxy. 1792) transmitted verses 123–83—only—along with other Pindaric prosodia.[158]

Evidently some ancient critics, but only some, regarded fr. 52f.123–83 as independent of fr. 52f.1–122. Was this Pindar's own conception? Several factors suggest not.[159] First, verses 123–83 have the same metrical scheme as verses 1–122, creating a likelihood that they are one poem.[160] Second, 123 *ὀνομακλύτα γάρ ἐσσι* cannot without tinkering serve as the first line of an independent poem.[161] Third, verses 1–122 seem to require a non-Delphian chorus while verses 123–83 seem to be sung by an Aeginetan chorus: it is tempting to identify these non-Delphians as Aeginetans. Fourth, there is an important thematic connection between the first two triads and the last triad in the myth of the Panhellenic drought.[162] Fifth, there are verbal echoes connecting all three triads.[163] Finally, it is hard not to connect the *παιηόνων* of verse 127 from which Aegina is not to be excluded with 121–2 *παιηό-|[ν]ων*. The last point will entail not just that fr. 52f.1–122 and 123–83 are both paeans, but that they are part of the *same* paean.[164] The integrity of fr. 52f.1–183, its praise of Aegina, and the possibility that it was performed by an Aeginetan chorus all present problems for the apology theory, as we shall see.

[157] See d'Alessio 1997: 56–9; Rutherford 1997: 12; id. 2001*a*: 330–1. Furley and Bremer 2001 (see esp. i. 106) take just verses 1–122, omitting 123–83.

[158] D'Alessio 1997: 37–8.

[159] But see d'Alessio 1997: 58–9, keeping open the possibility that a separate performance tradition and textual transmission of verses 123–83 go back to the 5th century (or even to Pindar). Rutherford 2001*a*: 336 is more inclined 'to explore the possibility that the independent or semi-independent status of the third triad could be original'. See also Kurke (forthcoming).

[160] Rutherford 1997: 12.

[161] For this text of *pae.* 6.123, see Rutherford's edition (2001*a*: 301). For the point, see Farnell 1930–2: i. 313; Rutherford 1997: 13; d'Alessio 1997: 57. The third triad, like the second, will have begun with *γάρ*. For *γάρ* (123) followed by *οὕνεκεν* (127), cf. *P.* 9.90–3. See Radt 1958: 173 and n. 2.

[162] Radt 1958: 89–90; Kirkwood 1982: 309–10; Bona 1988: 100–1; cf. Grenfell and Hunt 1908: 99. Differently, Rutherford 1997: 2 (who finds such links insufficient).

[163] See Suárez de la Torre 1997: 171; Burnett 1998: 515 n. 80, 517 and n. 85. Further echoes include the indirect aetiological questions *πόθεν;* (50 and 130) and Zeus' 'golden clouds' (92 and 137–8).

[164] Cf. 182 *Παιάν*. Cf. Rutherford 1997: 12–13; id. 2001*a*: 329.

The apology theory criticized

The apology theory is a conjecture based on the extant texts of *Paean* 6 and *Nemean* 7.[165] It makes the following assumptions: (1) that *Nemean* 7 was performed shortly after *Paean* 6; (2) that the presentation of Neoptolemos in *Paean* 6 was defamatory to that hero; (3) that the Aeginetans took offence at that presentation; and (4) that Pindar took the opportunity to repair that offence with *Nemean* 7. All these invite criticism.

The first of these is unknowable; there are no reliable grounds on which to date either *Paean* 6 or *Nemean* 7.[166]

Regarding the second, we can say that *Paean* 6 repeats established Delphic tradition concerning Neoptolemos.[167] Almost all heroes had black spots in their careers; that is virtually part of the typology of the hero.[168] Moreover, the portrayal of Neoptolemos at *Paean* 6.100–20 is not obviously a negative one.[169] To make it so, ancient scholars (Aristarchus or Aristodemus?) may have resorted to a tendentious text and interpretation of verse 118.[170] The papyrus (P. Oxy. 841) preserves at *Paean* 6.118 just the reading [.]υρι[..] *περὶ τιμᾶν*. The scholiast on *N.* 7.94a quotes this verse as *μυριᾶν περὶ τιμᾶν*. That the text of the verse was uncertain in antiquity is shown by a scholion in the papyrus of the sixth *Paean*, recording the variant *Πυθιᾶν* (Σ *Paean* 6.118a). An alternative supplement for the papyrus, favoured by a number of modern scholars, is [κ]υρι[ᾶν] *περὶ τιμᾶν*.[171] Ancient scholars differed also in their interpretation of *τιμᾶν* in this verse: this was understood to mean either (i) 'sacrificial meats' or (ii) the 'reparation' sought by

[165] So Fränkel 1961: 388–9; Bundy 1962: 4 n. 14; Smith 1984: 8–11; Heath 1993: 191–2. Differently, Fogelmark 1972: 105–6.

[166] See Slater 1969*b*: 92; Ruck 1972: 144; d'Alessio 1994: 137; Burnett 1998: 505; Rutherford 2001*a*: 331 and n. 95. Differently, Radt 1958: 90–3; Tugendhat 1960: 385 n. 1. For (dubious) attempts to provide relative dates for *pae.* 6 and *N.* 7, see Fogelmark 1972: 41–8; Gentili 1988: 277–8 n. 60.

[167] Tugendhat 1960: 397 n. 2; Most 1985*a*: 160–2; Suárez de la Torre 1997: 154–5; cf. Lloyd-Jones 1973: 136. The myth of *pae.* 6 reflects Delphic ritual: see p. 302.

[168] Gentili 1988: 144; Burnett 1998: 513–14.

[169] Race 1997: ii. 261; Suárez de la Torre 1997: 171; Burnett 1998: 505, 512, 513–14; cf. Rutherford 2001*a*: 323. Differently, Tugendhat 1960: 387.

[170] For discussion of the following controversies, see Farnell 1930–2: ii. 406–7; Radt 1958: 85–6, 163–8; Smith 1984: 12–13; Gentili 1988: 278–80; Burnett 1998: 505–6 n. 48; Rutherford 2001*a*: 313.

[171] Favoured by Bornemann 1892: 290; Housman 1908: 12; Kirkwood 1982: 316–17; Maehler 1989: 30. See further Rutherford 2001*a*: 313. (Σ *N.* 7.94a *τῶν νομιζομένων τιμῶν τοῖς Δελφοῖς* is probably no support for the reading *κυριᾶν . . . τιμᾶν*: see Heath 1993: 199 n. 57.)

Neoptolemos for Apollo's killing of Achilleus.[172] It is plausible that Aristarchus–Aristodemus read *μυριᾶν* and understood *τιμᾶν* as 'reparation', so that Neoptolemos came to Delphi as a temple-robber demanding 'vast reparation' for his father's death. The tell-tale word *δοκεῖν* ('seems') in the scholia betrays that we are dealing with a subjective interpretation.[173] We are entitled even to wonder whether *μυριᾶν* was not Aristarchus' emendation, for Aristarchus is known elsewhere to have emended Pindar's text to suit his interpretation.[174] If *κυριᾶν* was the original reading, it would have been hard to find any offence in the paean.[175] In that case, Neoptolemos came like any other pious pilgrim to the Delphic sanctuary and there fell foul of the priests in the (subsequently notorious) scramble for 'legitimate honours' at the sacrifice (see above, this chapter). This would in its essentials be the same version as offered at *N.* 7.40–3. Neoptolemos' death at the hands of Apollo (*Paean* 6.117–20 '[the god] killed him through his attendants . . . in his dear sanctuary by the wide navel of the earth') was probably meant to elevate Neoptolemos rather than to disgrace him.[176]

Assumption (3), the offence taken by the Aeginetans, can rest only on speculation, not evidence.[177] We must not be misled by the factual-sounding statements in the scholia: '[the Aeginetans] accused (*ᾐτιῶντο*) Pindar', and Pindar was 'reproached (*μεμφθείς*) by the Aeginetans'.[178] We, like the ancient scholars, have no choice but to reconstruct the events surrounding the reception of *Paean* 6 from probabilities. It is unclear how proprietorial Aegina would have felt towards Neoptolemos, who was more closely linked with Delphi and Molossia than with Aegina and was three generations removed from Aiakos.[179] More decisively, if *Paean* 6 was performed by Aeginetans (who will then also have both commissioned and rehearsed it), there is little chance that it can have contained material offensive to them.[180]

[172] Σ *pae.* 6.118b *ἤτοι τῶν κ[ρ]εῶν . . . ἢ τῶν χρημάτων.* For (i), see *N.* 7.42, Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F64a, Σ *N.* 7.62a. For (ii), see Σ *N.* 7.58 (Drachmann iii. 125.3–6).

[173] Σ *N.* 7.150a *δοκεῖν ἐν Παιᾶσιν εἰπεῖν*, cf. Σ *N.* 7.94a *ἐπὶ τῷ δοκεῖν*. Cf. Farnell 1930–2: ii. 407; cf. Gibert 1997: 89 nn. 14, 16.

[174] See Σ *O.* 2.140a, Σ *P.* 3.75, Σ *N.* 10.114a; Irigoin 1952: 52.

[175] So Verrall 1913: 131; Radt 1958: 167; Bona 1988: 136.

[176] Cf. Pòrtulas 1985: 220–1; Loscalzo 1998: 121.

[177] So Heath 1993: 191.

[178] Σ *N.* 7.94a, Σ *N.* 7.150a. Cf. Σ *N.* 7.70.

[179] See Thummer 1968–9: i. 94. Differently, Carey 1981: 133.

[180] So Bona 1988: 101; Heath 1993: 199 n. 59; Suárez de la Torre 1997: 172; Burnett 1998: 504. Contrast Bowra 1964: 72.

As it stands, *Paean* 6 with its final triad is highly complimentary to the Aeginetans.[181] Defenders of the apology theory are thus logically driven to separate verses 123–83 from the original conception of the paean.[182] The title and scholion at verse 123 may be indications that ancient scholars did go to such lengths to preserve the apology theory. If so, they would have anticipated L. Farnell who, in the 1930s, separated verses 123–83 from verses 1–122 for this reason. Farnell took this step, it is important to note, on purely *a priori* grounds, at a time long before the ancient title and scholion on verse 123 were known to scholars. This *a priori* reasoning could quite easily have been anticipated by ancient scholars who were similarly wedded to the apology theory. Farnell's reasoning may be quoted in full:

> we have seen that the Aeginetans were highly displeased with Pindar for traducing their Aeacid hero, and that he composed the seventh Nemean to reconcile himself with them. One must regard them as over-sensitive and ungrateful, if this magnificent panegyric on their state [*sc.* fr. 52f. 123–83] had originally been composed for the paean as sung at Delphi which displeased them . . . There the suspicion arises that this eulogy of Aegina was an afterthought, composed by Pindar as a peace-offering to soothe the Aeginetans and attached as a postscript to the paean some time after the Delphic festival . . . We are almost driven to this explanation in despair of any other; for we cannot suppose that the Aeginetan passage was a fragment from some independant [*sic*] Pindaric work, accidentally or foolishly 'contaminated' with the sixth paean by some later editor.[183]

A commentator of the second century BC whose thoughts went in the same direction could well have separated *Paean* 6.123–83 from the rest of the poem, seeing it either as an independent composition (a *prosodion*) or as a later addition to verses 1–122.[184] What is striking about such a

[181] So Bowra 1933: 43–5; Suárez de la Torre 1997: 171–2; cf. Lloyd-Jones 1973: 136; d'Alessio 1994: 137; Rutherford 1997: 14.

[182] Cf. Rutherford 1997: 16.

[183] Farnell 1930–2: i. 313; cf. ibid. ii. 408. Cf. id. 1932: 408. For other theories as to how the title and scholion at *pae.* 6.123 in our papyrus of the *Paeans* came about, see Rutherford 2001*a*: 336–8.

[184] Rutherford 2001*a*: 336 finds it 'hard to see' what Hellenistic editors' motives would have been for separating 123–83 from 1–122; the scenario proposed here supplies potential motives. There remain difficulties, however, with the account offered here of the title and scholion at *pae.* 6.123. Note especially the complications arising from the different colometry of *pae.* 6.123–83 evidenced in P. Oxy. 841 and PSI 147 on the one hand (papyri transmitting Pindar's *Paeans*) and P.Oxy. 1792 frr. 15–16 on the other hand (a papyrus perhaps transmitting Pindar's *Prosodia*). Various implications of these complications are explored by d'Alessio 1997: 37–8, 46–59 (see especially pp. 57–8 and n. 198). I have profited from discussion with Professor L. Kurke here.

procedure is that it takes the apology theory as more of a given than the unity of verses 1–183, although that unity is rendered probable on many grounds (see above). Such a procedure comes dangerously close to modifying the data to save the theory.

Assumption (4) imputes a dubious strategy to Pindar. While it is uncorroborated supposition that the Aeginetans were offended by the paean (see above), it is an obvious fact that Pindar received the commission for *Nemean* 7. Any ill-will on Aegina was clearly not impairing the relations which mattered.[185] Why then should Pindar on receiving the commission have risked making things worse by harking back to the (on this theory) infelicitous paean? The strongest argument that he did so comes from the language of *Nemean* 7; but the textual basis for alleged allusions to *Paean* 6 in *Nemean* 7 is questionable (see above). More generally, we should notice how the apology theory shifts the interpretative burden from the text to the poet's person.[186] This has been a popular move with Pindar's interpreters, both ancient and modern.[187] The critical perspective thus assumed is Romanticist (poetry being taken to embody the poet's subjective responses to his situation) and intentionalist (poetry understood through intentions which are imputed to the poet by the critic).[188] Even so the intentions imputed to Pindar on the apology theory are too crude. Pindar emerges as implausibly maladroit, first insensitive to his wider public (including Aeginetans) in *Paean* 6, then overanxious to appease them in *Nemean* 7.[189] (We may compare the theory, first proposed by Aristophanes of Byzantium, but now rightly rejected, that Euripides composed a second *Hippolytus* to correct the 'inappropriateness' [τὸ . . . ἀπρεπές] of the first.[190]) It becomes practically impossible to credit Pindar with such ineptitude if we see the Aeginetans, not simply as part of the wider public of *Paean*

[185] Cf. Fogelmark 1972: 45–6.

[186] Cf. Smith 1984: 10–11.

[187] Of ancient scholars, see Σ *P.* 2.131b, 132c–f (with Burton 1962: 126–7; Most 1985*a*: 124–7); Σ *O.* 2.154b, 157a, 158c, d; Σ *N.* 4.60b. In general, see Lefkowitz 1991*f*: 150. Of modern scholars see: (on *P.* 9.91) Wilamowitz 1922: 269, Burton 1962: 51; (on *P.* 11.53) Wilamowitz 1922: 263; Burton 1962: 71–2.

[188] The problems of intention in criticism were raised influentially by Wimsatt and Beardsley 1970 (see esp. 4, 6). On intentionalism and Romanticism, see Silk 1974: 63 n. 15. In Pindaric criticism, see Lloyd-Jones 1990*b*: 67–8; id. 1973: 115–16. But for recent, nuanced defences of intention in literary interpretation, see Mossman 1995: 6 n. 10; Heath 2002: 59–97 (esp. 63–5).

[189] Cf. Arrighetti 1987: 85.

[190] Ar. Byz. *hypoth. ad Eur. Hipp.* (see Diggle's OCT of Euripides, i. 205). Criticized: Gibert 1997.

6, but as the ones who commissioned and performed it. '[D]eductive biographical criticism creates a mythology of its own, remarkable both for its naïveté and its inaccuracy.'[191] This is the kind of biographical-historical approach to Pindar against which Bundy's strictures have their full force (see above, Chapter 1).[192]

The apology theory relies on *all* of assumptions (1)–(4), cumulatively a good deal to defend.

The relation of *Nemean* 7 to *Paean* 6

Rejection of the apology theory nevertheless leaves a problem unaccounted for: in the apparent intertextuality of *N.* 7.33–47 and *Paean* 6.104–20 (the two Neoptolemos narratives) we seem to have a hard fact, requiring interpretation.[193] However, *N.* 7.33–47 and *Paean* 6.102–20 probably both evoke Delphic ritual (at the Theoxenia: see above). Both passages may therefore be drawing on a Delphic myth. In that case, the significant relationship will not be that of the two texts to one another, but of each to the traditional myth. (Myth is itself a non-textual phenomenon, independent of any individual textual narration or visual representation of it.[194]) If *Nemean* 7 and *Paean* 6 depend on a (non-textual) Delphic myth, then the language of intertextuality, of *Nemean* 7 'alluding to' or 'correcting' *Paean* 6, is out of place.

The nature of the problem then changes. The narration of a Delphic myth concerning Apollo and Neoptolemos in a paean performed at the Delphic Theoxenia requires no explanation. However, the narration of that myth in a victory ode celebrating a Nemean victory and performed on Aegina does, given the prominence of Delphic topography and cult in that ode (33–4 *ὀμφαλὸν . . . χθονός, Πυθίοισι . . . δαπέδοις*; 43 *Δελφοί*; and verses 44–7). It seems likely that the

[191] Lefkowitz 1991*d*: 96, cf. 89–90; ead. 1991*e*: 128, 137–8; ead. 1981: 57–8.

[192] Bundy 1962: 4 and n. 13, 40–1, cf. 35 (see above, Ch. 1). Cf. Thummer 1968–9: i. 13–14; Lefkowitz 1991*c*: *passim* esp. 75–7.

[193] Cf. Radt 1958: 87–8; Tugendhat 1960: 385, 389; Carey 1981: 134–5; Most 1985*a*: 165 'it is implausible to deny that there must be some relation between them'; Gentili 1988: 141, 143. Differently, Slater 1969*b*: 92; Köhnken 1971: 38–40; cf. Rutherford 2001*a*: 322 'the existence of two or more versions of a myth in different Pindaric songs is probably not something which demands a special explanation'.

[194] Graf 1993*a*: 2 '[A myth] does not coincide with a particular text or literary genre . . . A myth is not a specific poetic text. It transcends the text'. Similarly, Lefkowitz 1991*e*: 142 suggests that Pindar may be referring to 'the traditional version of the myth', 'not necessarily . . . any particular poem'.

question of Neoptolemos' relevance in *Nemean* 7 was one that exercised the ancient scholars.[195] In many other odes the scholia pose, quite reasonably, the question: 'what does the hero have in common with the laudandus?'[196] For *Nemean* 7 Aristarchus and Aristodemus answered this question by inventing a homonym: postulating the existence of another Neoptolemos, a contemporary of Sogenes, who either won the boys' pentathlon himself and let Sogenes be proclaimed victor, or else Sogenes' trainer. This made it possible to explain the excursus on the mythical Neoptolemos (33–47) as motivated by the necessity of giving this other Neoptolemos oblique praise.[197] It is unclear whether Aristarchus and Aristodemus propounded the apology theory as an additional solution to the problem 'what does Neoptolemos have to do with Sogenes / Thearion?'. It may have been the difficulty of accounting for particular passages of *Nemean* 7 (such as 48–9 and 64–5) that recommended the theory to them. Whatever their original motives, it is true that the apology theory offers an explanation for the presence of the Neoptolemos myth in *Nemean* 7, and thus seems to get the interpreter out of a genuine difficulty. If we reject the view that Pindar in *Nemean* 7 was deliberately correcting the version of the Neoptolemos myth given in the sixth *Paean*, we need another means of accounting for the prominence of Delphic cult and myth in *Nemean* 7.

Links between Aegina and Delphi

The question, 'what is the relevance of the Delphic myth and cult of Neoptolemos in *Nemean* 7, performed on Aegina?' has its counterpart in the question, 'what is the relevance of the eulogy of Aegina at *Paean* 6.123–83, performed at Delphi?'[198] To pose, and juxtapose, the

[195] Fränkel 1961: 387; Smith 1984: 8–9. Differently, Heath 1993: 184–5, 188–9, 190–1.

[196] Σ *P.* 2.27b, c (relevance of Kinyras to Hieron); Σ *N.* 1.49b, c (relevance of Herakles to Chromios); Σ *N.* 2.19 (relevance of Aias to Timodemos); Σ *N.* 9.93a (relevance of Hektor to Chromios); Σ *O.* 6.27d (relevance of Amphiaraos to Hagesias).

[197] Σ *N.* 7.56a Drachmann iii. 124.12–18 **παρεκβαίνει** δὲ εἰς τὰ περὶ Νεοπτολέμου, ὡς μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος, **ὅτι** ⟨ὁ⟩ νικήσας καὶ χαρισάμενος τὴν ἀνάρρησιν τῷ Σωγένει Νεοπτόλεμος ἦν τοὔνομα, Ἡπειρώτης τὸ γένος, ὅπερ οὐχ οὕτω φησὶν ἔχειν ὁ Δίδυμος· ὡς δὲ Ἀριστόδημος, **ὅτι** ἀλείπτῃ ἐκέχρητο τῷ Νεοπτολέμῳ. **διὸ** εἰς ἔπαινον τοῦ ὀνόματος τῇ ἡρωϊκῇ κέχρηται **παρεκβάσει**. Cf. Σ *N.* 7.1a Drachmann iii. 116.13–14 **παρὸ** καὶ εἰς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Νεοπτολέμου τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως τὸν ποιητὴν **παρεκβῆναι** λόγους. The words ὅτι, διό, παρό show that these scholars aimed to provide a motivation for the mythical excursus on Neoptolemos. Differently, Heath 1993: 188–9. Cf. the use made by Didymos of the homonymous Euphemos, Σ *P.* 4.455d.

[198] For the latter question, cf. Farnell 1930–2: i. 312; Rutherford 2001*a*: 331, 336.

questions in this way suggests the possibility of solving them together, like simultaneous equations.

A possible answer to the second question (why do Aeginetan themes loom so large in the Delphic paean?) is to posit 'some sort of traditional connection between Aegina and the Delphic Theoxenia'.[199] Aeginetan involvement in the Theoxenia is already assumed on the view that *Paean* 6 was performed at the Theoxenia by an Aeginetan chorus (see above). A further hint of a connection between Aegina and the Delphic Theoxenia comes from two myths. *Paean* 6.62–5 mentions as the mythical *aition* for sacrifice at the Theoxenia the prayers offered once by the Delphians to rescue all Greece from a famine:

> *θύεται γὰρ ἀγλαᾶς ὑπὲρ Πανελ-*
> *λάδος, ἄν τε Δελφῶν*
> *ἔθ[ν]ος εὔξατο λι-*
> *μοῦ θ[*

For sacrifice is being made on behalf of all of glorious Greece, which the people of the Delphians prayed [to be delivered from?] famine.[200]

This was, surely, a Delphian myth. Yet an Aeginetan myth which was at least as old as Pindar also told of a drought which afflicted all Greece and caused emissaries to be sent out to Aegina, where finally Aiakos prayed to Zeus for Greece's deliverance.[201] These delegates came from all over Greece.[202] A sacrifice was made on Aegina to Zeus (Pan)hellanios.[203]

The parallels between the Delphian famine myth and the Aeginetan drought myth are striking.[204] *Paean* 6 itself draws attention to the parallelism. The Delphian myth is explicitly mentioned in verses 62–5, and the Aeginetan myth seems to be alluded to in the reference to Aegina as (125–6) *νᾶσος, [ὦ] Διὸς Ἑλ-|λανίου φαεννὸν ἄστρον*, 'island, o shining star of Zeus Hellanios'. It was Zeus Hellanios to whom Aiakos

[199] Rutherford 2001*a*: 331.

[200] Cf. Σ *pae.* 6.62 . . . *τὴν Ἑλλάδα* [. . .] *περὶ ε[ὐ]ετηρίας*. Philodamus 39.112–14 Käppel *θυ[σ]ίαν τε φαί-|νει[ν] σὺν Ἑλλάδος ὀλβίας | παυδήμοις ἱκετε[ί]αις*.

[201] The sources for the myth: *N.* 8.9–12; Isoc. 9.14–15; Diod. 4.61; Paus. 2.29.8, cf. 1.44.9; Σ *N.* 5.17b; Σ *N.* 8.19a; Σ *pae.* 6.125; Apollod. *bibl.* 3.12.6; Clem. Al. *strom.* 6.3.28.4–6 p. 753; Σ Ar. *eq.* 1253a, b. See Radt 1958: 133 n. 1.

[202] *N.* 8.9–12 *ἡρώων ἄωτοι περιναιεταόντων . . . οἵ τε κραναᾶς ἐν Ἀθάναισιν . . ., οἵ τ' ἀνὰ Σπάρταν*. Isoc. 9.14 *ἦλθον οἱ προεστῶτες τῶν πόλεων*. Diod. 4.61 *συνελθόντες οἱ τῶν πόλεων ἡγεμόνες*. Paus. 2.29.8 *ἀποστέλλουσιν ἀφ' ἑκάστης πόλεως*.

[203] Paus. 2.29.8.

[204] See Rutherford 2001*a*: 331–2 for discussion.

offered his prayers on Aegina; perhaps in the fifth century a reference to 'Zeus Hellanios' might suffice to recall the drought myth. At any rate this seems to have been the train of thought of the scholiast who wrote on *Paean* 6.125–6: 'there was a temple of Zeus Hellanios on Aegina, where [the Panhellenic delegates to Aiakos] assembled and offered prayers concerning the drought'.[205]

There is reason, then, to think that Aegina had a vested interest in the Delphic Theoxenia—and that this might go some way towards explaining the performance of a paean at the Theoxenia by a chorus of Aeginetans, and towards explaining the inclusion of praises of Aegina (*Paean* 6.123–83) on such an occasion. *Nemean* 7, however, was performed on Aegina (83 *δάπεδον ἂν τόδε*, 'on this soil'). Yet there is a possibility that this poem has some connection with the Theoxenia.

Aegina probably had links of various kinds with Delphi.[206] A concrete manifestation of these is a building on Aegina, referred to in *Nemean* 3 as 'the holy . . . *thearion* of the Pythian', i.e. Apollo (69–70 *σεμνὸν . . . | Πυθίου θεάριον*).[207] Here the epithet 'Pythian' points to Delphi.[208] This building has probably been identified archaeologically: an impressive structure of the late sixth century BC, located north of the temple of Apollo and situated just outside the sanctuary (see Figures 4a–d).[209] Possible functions of the building are suggested both by the scholia to *N.* 3.70 and by inscriptions on the walls of the *thearion*, dating from the second century BC to the third century AD.[210] The building was apparently used by *θεαροί*, from whom the building took its name.[211] The role of the Aeginetan *θεαροί* must have been a religious one.[212] The *thearion* was a sacred building: Pindar calls it 'holy' (*N.* 3.69 *σεμνόν*),

[205] Σ *pae.* 6.125 *ἱερὸν Διὸς Ἑλ[λ]ηνίου ἐν Αἰ[γ]ίνῃ ὅπου συνελθόντες [. . .] εὔξα[ν]το περὶ τοῦ αὐχμοῦ.*

[206] See Walter-Karydi 1994: 135–8. Note the Aeginetan month Delphinios and Delphinia festival: Σ *N.* 5.81; Σ *O.* 13.155; Σ *P.* 8.88, 91.

[207] The building has been variously interpreted. (1) For Σ *N.* 3.122a, it is a *ἱερόν* of Pythios Apollo on Aegina. So Fennell 1899: 35; LSJ s.v. *θεάριον*; Instone 1996: 166; Walter-Karydi 1994: 131 and n. 13; Pfeijffer 1999*a*: 380–2. (2) For Σ *N.* 3.122a, it is an *οἶκος* within the *ἱερόν* of Pythios Apollo. (3) For Σ *N.* 3.122b, it is a *τόπος . . . δημόσιος* in Aegina.

[208] Wilamowitz 1922: 277; Walter-Karydi 1994: 134, 137–8. Differently, Figueira 1981: 317, 319–21.

[209] For the situation, see Walter 1993: 35 Fig. 24; Walter-Karydi 1994: 126 Fig. 2. For a proposed reconstruction, see Hoffelner 1994: 138–48, Figs 7, 8; id. 1999: 133–72, 127 Fig. 137, 165 Fig. 169, Plate 71, 77.

[210] For the inscriptions, see Felten 1975: 39–54.

[211] Σ *N.* 3.122a, b. For the various meanings of *θεωρός*, see Rutherford 2000: 134–6.

[212] So Walter-Karydi 1994: 134; Pfeijffer 1999*a*: 381. Differently, Kirsten 1942: 302; Figueira 1981: 315–21.

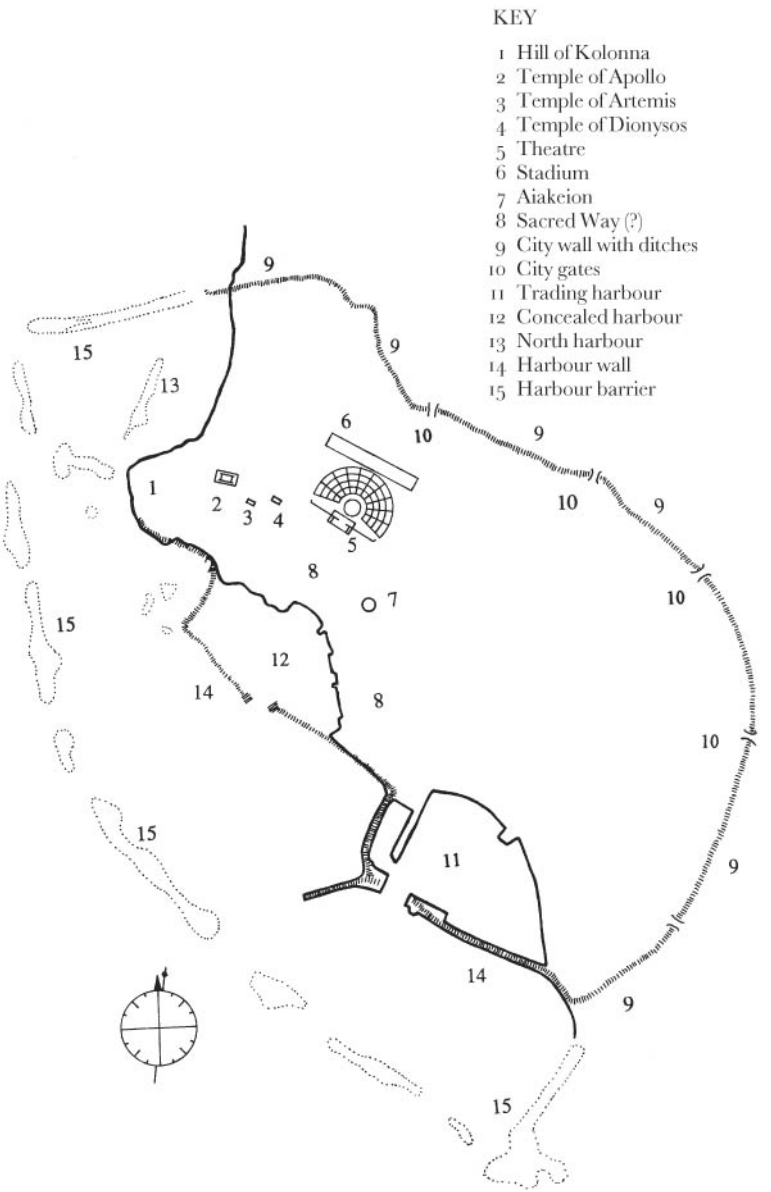


FIGURE 4a. Plan of Aegina

From H. Walter *Agina* (Munich 1993) fig. 48 on p. 55, by kind permission of Deutscher Kunstverlag GmbH.

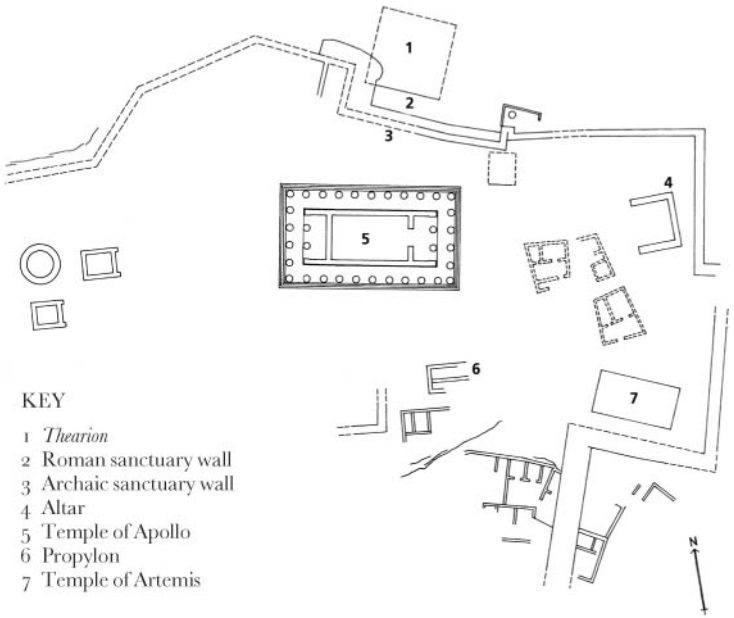


FIGURE 4b. Plan of the sanctuary of Apollo, Aegina, showing the *thearion*.

After H. Walter *Ägina* (Munich 1993) fig. 24 on p. 35, by kind permission of Deutscher Kunstverlag GmbH.

the property 'of the Pythian', *sc.* Apollo (*N.* 3.70 *Πυθίου*). Moreover, in the inscriptions of the Hellenistic and Roman period it was the meeting place for a 'holy league of five city-states' (*ἱερὰ πεντάπολις*).[213] It seems likely that these *θεαροί* performed 'religious delegations' (*θεωρίαι*) to Delphi.[214] But the *thearion* was also a venue for feasts and symposia. A scholion on *Nemean* 3 claims that *συμπόσια* took place there, and this finds confirmation in *thearion* inscriptions from the third century AD, mentioning *δημοθοινίαι*, 'public feasts'.[215] Whatever else it was, the *thearion* seems also to have been a 'feasting hall' (*ἑστιατόριον*).[216] The officials of the *thearion* seem to have entertained people in the environs of the building.

This has an interesting potential application to *Nemean* 7. The name

[213] Felten 1975: 48–52 nos. 35, ?36, 37, 39, 41, 44.

[214] Σ*N.* 3.122b. Walter-Karydi 1994: 134.

[215] Σ*N.* 3.122b. *Thearion* inscriptions: Felten 1975: 48–50 nos. 35–9, 41–9.

[216] Felten 1975: 51–2; Walter 1993: 42; Walter-Karydi 1994: 131 and n. 12, 133; ead. in Hoffelner 1999: 135; Hoffelner 1999: 171–2. In general, cf. Burkert 1985*a*: 94 and n. 111.

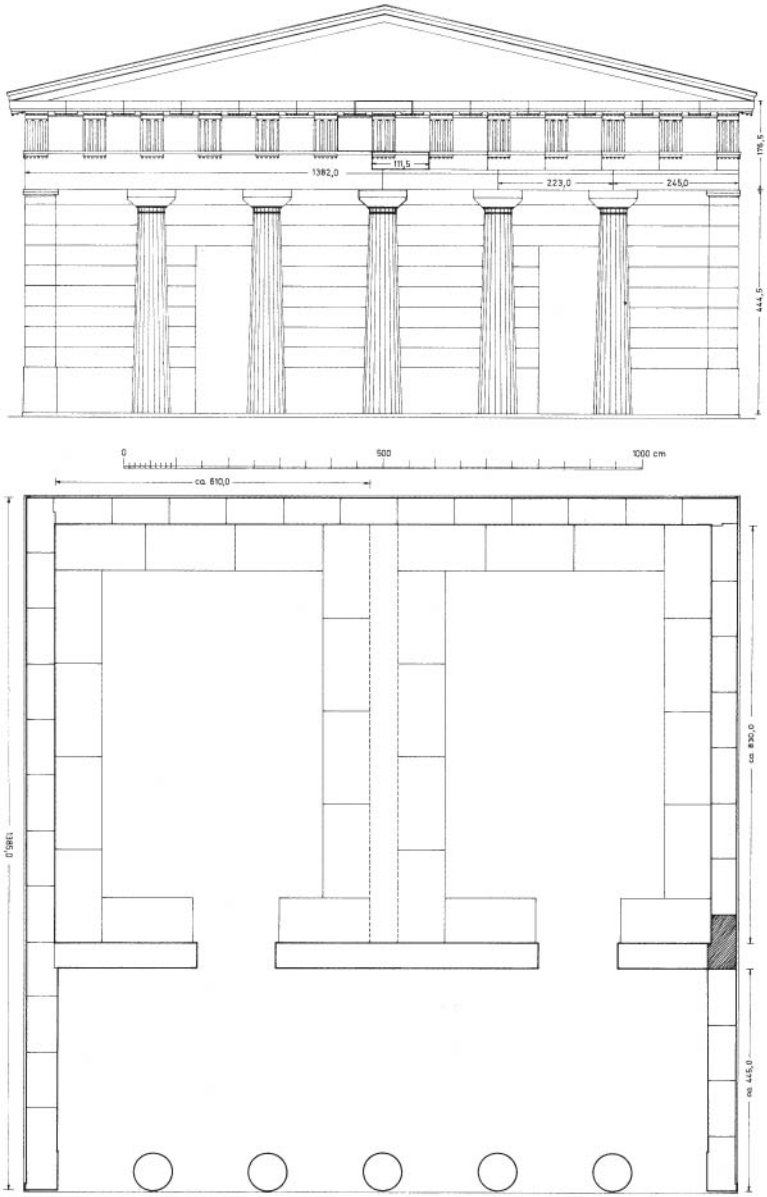


FIGURE 4c. Plan of the *thearion*, Aegina.

From K. Hoffelner *Alt-Ägina I.3. Das Apollon-Heiligtum* (Mainz 1999) fig. 169 on p. 165.

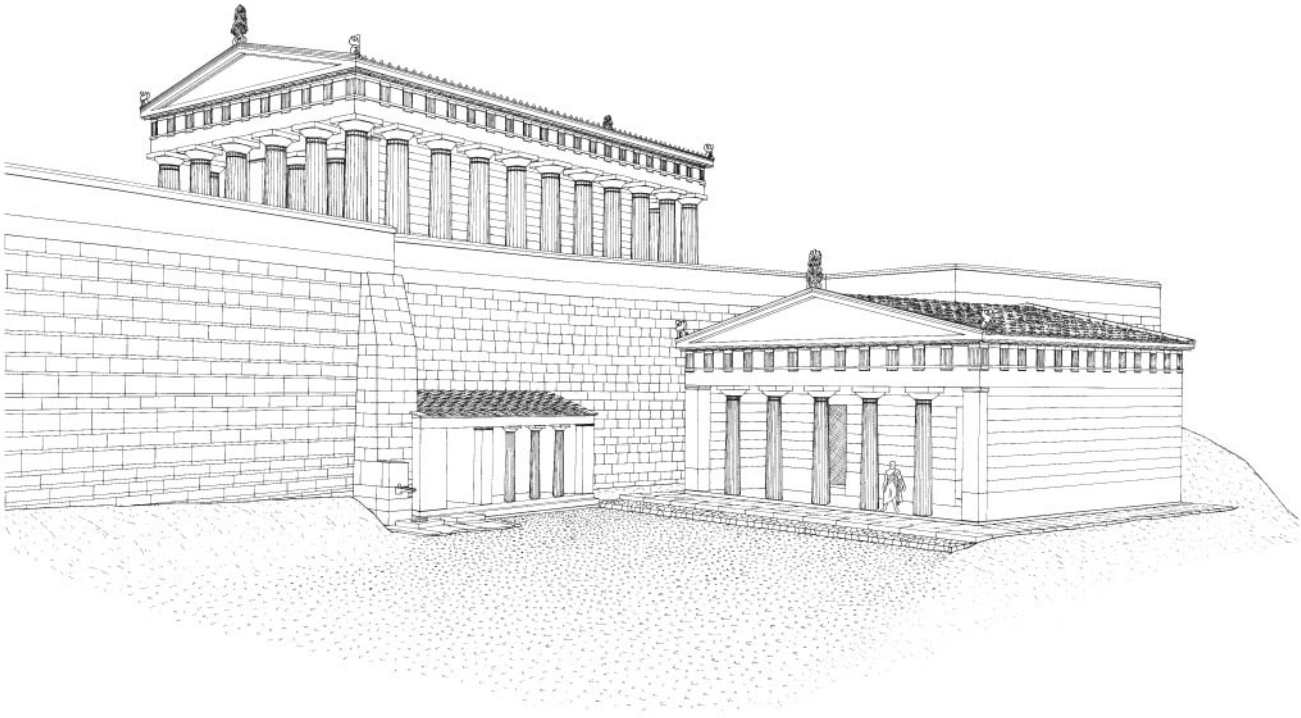


FIGURE 4d. Three-dimensional reconstruction of the *thearion* and temple of Apollo, Aegina.
From K. Hoffelner *Alt-Ägina I.3. Das Apollon-Heiligtum* (Mainz 1999) plate 77.

of Sogenes' father is *Θεαρίων* (7, 58), which it is tempting to associate with the *θεάριον* (or with the *θεαροί* who used that building).[217] The clan to which Thearion and Sogenes belonged is, moreover, called Euxenidai, 'hospitable ones' (70 *Εὐξένιδα πάτραθε Σώγενες*), and 'proxeny' is mentioned in connection (apparently) with Thearion (65 *προξενίᾳ*) (on this, see the Appendix at the end of this chapter).[218] One duty of a *πρόξενος* was 'entertaining foreigners' (Hesychius *πρόξενοι· . . . τοὺς ξένους ὑποδεχόμενοι*). It is a natural guess that Thearion had the hereditary duty of entertaining foreigners in the vicinity of the *thearion*.

A performance scenario for *Nemean* 7

A *ἑστιατόριον* would be an appropriate setting and a sacrificial feast an appropriate occasion for a victory ode.[219] The Aeginetan *thearion* was probably where *Nemean* 3 was performed.[220] It would be a viable venue for *Nemean* 7, and would have been the natural choice if Thearion was one of the officials attached to that building. It remains to consider what sacrificial feast at the *thearion* might have been the occasion for *Nemean* 7; two possibilities come to mind.

First, *Nemean* 7 may have been performed at a sacrifice at the *thearion* preliminary to the sending out of Aeginetan *θεωροί*. Conventions at a sanctuary for a sacrifice are attested in various Greek states before sending out delegations to Delphi or Delos.[221] If the sacrifice at the *thearion* preceded the sending out of Aeginetan *θεωροί* to the Theoxenia at Delphi, then mention of the myth and cult of Neoptolemos in that ode would make sense.

Second, Delphi is likely to have announced the Theoxenia before-

[217] So Fennell 1899: 79; Figueira 1981: 314; Walter-Karydi 1994: 131. The name Thearion is not uncommon, though: see *LGPN*.

[218] For the link between 70 *Εὐξένιδα* and 65 *προξενίᾳ*, cf. Bury 1890: 120; Most 1985*a*: 196. The word *πάτρα* in verse 70 means 'clan': Σ *N.* 7.103b. Differently, Σ *N.* 7.103a. For the meaning 'clan' in Aeginetan odes, cf. *P.* 8.38, *N.* 6.35b, *N.* 8.46. Contrast *N.* 7.85, where it means 'fatherland'. See Figueira 1981: 313 '*Patra* was probably the Aeginetan name for genos or clan'.

[219] Slater 1984: 245 n. 25. For public feasts as the occasion for epinicians, cf. *O.* 7.93–4, *O.* 9.112, *P.* 5.80, *I.* 4.61, etc.

[220] So Mezger 1880: 384; Wolde 1942: 320; Gelzer 1985: 96 n. 4; Krummen 1990: 276; Walter-Karydi 1994: 131–2; Instone 1996: 166.

[221] Marathon: Philochorus *FGrH* 328 F75. Naxos: Thuc. 6.3.1. Cos: *LSCG* 156B.7–19 (1st half iii BC); *SIG* 398.30–50 (278 BC).

hand by sending out θεωροί to the various states (at *I.* 2.23 we can see such functionaries in the Elean σπονδοφόροι, who were sent out to announce the Olympic festival). These θεωροί will have been hosted in those states by local representatives, Classical forerunners of the persons referred to as θεωροδόκοι in inscriptions of Hellenistic date.[222] The term θεωροδόκος is not attested before the fourth century and never occurs in literary texts.[223] The most likely term for this office as it existed in Archaic and Classical times is πρόξενος.[224] It is quite plausible that Thearion as πρόξενος (compare *N.* 7.65 προξενίᾳ) and as Euxenid (*N.* 7.70), was responsible for entertaining θεωροί from abroad (at *I.* 2.24 Xenokrates entertained the Elean σπονδοφόροι in Acragas). We know that in the Hellenistic period *theorodokoi* usually invited the visiting θεωροί to a sacrifice at the πρυτανεῖον or at the local sanctuary of the deity whose festival the θεωροί were announcing.[225] The 'holy . . . *thearion* of the Pythian god' (*N.* 3.69–70) on Aegina would be a natural venue to perform a sacrifice for θεωροί who had come to Aegina to announce the Delphian Theoxenia. Such a performance context would well explain the relevance of the Neoptolemos myth and Delphic cult in *Nemean* 7.[226]

This theory, like the apology theory, is conjecture. Yet as a theory that attempts to explain puzzling aspects of the Neoptolemos myth and cult by appealing to a possible occasion and performance scenario for the ode, it may be felt by some to have advantages in principle over a theory which depends implicitly on Romantic and intentionalist premises (see above). There is always danger in the 'deduction of a biographical-historical context from the poems to elucidate the poems themselves'.[227] But in this case the names Thearion and Euxenidai themselves offer at least some independent purchase on the historical-biographical circumstances of the poem. While preserved in Pindar's poem, these names were not invented by him; names are an important resource for the historian.[228]

[222] Cf. Dillon 1997: 12.

[223] Perlman 2000: 18–20, 30.

[224] Cf. Perlman 2000: 20, after Monceaux. On the relationship between πρόξενος and θεωροδόκος, cf. Nachtergael 1977: 346, 349; Perlman 1995: 123, 126; ead. 2000: 20, 27–8; Dillon 1997: 14.

[225] Perlman 2000: 46.

[226] Rutherford 2001*a*: 334 n. 108 'The existence of a special connection between the family of the Euxenidai and the θεωρία to Delphi would help to explain the choice of the death of Neoptolemus at Delphi as the myth in *Nem.* 7'.

[227] Thummer 1968–9: i. 13: see above p. 12. Cf. d'Alessio 1994: 136 n. 64 on the need for '*extra-textual* information'.

[228] Hornblower 1983: Index 'Names as evidence'; id. 1994: 1; Hornblower and Matthews 2000.

Conclusion

The argument in this chapter has been that Neoptolemos was well established as a cult hero at Delphi by the fifth century BC and that this is how he features in *Nemean* 7 (34, 44–7). He functions within the ode as an example for Sogenes, to whom (prospective) heroic status is imputed. The defensive tone of *Nemean* 7 has been seen here as part of the encomiastic strategy, which uses the indirect comparison between Sogenes and Neoptolemos to suggest the possibility, in due course, of posthumous heroic honours for the boy victor. It has been argued that that defensive tone is not to be seen as part of an apology for any putative offence that *Paean* 6 may have caused the Aeginetans. The choice of Neoptolemos rather than another hero as an example for Sogenes might be explained in terms of the performance context of *Nemean* 7. The occasion for the ode may have been a sacrifice followed by feasting at the Aeginetan *thearion*, perhaps a sacrifice preliminary to the Delphic Theoxenia where Neoptolemos received cult honours. The choice of this as a setting for a victory ode would have been determined by the hereditary role of Thearion as *πρόξενος* of the Molossians and as one of the *thearion* officials, whose office could be understood as being either to undertake *θεωρίαι* to Delphi or to receive foreign *θεωροί* on Aegina.

Appendix: Thearion's 'proxeny' and the 'Achaean man': *N.* 7.64–5

This Appendix is a convenient place to tackle two intractable problems: the reference and meaning of 65 *προξενίᾳ*, and the identity and significance of the 'Achaean man' (64 *Ἀχαιὸς . . . ἀνήρ*).

> *ἐὼν δ' ἐγγὺς Ἀχαιὸς οὐ μέμψεταί μ' ἀνήρ*
> *Ἰονίας ὑπὲρ ἁλὸς οἰ-*
> *κέων, καὶ προξενίᾳ πέποιθ' . . .*

Being near, the Achaean man, living above the Ionian sea, will not find fault with me, and I trust in the *proxenia*.

Many scholars have referred *προξενίᾳ* (65) to Pindar, giving it either the non-technical meaning 'friendship' or the technical one 'proxeny'.[229]

[229] 'Friendship': cf. Thummer 1968–9: ii. 66 (contrast i. 97 n. 82); Slater 1969*a*: s.vv. *προξενία*, *πρόξενος*; Lloyd-Jones 1973: 135; Privitera 1982: 174; Most 1985*a*: 188 and n. 23; id. 1985*b*: 324–5; Hubbard 1985: 157 and n. 93; Woodbury 1991*b*: 317 n. 137. 'Proxeny': see

However, in the closely analogous expression at *P.* 10.64 *πέποιθα ξενίᾳ . . . Θώρακος*, 'I trust in the hospitality of Thorax' (cf. *N.* 7.65 *προξενίᾳ πέποιθ'*), *ξενίᾳ* is explicitly referred to the laudandus. Moreover, in the three passages in Pindar apart from *N.* 7.65 where we find *προξενία* or *πρόξενος*, it is always to be referred to the laudandus and/or to his family: (1) *O.* 9.82–3 *προξενίᾳ δ' ἀρετᾷ τ' ἦλθον | τιμάορος* 'I came to do honour to the *proxenia* and the excellence [of Lampromachos]'; (2) *I.* 4.7–9 *Θήβαισι τιμάεντες ἀρχᾶθεν λέγονται | πρόξενοί τ' ἀμφικτιόνων κελαδεννᾶς τ' ὀρφανοί | ὕβριος* '[the Kleonymidai] are from of old spoken of as enjoying honour, both as *proxenoi* of the *amphictiones* and as bereft of loud-voiced insolence'; (3) fr. 94b (*Daphnephorikon*) 38–45 *πιστὰ δ' Ἀγασικλέει | μάρτυς ἦλυθον ἐς χορόν | ἐσλοῖς τε γονεῦσιν | ἀμφὶ προξενίαισι· τί- | μαθεν γὰρ τὰ πάλαι τὰ νῦν | τ' ἀμφικτιόννεσιν | ἵππων τ' ὠκυπόδων πο[λυ-] | γνώτοις ἐπὶ νίκαις* 'I have come to the dance as a trusty witness to Agasikles and to his noble parents on account of their *proxeniai*; for they have been honoured long ago and are still today, by the *amphictiones* and for their renowned victories with swift-footed horses'. In all these passages, *προξενία* is clearly an honour for the laudandus, and seen as something deserving mention in an encomium; in two of the three passages, *προξενία* is a hereditary privilege and is associated with *ἀμφικτίονες*. In this context *ἀμφικτίονες* are a collectivity of states which come together to organize or to celebrate a festival.[230] On the evidence of these passages, Bundy argued that *προξενία* in Pindar always denotes 'the hosting of the *ἀμφικτίονες* on celebratory occasions'.[231] This is not the familiar technical sense of *πρόξενος* (which is attested once in the seventh century and repeatedly in the fifth) to denote someone who represents the interests of a foreign state in his own.[232] Rather, a *πρόξενος* in this context will have a role similar to the Hellenistic *θεωροδόκος*, one who 'entertains *θεωροί*' (see

Rumpel 1883: s.vv. *προξενία*, *πρόξενος*; Bundy 1972: 82 n. 99; Wallace 1970*b*: 193, 205–6; d'Alessio 1994: 133 n. 51. According to Isocrates, Pindar was *πρόξενος* of the Athenians (15.166). Modern scholars have made him *πρόξενος* of the Molossians, the Thessalians, etc.: Bury 1890: 121; Wilamowitz 1922: 167–8; Hampe 1952: 48–9; Thummer 1968–9: i. 97 n. 82; Fogelmark 1972: 46; Gentili 1988: 143; d'Alessio 1994: 133 n. 51.

[230] Cf. *P.* 4.66, *P.* 10.8, *N.* 6.39, *N.* 11.19 (*περικτιόνων*), *I.* 8.64 (*περικτίονας*); Sim. 506.3 *PMG* (*περικτιόνων*); Bacch. 12.34. See Parker 1998: 22.

[231] Bundy 1972: 82 n. 99.

[232] *GHI* 4 (Corcyra, ?625–600 BC); Hdt. 8.136.1, cf. 8.140.*β*.1, 8.143.3 (Athens, 481/0 BC); *IG* I^3.18.1–2 (Athens, *c.*450 BC). For a definition of *πρόξενος*, see Σ Aeschin. 3.138 (= no. 313 Dilts) *εἰσὶ δὲ πρόξενοι οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν πατρίσιν ἄλλων προνοοῦντες πόλεων*. See Wallace 1970*b*; Herman 1987: 130–42; Dillon 1997: *passim*.

above, this chapter). This accords well with the role suggested above for Thearion the Euxenid.

The Ἀχαιὸς . . . ἀνήρ (64) is identified by the addition of the phrase 'living above the Ionian sea' (65 Ἰονίας ὑπὲρ ἁλὸς οἰκέων) as a Molossian.[233] Molossia is described in similar terms in *Nemean* 4: 'the far-reaching mainland, where cattle-pasturing, elevated headlands come down into the Ionian Sea, starting from Dodona' (51–3 ἀπείρῳ διαπρυσίᾳ, | βουβόται τόθι πρῶνες ἔξοχοι κατάκεινται | Δωδώναθεν ἀρχόμενοι πρὸς Ἰόνιον πόρον). 'Achaean' in this connection denotes not Peloponnesian Achaea, but Achaea Phthiotis in Thessaly.[234] A Molossian could be called 'Achaean' because Neoptolemos settled in Molossia with Myrmidones (*N.* 7.37–40; Σ *N.* 7.94a), and because the Myrmidones hailed from Achaia Phthiotis (*Iliad* 2.683–5). (The 'Achaean man' cannot be Neoptolemos, whom we would expect in a non-mythical context to be designated as ἥρως, not ἀνήρ.[235]) The phrase ἐὼν δ' ἐγγύς (64) is also problematic. Many scholars have discounted the notion that a Molossian was actually present at the performance of *Nemean* 7 on Aegina.[236] Accordingly, some have seen 64 ἐὼν δ' ἐγγύς as equivalent to an unreal condition, 'if he *were* present'.[237] But the use in the main clause of a future indicative, οὐ μέμψεταί μ' (64), rather than οὐκ ἄν με μεμφθείη, rules out such a construal.[238] Moreover, Pindar's ἐὼν δ' ἐγγύς seems indebted to Homeric language (where ἐγγὺς ἐών, ἐγγὺς ἑόντα, and similar, are formulaic), which is used to convey that somebody *is* nearby (e.g. *Iliad* 9.201 αἶψα δὲ Πάτροκλον προσεφώνεεν ἐγγὺς ἑόντα, '[Achilleus] straightaway addressed Patroklos, who was nearby').[239] It thus seems likely that in Pindar, too, the expression was used to convey the actual presence of an 'Achaean man'.

Molossia had a cultic association with Neoptolemos (*N.* 4.51–3). In addition, Molossia is mentioned in the Neoptolemos myths of both

[233] So Σ *N.* 7.94a, cf. Σ *N.* 7.95a, b. See Wilamowitz 1922: 163; Lloyd-Jones 1973: 135; Carey 1981: 162; Most 1985*b*: 316–21.

[234] Cf. *I.* 1.58 ἀνδρῶν Ἀχαιῶν.

[235] See above, Ch. 5 and Carey 1981: 162. Differently, Woodbury 1991*b*: 314 n. 124.

[236] So Wilamowitz 1908: 339; Gildersleeve 1910: 150; Most 1985*a*: 188; Gentili 1988: 143; d'Alessio 1994: 133. An exception is Bury 1890: 137.

[237] So Most 1985a: 188 and n. 22; Woodbury 1991*b*: 316 and n. 135.

[238] Compare *N.* 10.39–41, and the examples given by Gildersleeve 1910: p. cxi (cited by Most 1985*a*: 188), where κε(ν) occurs in the main clause. Grammatically, *N.* 7.64 ἐὼν δ' ἐγγύς could be equivalent to an open condition ('if he is present, he will not find fault: ii. 77': so Race 1997), but not to an unreal one ('if he were present').

[239] ἐγγὺς ἐών at verse-beginning and ἐγγὺς ἑόντα/ἑόντων/ἑοῦσα at verse-end are common in both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

Nemean 7 (38–40) and *Paean* 6 (109–10). In view of these passages, it seems possible that Molossia, like Aegina, had a stake in the Delphic cult of Neoptolemos. If *Nemean* 7 were performed when Delphic θεωροί were entertained at the Aeginetan *thearion*, an occasion preliminary to the sending out of a delegation to the Theoxenia, it may not be too far-fetched to imagine a Molossian θεωρός as present there too. We might translate verses 64–5 as follows: 'an Achaean man living above the Ionian sea [a Molossian], who is nearby, will not reproach me [the laudator], and I trust in [Thearion's] proxeny'. Thearion's proxeny is adduced as the reason for the Molossian in attendance not to resent Pindar's praise of Thearion and Sogenes. In fact, he will positively take pleasure in it (οὐ μέμψεται is litotes).[240] The pleasure that a θεωρός might take in the athletic success of his host is shown by *I.* 2.23–7 'after they [the Elean σπονδοφόροι, officials sent out to announce the forthcoming Olympic festival] had received some act of hospitality [from Xenokrates] . . . they welcomed him with sweetly-breathing voice, when he fell on the knees of golden Victory in their land'.[241]

We could then articulate the broader context (61–9) as follows: 61–3 deal with the laudator's task of discharging his praise, and 64–9 deal with the reception of his praise, by the Molossian (64–5) and then by Aeginetans (65–9). First, the laudator as a foreigner (*N.* 7.61 ξεῖνός εἰμι) is free from any envy (60 σκοτεινὸν . . . ψόγον) towards his Aeginetan laudandus.[242] Second, the Molossian who is present in his audience is well-disposed to his πρόξενος (65 προξενίᾳ πέποιθ'). And third, among the Aeginetans in the audience (65 ἔν . . . δαμόταις), the laudator is confident of avoiding the charge of excessive praise.

[240] For the litotes, cf. Most 1985*a*: 189 and n. 26.

[241] For the *son* of a πρόξενος, cf. the Phocian state's paying for a statue at Olympia for the Theban boy victor Agenor, 'because Theopompos, the father of Agenor, was proxenos of the Phocians' (Paus. 6.6.2).

[242] In 61, the Theban identity of Pindar comes through in the first person. In 85, the Aeginetan identity of the chorus comes through. For this fluctuation in first-person reference, see Ch. 1.

14

Pythian 3
Fire and Immortality

Date and occasion of the ode

Pythian 3 was composed for Hieron of Syracuse. Its date and occasion are controversial. A *terminus post quem* is Hieron's founding of Aitna in 476/5 BC (69 *Αἰτναῖον ξένον*). Moreover, Hieron at the time of the ode was ailing; we know that he was suffering from 'gallstones' (?) from at least the battle of Cyme in 474 BC.[1] The actual occasion is not easy to determine. The issue is complicated by uncertainty over whether one or more Pythian victories are implied by 73 *στεφάνοις*, and whether or not 74 *ποτέ* entails that the victory (or victories) lay in the recent or distant past when *Pythian* 3 was performed.[2] If the victory (or victories) lay in the distant past, it is possible that *Pythian* 3 was composed on the occasion of Hieron having *failed* to win at a recent Pythian festival.[3] As Hieron won in the 26th, 27th, and 29th Pythian festivals, but not in the 28th, this may have been the occasion of the ode.[4] The ode would then be datable to, or shortly after, 474 BC (on the problem in dating Pythian victories, see Chapter 1). In that case, *Pythian* 3 would not be an *ἐπινίκιον* in the strict sense, not having been performed *ἐπὶ νίκης*; its inclusion among the *Epinikia* would say more about the classificatory criteria of Pindar's Alexandrian editors than about the original conception of the

[1] For Hieron's illness, see *P.* 3.72–6, *P.* 1.50–5; Σ *P.* 1.89ab (=Aristot. *Constitution of the Geloans* fr. 491 Gigon), 97; Σ *P.* 3.117. It is given variously as *δυσουρία*, *λιθουρία* ('gallstones'?), *πυρέττειν* ('fever'), *ποδαλγιᾶν* ('gout in the foot'). Maehler 1982: i. ii.32–3; Mann 2000: 35; Hutchinson 2001: 329. For the battle of Cyme, cf. Diod. 11.51.1–2.

[2] On the ambiguity of *στεφάνους*, see Cingano 1991: 104 n. 25. On the ambiguity of *ποτέ*, see Carey 1993: 97 n. 3; Braswell 1998: 143–4. Differently, Robbins 1990: 308–9; Cingano 1991: 99 and n. 11; Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: 417, who take *ποτέ* to imply that the victories lay in the past by the time *P.* 3 was performed. Differently still, Young 1983: 36, 41–2, who takes the victory to have been recent when *P.* 3 was composed and argues for an 'inscriptional' use of *ποτέ*.

[3] See Cingano 1991: 101. A missed victory was something that could be mentioned in epinicians and other encomia: see *N.* 6.61–3, *N.* 11.24–32, Bacch. 4.11–18, 11.24–36; cf. Timon's epigram at Olympia: Paus. 5.2.5. See Maehler 1982: i. ii.214; Robbins 1990: 312.

[4] Cingano 1991: 103. For Hieron's Pythian victories, see Σ *P.* 1. Inscr., Σ *P.* 3 Inscr. a, b.

ode (see again Chapter 1).[5] The main stimulus for the ode may have been Hieron's failing health, rather than the Pythian victory which Hieron had, on this reconstruction, failed to win.[6] The precise performance context remains in the dark. The ode was evidently performed on Sicily, but whether at Syracuse or at Aitna, and in what circumstances and before what kind of audience, we cannot tell.

Models of immortality in *Pythian* 3: preliminary observations

There has been a broad consensus in the interpretation of *Pythian* 3.[7] On this consensual view, the poet rejects literal immortality for Hieron in order to insist on the sole possibility of immortality in song.[8] The poem has thus been called 'Pindar's major statement of the theme of "poetic immortality"'.[9] *Pythian* 3 for this reason provides an excellent opportunity to reconsider Pindar's conception of immortality. In the terms of the earlier discussion (above, Chapter 6), we will consider whether this conception is an exclusive or an inclusive one. The case for the exclusive conception of immortality in song has been stated emphatically by D. Young:

> The immortality offered by Pindar [*sc.* immortality in song] may seem inferior to the other [*sc.* literal immortality]. Continued life in song might be slight comfort for a man in ill health desiring to be restored by a physician and to be preserved alive. Yet another important difference between the two versions of immortality is decisive: that offered by Pindar is available and works effectively; the other is not possible and hence cannot be effective . . . Men may ponder immortality of the soul, believe in it, refuse to believe it, or doubt it. Encouraged by modern medicine, they may dream about physical immortality, although such a thing is absurd so long as men are men. But Pindar's faith in the greatness and immortalizing nature of literature derives from one of the very few demonstrable truths.[10]

Against this, it may be said that it is far from clear that the model

[5] For other non-epinician poems composed for Hieron, cf. *P.* 2 (classed among the *Epinikia*, but of uncertain genre), fr. 105 (a 'hyporchema'), frr. 124d + 125–6 (an 'encomium'); Bacch. fr. 20c (an 'encomium'); Sim. 580 *PMG* (a 'propemptikon'?).

[6] Cf. Cingano 1991: 103; Race 1997: i. 242.

[7] See Young 1968: 27 n. 1; Buongiovanni 1985: 327 and n. 1.

[8] e.g. Burton 1962: 90; Buongiovanni 1985: 335; Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: 76 n. 2.

[9] Young 1993: 132 n. 28; cf. id. 1968: 62–3; Race 1986: 61–2.

[10] Young 1968: 62–3. For the influence of Young's reading, cf. Race 1986: 139 n. 22; Pelliccia 1987: 40 n. 2.

of literal immortality 'is not possible and hence cannot be effective'.[11] Since at least the early Archaic period, historical Greeks had been heroized and initiated into mysteries, both of which promised the deceased a literal form of immortality. The case of Hieron raises particular problems. Hieron received a hero cult after his death, and Diodorus would have us believe that he hankered after this cult already in his lifetime (Diodorus 11.66.4, 11.49.2). Since the time of Telines, an ancestor or perhaps the grandfather of Hieron, the Deinomenidai had been hereditary hierophants in a mystery cult of Demeter and Kore at Gela. Gelon and Hieron apparently brought this cult to Syracuse.[12] Even more than ordinary initiates, hierophants could hope for the 'blessedness' which Demeter and Persephone bestowed on those they 'dearly loved'.[13] On those rare occasions in Pindaric criticism when facts about a patron are known independently of a poem, it is right for them to impinge on a poem's interpretation.[14] If *Pythian* 3 proffers a model of immortality in song in preference to a model of literal immortality, that strategy was neither an obvious nor a natural one. The alternative, that is, was not 'absurd'. The challenge facing the interpreter of *Pythian* 3 is to accommodate the eschatological ambitions attested otherwise for Hieron to the interpretation of the ode. If the orthodox interpretation of *Pythian* 3 is to be maintained, an account must still be given of the divergence between Hieron's own eschatological perspective and the perspective adopted in Pindar's ode: that divergence is an important datum requiring interpretation. The interpretation given here of *Pythian* 3 will see a convergence, not a divergence, between Hieron's eschatological perspective and the perspective assumed in Pindar's ode. But either way, the requirement is a general one that

[11] Buongiovanni 1985: 335 and Arrighetti 1987: 131 speak, like Young, of immortality in song as 'the only form of immortality conceded to man'.

[12] *O.* 6.94–5; Pind. fr. 105a2–3; Hdt. 7.153.2; Σ *O.* 6.158a, c. It is assumed that this cult had before Telines been a private family cult and was brought by a Deinomenes to Gela from Triopion (on Cnidus): cf. Σ *P.* 2.27b; *Et. Mag.* s.v. *Γέλα*. Zuntz 1971: 136–7. For Telines' date and his relation to Gelon and Hieron, cf. Dunbabin 1948*a*: 64 (2nd half of vii BC; 'either Gelon's great-grandfather or a remoter ancestor'); Zuntz 1971: 138 n. 4 (mid-vi BC; the grandfather of Gelon). Introduced to Syracuse: Diod. 11.26.7 (Gelon had two temples built to Demeter and Kore in Syracuse in 480 BC within a single precinct). See White 1964: 264–5; Burkert 1985*a*: 96.

[13] For ordinary initiates, cf. *h. Hom.* 2.486–7 *μέγ' ὄλβιος, ὅντιν' ἐκεῖναι | προφρονέως φίλωνται ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων*, cf. 480. For hierophants, cf. their epitaphs: Burkert 1987*a*: 21.

[14] The situation is different, of course, when the 'facts' are not independently known: cf. Thummer 1968–9: i. 13. Compare the comments at the end of the previous chapter, p. 339.

these circumstances of Hieron, since they are known to us, should enter into an interpretation of the ode.

The challenge to the interpreter of *Pythian* 3 can be put into sharper focus by comparison with another ode of Pindar. This is the second *Olympian* ode, celebrating the chariot victory of Theron at Olympia in 476 BC, and so composed within perhaps as little as two years of *Pythian* 3. That poem expounds an eschatology of apparently Orphic colouring, in lieu of the typical myth (57–77). This peculiarity has suggested to scholars that Theron hoped, as a mystic initiate, to enjoy a blissful life after his death on the Isles of the Blessed.[15] In this one case, then, the view has prevailed among scholars that Pindar has made concessions to his patron's eschatological beliefs in propounding a model of literal immortality for his laudandus.[16] Since another ode for Theron, *Olympian* 3, refers to Theron's clan the Emmenidai as 'guarding with pious mind the rites (*τελετάς*) of the blessed gods' (41), it has been inferred that the Emmenidai enjoyed a hereditary position in a mystery cult at Acragas.[17] It is interesting to note that what is inferred here from the poems about the Emmenidai is securely attested for the Deinomenidai. The comparisons between Theron and Hieron do not stop here. Both Theron and Hieron received hero cult after their death (Diodorus 11.53.2, 11.66.4). Not only was *Olympian* 2 composed for Theron within at most four years of his death, *Pythian* 3 was also composed for Hieron when he was seriously ill; these were both times when a person's thoughts would naturally turn to the hereafter.[18] Apart from these circumstantial similarities, there are also internal similarities between the two odes. First, Peleus, Kadmos, Achilleus, and Semele feature as mythical examples in each. Second, both odes employ the language of 'knowledge', with possibly mystical overtones.[19] In view of all these affinities, internal and external, the difference in scholars' interpretations of *Olympian* 2 and *Pythian* 3 is notable: whereas intimations of literal immortality for the laudandus are accepted in *Olympian* 2, only immortality in song

[15] See esp. Lloyd-Jones 1990*c*.

[16] e.g. Zuntz 1971: 84; Lloyd-Jones 1990*c*: 89, cf. 102; Robbins 1997: 259–60, 285. A notable exception, however, is Nisetich 1988. Some scholars have also seen adumbrations of literal immortality for Theron in *O.* 3: Robbins 1984; cf. Krummen 1990: 257–63.

[17] Lloyd-Jones 1990*c*: 103; cf. Willcock 1995: 139. On *τελεταί*, cf. Plat. *resp.* 365a2; Sfameni Gasparro 1985: 14 n. 31; Cannatà Fera 1990: 188; Krummen 1990: 261. For possible mystic overtones to *O.* 3.41 *εὐσεβεῖ*, see below.

[18] As noted by Kephalos, Plat. *resp.* 330d5–7; cf. Anacr. 395.7–12 *PMG*.

[19] *O.* 2.56 *εἰ δέ . . . τις* **οἶδεν** *τὸ μέλλον*, 83–5 *βέλη . . . φωνάεντα* **συνετοῖσι**, *P.* 3.80 *εἰ δὲ λόγων* **συνέμεν** *κορυφάν, Ἱέρων, ὀρθὰν ἐπίστᾳ, μανθάνων* **οἶσθα** *προτέρων*. See below, this chapter.

is countenanced in *Pythian* 3. There would be nothing surprising in Hieron's associations with the mysteries finding their way into a poem like *Pythian* 3: Hieron's priesthood of Demeter and Persephone was significant enough to feature in other poems commissioned by Hieron or his associates (fr. 105a.1–3, for Hieron; *O.* 6.94–5, for Hagesias).[20] Other odes for Hieron, such as the first *Olympian* and Bacchylides' third ode, may also adumbrate an eschatological view which goes beyond the metaphorical immortality offered by song.[21] These considerations justify taking a new approach to *Pythian* 3: it is reasonable to question the legitimacy of the dismissal of the model of literal immortality and the insistence on an exclusive conception of immortality in song.

The argument of verses 1–80

Pythian 3 is dominated by Hieron's illness. The fact of Hieron's illness is made explicit in verses 65–6 and 73, but the audience will immediately have seen the relevance of verses 1–7 to the ailing ruler. Apart from his literal illness, Hieron was suffering, like the rest of humanity, from the metaphorical disease of mortality. Both his illness and his mortality are central concerns of *Pythian* 3. The understanding of the first part of the poem (1–80) is crucial to the interpretation of the poem, and will provide the starting point for our discussion.

The poem begins (1–7) with a wish-fantasy of the laudator that someone who is dead, the centaur Cheiron, were alive. The rationale for this wish becomes quickly apparent: there would then be the means of healing Hieron, through the agency of Asklepios whom Cheiron had reared and who had been an extraordinary healer (7 *παντοδαπᾶν ἀλκτῆρα νουσῶν*).

Next, 8–62. The mention of Asklepios in 6–7 leads into an extended mythical narration, concerning first Asklepios' mother Koronis and then Asklepios himself. The mythical narrative is introduced, as often, by a simple relative pronoun (8 *τὸν μέν*) after the mention of Asklepios. As often, this simple relative does not disclose the logical relation of the myth to what precedes. With the Koronis narrative, the connection to the situation of the ailing Hieron or to the laudator's wish-fantasy is

[20] For Hagesias' relationship with Hieron, see Σ *O.* 6.165 and Hutchinson 2001: 372.

[21] On Bacch. 3, see Richardson 1992: 243 and below, this chapter. On *O.* 1 see Gerber 1982: p. xv; Slater 1989: 499; and above, Ch. 6.

not immediately obvious.[22] However, the applicability of the Asklepios myth to the situation of the laudator vis-à-vis the ailing Hieron is easier to see: Asklepios successfully healed all sorts of afflictions (47–53). But the laudator recognizes that Asklepios went too far when, corrupted by gain, he brought back a man from the dead: for this transgression Zeus destroyed him with the thunderbolt (54–8).

In 63–76, the laudator returns with ring composition (63–7 ~ 1–6) to the wish-fantasy that Cheiron were still alive, and to the hope that his own song were able to induce Cheiron to send him a healer (Asklepios or Apollo) to restore Hieron's health.

In 77–9, the laudator abandons the wish-fantasy and offers instead a prayer to the Mother of the gods, again with ring composition (77 ~ 1–2).[23]

It is clear that this whole section, describing miraculous cures and the raising of the dead, engages with Hieron's concern for his illness and for his mortality. There has been general agreement about the passage's meaning: the direction taken by the myths, reinforced by the explicit moralizing of the *gnomai* in verses 19–25 and 59–62, has been taken to reveal miracle cures and the raising of the dead as both impious and impracticable acts. The poet, it is argued, uses these as a 'foil' for his own undertaking to preserve the laudandus' fame in song; this is the theme on which the poem closes (108–15).[24] Such a strategy could be paralleled by *Nemean* 8.44–8, where a hypothetical and futile attempt to bring back a dead person from the grave is taken as 'foil' for the celebration of the laudandus in the poet's song:

> *ὦ Μέγα, τὸ δ' αὖτις τεὰν ψυχὰν κομίξαι*
> *οὔ μοι δυνατόν· κενεᾶν δ' ἐλπίδων χαῦνον τέλος·*
> *σεῦ δὲ πάτρᾳ Χαριάδαις τ' ἐλαφρόν*[25]
> *ὑπερεῖσαι λίθον*
> *Μοισαῖον . . .*

Megas, the bringing back of your soul is not possible for me—the accomplishment of empty hopes is vain—but it is easy to set up a stone of the Muses for your clan and for the Chariadai.

On this view of *Pythian* 3, Hieron is consoled for his illness and his mortality not by any hopes of miracle cures or of literal immortality,

[22] On the frequent lack of explicit connection between the myth and its immediate context in Pindar, see Miller 1993–4.

[23] *ἐπεύξασθαι . . . ἐθέλω* is performative: Pelliccia 1987: 77.

[24] For *P.* 3.1–76 as 'foil', cf. Young 1968: 33.

[25] *τε λάβρον* MSS. See Carey 1976: 41 n. 53.

but by the poet's song. Throughout we remain firmly within the exclusive conception of immortality in song.

Yet this is not the only possible approach to verses 1–80. To begin from one thing which seems assured: the mythical narrative of Koronis and Asklepios provides an implicit commentary on the laudator's wish-fantasy, which rings it. The examples of Koronis and Asklepios apparently function as cautionary tales, warning against hankering after what one does not have (Koronis) and of trying to transcend mortal limitations (Asklepios). The laudator, in indulging his wish-fantasy that the dead Cheiron were alive so that Hieron could be cured, comes dangerously close to replicating the errors of Koronis and Asklepios. The laudator, formulating the wish 'would that the departed Cheiron were alive' (1–3 *ἤθελον Χίρωνά κε . . . ζώειν* **τὸν ἀποιχόμενον**), has a counterpart in, first, Koronis who 'desired things that were absent' (20 *ἤρατο* **τῶν ἀπεόντων**), and, second, Asklepios who failed to recognize that 'it is necessary to seek from the gods what is seemly with one's mortal soul, recognizing what is before one's feet, of what destiny we are' (59–60 *χρὴ τὰ ἐοικότα πὰρ δαιμόνων μαστεύεμεν θναταῖς φρασίν | γνόντα* **τὸ πὰρ ποδός**, *οἷας εἰμὲν αἴσας*).[26] The explicit lessons of the myths of Koronis and Asklepios thus seem to undermine the laudator's spontaneous wish-fantasy offered in 1–7 and 63–7. But how far do they undermine it? This depends on how the syntax of the wish-fantasy is understood and how earnestly that wish is made.

D. Young explained 1–3 *ἤθελον Χίρωνά κε . . . ζώειν* as the apodosis of an unreal condition whose protasis comes in 2 *εἰ χρεὼν τοῦθ' . . . εὔξασθαι ἔπος*. He took the verb in ellipse to be *ἦν* (not *ἐστίν*): 'I would want Cheiron to be alive, if it *were* proper'.[27] On this view, the laudator does not actually make a wish in 1–3, he merely contemplates making one.[28] Once the laudator has demonstrated the impropriety of the wish through the examples of Koronis and Asklepios, he then rejects it.[29] According to Young, 'The contrary-to-fact condition of the proem almost reveals disdain for a wish or prayer that the trainer of physicians be alive again'.[30]

[26] Cf. Young 1968: 43.

[27] Young 1968: 28–30 (italics added).

[28] Young 1968: 31 'the prayer which Pindar considers', 'Pindar's reluctance to make such an impossible wish on the grounds of propriety'.

[29] Young 1968: 33 'The poet considers a topic for prayer at the beginning of the poem only to dismiss it completely'.

[30] Young 1968: 67.

However, it is doubtful whether this is a correct construal of the syntax of the wish-fantasy. The wish in 1–3 *is* made, not merely contemplated. An expression like ἤθελον ἄν (ἐβουλόμην ἄν, ὤφελεν) with the infinitive expresses an 'unattainable wish'.[31] Accordingly, ἤθελον Χίρωνά κε . . . ζώειν means: 'would that Cheiron were alive!'[32] The ellipse in the clause εἰ χρεὼν . . . ἔπος is of the verbal form ἐστίν, not ἦν. That clause is not an unreal protasis to which ἤθελον . . . κε is the apodosis; rather, we may see the clause as a 'parenthetical comment' (or alternatively, in the terminology of pragmatics, we may see εἰ χρεὼν . . . ἔπος as a 'speech-act condition').[33] We should translate: 'Would that Cheiron son of Phillyris—if it is right for this common prayer to come from my tongue—were alive!' The idiom of the unattainable wish, expressed here by ἤθελον . . . κε with the infinitive, signals a state of affairs as desirable, though unattainable. We find it used elsewhere to express the wish that someone who is dead were alive.[34]

As for the earnestness of the wish, H. Pelliccia argued that the wish-fantasy was made, not just contemplated, but insisted that it is in the nature of an 'unattainable wish' to be 'dismissed' by the speaker as he returns from fantasy to reality. The dismissal, according to Pelliccia, is typically introduced by expressions like νῦν δὲ . . ., ἐπεὶ δὲ . . ..[35] Pelliccia argued, further, that *P.* 3.1–80 is deliberately modelled on a Homeric pattern of unattainable wishes, and identified *Odyssey* 1.253–71 as the specific model.[36] The assumption of a Homeric model does not seem compelling.[37] Nor should we always expect a dismissal to follow an unattainable wish.[38] Something desirable may be recognized (intellectually) as unattainable without losing its (emotional) appeal. Rather than seeing verses 63–76 as a routine recapitulation of the unattainable wish before its dismissal, we may with equal justification

[31] Pelliccia 1987: 49; Schwyzer 1939–53: ii. 321–2, 345–7; Goodwin 1897: § 246, 424–6, 731 ff.

[32] Pelliccia 1987: 51.

[33] 'Parenthetical comment': Pelliccia 1987: 42–6. An analogous construction is employed at Cat. 51.1–2 *ille mi par esse deo videtur,* | *ille—si fas est—superare divos.* 'Speech-act condition': cf. Hummel 1993: § 437; in general on 'speech-act conditionals', see Sweetser 1990: 118–21.

[34] Soph. *Phil.* 426–7; Eur. *Alc.* 1072–7; Xen. *ana.* 2.1.4; Aeschin. 3.115.

[35] Pelliccia 1987: 50, cf. 49.

[36] Pelliccia 1987: 53–7.

[37] Despite Pelliccia 1987: 55, the alleged correspondences between *Od.* 1.253–71 and *P.* 3.1–80 (*Od.* 1.253 ἀποιχομένου ~ *P.* 3.5 ἀποιχόμενον and *Od.* 1.271 ξυνίει ~ *P.* 3.80 συνέμεν) are not 'remarkably close'. Unattainable wishes in Homer are also discussed by Nagy 1990*c*: 294–301; de Jong 2001: 32.

[38] e.g. *Il.* 11.670–763; *Od.* 4.341–7; Aeschin. 3.115. Telling is Pelliccia 1987: 50 n. 29 'sometimes the dismissal is by implication alone', cf. 49.

see it as a *restatement* of the laudator's wish-fantasy.[39] The scenario envisaged by the laudator at 75–6 ἀστέρος οὐρανίου, φαμί, τηλαυγέστερον κείνῳ (*sc.* Ἱέρωνι) φάος | ἐξικόμαν κε βαθὺν πόντον περάσαις ('crossing the deep sea I would have come, I declare, as a more far-gleaming light to him [*sc.* Hieron] than a heavenly star') is evidently something the laudator sees as desirable, despite the foregoing examples of Koronis and Asklepios.[40] The examples of Koronis and Asklepios seem to have problematized the laudator's wish-fantasy, but not to have silenced or quashed it.

Young and Pelliccia both apply the term '*recusatio*' to *P.* 3.1–77.[41] This term could aptly be applied to such passages as *O.* 1.35–6, *O.* 1.52–3, *O.* 9.35–41, or *N.* 5.14–18; in all of these the laudator explicitly declines to narrate a particular version of a myth on grounds of its impropriety (although even in these cases it is necessary to recognize that we are dealing with a rhetorical device, 'like that of *praeteritio*', in which 'the poet both has his cake and eats it').[42] An even closer comparandum to what is supposed for *P.* 3.1–77 is *N.* 8.21–39. There, the negative example of Odysseus, in competition with Aias, shows the laudator how not to go about his task of praise, as in *Pythian* 3 the negative examples of Koronis and Asklepios are supposed to teach the laudator not to persist in his wish that the 'departed' Cheiron were alive.[43] In *Nemean* 8, the negative example is emphatically rejected (35 εἴη μή ποτέ μοι τοιοῦτον ἦθος). In *Pythian* 3, there is no explicit dismissal of the negative *exemplum* for the laudator. The poem simply moves on.

It is opportune here to make a general point about the so-called 'dismissal of foil' in Pindar. In Pindar, ἀλλά (*P.* 3.77) in conjunction with ring composition often effects a transition to a new topic, without what went before being simply dismissed as foil.[44] What is labelled as 'foil' in Pindar frequently lays the foundations upon which the rest of the poem is to build. In this context, if one attempt at literal healing and literal immortality was excessive and was doomed, it does not follow that all

[39] Cf. Lefkowitz 1976: 149 'The impossible wish . . . is restated'.

[40] Contrast Young 1968: 67 'almost reveals disdain'.

[41] *Recusatio*: Young 1968: 33; Pelliccia 1987: 47 ('false-start *recusatio*'), cf. id. 1992: 64 n. 2; Slater 1971: 144. In general on the *recusatio*: Nisbet and Hubbard 1970: 81–3.

[42] Stinton 1990*b*: 245, quoted by Pelliccia 1987: 47. Cf. Richardson 1985*b*: 396 on the 'rhetorical technique of drawing attention to a myth in order to reject it as improper from a religious point of view'.

[43] On *N.* 8.19–34, cf. Bundy 1962: 40 and n. 16; Miller 1982: 118–19.

[44] See Ch. 10 on *I.* 7.16 ἀλλά (with ring composition: 16 παλαιά ~ 1 πάρος); *N.* 7.30 ἀλλά (with ring composition: 30–1 ~ 19–20). Cf. Race 1990: 7 'The fact that "foil" is "dismissed" should not be construed to mean that it is forgotten or totally irrelevant'; cf. Carey 1981: 1.

hope of literal immortality is resigned. An illustration is provided by *Olympian* 1. There, the myth of Tantalos (37–66) displays several (failed) motifs of immortalization in quick succession. First, Pelops' reconstitution after his dismemberment and boiling in the cauldron (48–51: compare 26–7).[45] Second, Pelops' abduction and translation to Olympus by Poseidon, just as Zeus later abducted Ganymedes (40–5). And third, Tantalos' stealing for the benefit of his drinking companions the nectar and ambrosia 'with which the gods made him immortal' (60–4). Tantalos here is a negative example. But these failed immortalization motifs in the mythical narrative lead up to the hero cult which Pelops actually receives at Olympia (90–5). The existing hero cult which Pelops receives is another form of literal immortality, but one consistent with (indeed presupposing) prior acceptance of death (82 *θανεῖν δ' οἷσιν ἀνάγκα*). Pelops' hero cult, which follows athletic enterprise and the acceptance of death, is a positive example for Hieron; verbal echoes point up the parallelism between him and Pelops (see above, Chapter 6).

The example of *Olympian* 1 suggests that, if various attempts at literal immortality are presented in the course of a negative example, this does not entail that *all* attempts at literal immortality are rejected. This has implications for the interpretation of *Pythian* 3. There, the relationship between the rejected 'foil' in 1–79 and the rest of the poem has been understood in terms of a contrast between a model of literal immortality, which is rejected, and a model of immortality in song, which is endorsed. Yet the theme of immortalization in song does not surface in *Pythian* 3 before the very end of the poem (108–15). A more immediate antithesis to the examples of Koronis and Asklepios comes in the prayer to the Mother of the gods (77–80). It is not apparent why the laudator-poet should turn to the Mother for the reward of immortality *in song*: that would more properly be the gift of the Muses (compare *I.* 4.43; Bacchylides 3.91–2). On the other hand, the Mother is typically associated with other specific benefits, including good health and (possibly) blessedness in the afterlife (on this possibility, see below in this chapter). The Mother might in this way provide literal

[45] See Burkert 1983: Index s.v. 'Resurrection, after sacrifice' (Arkas, Pelops, Dionysos); Krummen 1990: 171–3 (motif 'Restitution des Opfers im Lebes und kultische Verehrung'). Melikertes-Palaimon: Apollod. *bibl.* 3.4.3; cf. Σ Pind., *Isth. hypoth.* a, Σ Lyc. *Alex.* 229. See Richardson 1974: 247. A pretended rejuvenation by boiling is found at Apollod. *bibl.* 1.9.27 (Medea and Pelias). A folktale motif: cf. Grimms' *Märchen* no. 81 ('Bruder Lustig'); Thompson 1955–8: ii D1885 'Rejuvenation by boiling', E15.1 'Resuscitation by boiling'.

answers to the two main concerns of the poem, Hieron's health and his mortality. In *Pythian* 3, as in *Olympian* 1, we may have an antithesis between alternative attempts at literal immortality: one which defies the gods and is doomed, the other which depends on the gods and has prospects of success. The prayer to the Mother will claim our attention later; first, we must continue to evaluate the meaning and function of 1–76 within the ode. This depends on three further issues: first, the value of Asklepios as an example; second, the attitude of the laudator and his audience to 'thaumaturgy' (the working of miracles); and third, the significance in the ode of the theme of death by fire.

Asklepios as example

For a typical modern view of how Asklepios was used as an ethical example we may cite W. K. C. Guthrie: 'The moral [*sc.* of *Pythian* 3] is drawn at once. It is the necessity to "think mortal thoughts" and not seek to rise above our human station . . . The conclusion is inevitable that for Pindar Asklepios . . . furnished an excellent example of a mortal man who forgot himself and was punished for competing with the gods, just as all of us would be courting disaster by comparable conduct.'[46] But Asklepios is an ambiguous choice as an example. On the one hand, his death by lightning could be seen as a punishment from the gods, reinforcing the gulf between mortals and immortals. On the other hand, it could be seen as a means to heroization or apotheosis, signifying his incorporation among the gods or heroes.[47] It is necessary to reconstruct, as best we can, fifth-century conceptions of Asklepios.

Asklepios was a cult figure by the fifth century, and perhaps well before.[48] There is clear evidence of his cult in a dedicatory inscription on a bronze *phiale*, of perhaps the first quarter of the fifth century, from Epidauros.[49] According to one tradition, Asklepios' Thessalian cult

[46] Guthrie 1950: 243–4 (also comparing Asklepios as an example at Aesch. *Ag.* 1018–25 and Eur. *Alc.* 122–31).

[47] On the ambiguity of death by lightning, cf. Kingsley 1995: 258 n. 24 'death by lightning as punishment for a crime was in no way incompatible with death by lightning as a prelude to heroization'.

[48] Differently, Wilamowitz 1922: 282 'Asklepios, der für Pindar so wenig wie für seine attischen Zeitgenossen ein Gott war'; cf. Farnell 1930–2: i. 97. In general on Asklepios' cult, see *LIMC* II .i (1984) 863–5; Garland 1992: 116–18; Parker 1996: 175–86; Graf, 'Asklepios', in *Der Neue Pauly* ii. 94–100. *h. Hom.* 16 is dated to the end of V BC: Edelstein and Edelstein 1945: ii. 68 and n. 2.

[49] *IG* IV² 1.136 *τῷ Αἰσκλαπιῷ ἀνέθηκε Μίκυλος*. *LSAG* p. 180.

was even older than his cult at Epidauros.[50] In that case, the Thessalian cult would have to antedate the fifth century. The fifth century saw various cults of Asklepios spring up in the Greek cities: he was receiving cult on Aegina from at least 422 BC, in Athens from *c.*421/0 BC, at Sicyon from perhaps *c.*410 BC, and at Corinth from apparently the end of the fifth century.[51] The proliferation of cults of Asklepios in the last quarter of the century suggests that he may then have been graduating from being a purely local to being a Panhellenic figure. Simultaneously, he may have been progressing from heroic to divine status: the fact that cults of Asklepios in the fifth and fourth centuries frequently exhibit heroic characteristics alongside divine ones has been taken to suggest that there was 'an earlier stratum of the cult before his divinisation, when Asclepius was only a healing hero'.[52] At all events, it seems likely that Pindar and his audience would have known Asklepios as a figure of cult, whether as hero or god.

Asklepios at *P.* 3.54–60, therefore, is a less straightforward choice of negative example than Tantalos (*O.* 1.60–4).[53] Whereas Tantalos was, proverbially, condemned to Tartarus (*O.* 1.57–60, *I.* 8.9–10), Asklepios was venerated in cult. In later texts, Asklepios is often cited as a positive example, one of a select number of exemplary figures who managed to break the bounds of mortality. He belongs in the ranks of Herakles, the Dioskouroi, and Dionysos.[54] It is possible that the myths of Asklepios' birth from his mother's burning corpse and of his own death by lightning, both told in *Pythian* 3, already presuppose his divine-heroic status. Asklepios is a figure whose myth and cult assert the possibility of immortality for a human (contrast Guthrie, quoted above).

[50] Strab. 9.5.17 437 *τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἀρχαιότατον καὶ ἐπιφανέστατον* (in Trikke, Thessaly). For Asklepios' Thessalian connection, cf. *Il.* 2.729–32, *h. Hom.* 16.3 (Dotion), Pind. *P.* 3.34.

[51] Aegina: Ar. *vesp.* 122–3. Athens: *IG* II².4960; Garland 1992: 118. Sicyon: Paus. 2.10.2–3; Burkert 1985*a*: 214; Garland 1992: 121. Corinth: Roebuck 1951: 21–2, 152–5.

[52] Riethmüller 1999: 140–1.

[53] Differently, Arrighetti 1987: 128.

[54] Note esp. Cic. *de nat. deor.* 2.19, 2.65, 3.39, 3.45; see Edelstein and Edelstein 1945: i. 108–78. Farnell 1921: 234. Burkert 1985*a*: 208–15 includes Asklepios with Herakles and the Dioskouroi as 'Figures who Cross the Chthonian-Olympian Boundary'.

Thaumaturgy and the power of song

In *Pythian* 3 the supposed impiety of Asklepios in bringing back a man from the dead goes hand in hand with the laudator's rejection of his own supposedly impious and impracticable wish-fantasy that the long-dead Cheiron were now alive (1–3, 63–7). It is notable that the laudator's wish, 'if wise Cheiron still inhabited his cave (i.e., were still alive) and my honey-voiced song could plant a charm (*φίλτρον*) in his heart' (63–5), evokes one of the ways in which Asklepios used to heal his patients: 'tending them with soft incantations (*ἐπαοιδαῖς*)' (51–3).[55] Both the laudator's wish and Asklepios' healing incantations rely on the notion that song may work extraordinary effects. In 63–5 the laudator seems to envisage his own song as working like an incantation.[56] Song could, indeed, be ascribed extraordinary powers by Greeks of the Archaic and Classical periods.[57] Even *ψυχαγωγία*, the raising of souls, might be effected by the power of the intoned or sung word, when combined with offerings or libations.[58] Indeed, the laudator's wish-fantasy at *P.* 3.1–3 and 63–5 comes close to desiring a *ψυχαγωγία* of Cheiron.

'Charms' (64 *φίλτρον* and 53 *φάρμακα*) and 'incantations' (51 *ἐπαοιδαῖς*) are frequently mentioned in healing contexts.[59] A Homeric scholion (which also quotes *P.* 3.51) observes that 'healing by incantation is ancient'.[60] The verses which that scholion is commentating on are *Odyssey* 19.456–8 *ὠτειλὴν δ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀμύμονος ἀντιθέοιο | δῆσαν ἐπισταμένως, ἐπαοιδῇ δ' αἷμα κελαινὸν | ἔσχεθον*, where the sons of Autolykos stop the bleeding from Odysseus' wound with bandages and 'incantation'.[61] Sophocles' Aias also alludes, disparagingly, to the practice: 'it is not the part of a wise physician to sing incantations over a wound that calls for surgery' (*Ajax* 581–2 *οὐ πρὸς ἰατροῦ σοφοῦ | θρηνεῖν*

[55] Cf. Lefkowitz 1976: 149.

[56] The effect of the poet's song is compared to incantation also at *N.* 8.48–50 (49 *ἐπαοιδαῖς*), where the latter is capable of making even toil painless. At *N.* 4.1–3, too, 'healing' and 'song' are paired; note esp. 3 *ἀοιδαὶ* **θέλξαν** (*sc. πόνους*). (In general for the enchanting effect of song, cf. *Od.* 11.334 = 13.2 *κηληθμῷ*; *Od.* 17.521 *ἔθελγε*; *h. Hom.* 3.161 *θέλγουσι*.)

[57] Plin. *h.n.* 28.10–21. Gorg. *Hel.* 10 = 82 B11.10 *VS*. See Burnett 1985: 6–7; Kingsley 1995: 248 and nn. 50, 53; Cotter 1999: 179–83.

[58] Cf. *Od.* 11.34 *εὐχωλῇσι λιτῇσί τε*; Aesch. *Pers.* 607–93, cf. *Cho.* 306–513. Plat. *leg.* 909a8–b6.

[59] See Rohde 1925: ii. 77 n. 1; Pfister 1924: 331–4; Laín Entralgo 1970: *passim*; Graf 1996*a*: 30; Dickie 2001: 24–5.

[60] Σ *Od.* 19.457 *ἀρχαία ἐστὶν ἡ διὰ τῆς* **ἐπαοιδῆς** *θεραπεία*.

[61] See, with Indo-European parallels, Renehan 1992.

ἐπῳδὰς *πρὸς τομῶντι πήματι*). Similar fifth-century scepticism of such practices is evinced by the author of the Hippocratic treatise *On the Sacred Disease*, when he takes to task those 'charlatans' who, pretending to specialist knowledge, employ 'purifications' and 'incantations' (*καθαρμοί*, **ἐπαοιδαί**) to treat the 'sacred disease' (epilepsy).[62] 'Demosthenes' likewise upbraids a charlatan for using 'charms and incantations' (**φάρμακα** *καὶ . . .* **ἐπῳδάς**) against epilepsy (*Against Aristogeiton* [25] 79–80). Above all, we hear of 'charms' and 'incantation' in Orphic contexts.[63] Euripides' *Alcestis* mentions both an Orphic **φάρμακον** (966) and **φάρμακα** (971) of the Asklepiadai. In the same author's *Cyclops*, we encounter an 'incantation of Orpheus' (646 **ἐπῳδὴν** *Ὀρφέως*). In Plato's *Charmides*, Sokrates alludes to the practice of healing by a combination of **φάρμακον** and **ἐπῳδή**, which he pretends to have learnt from 'one of the Thracian physicians of Zalmoxis' (155e5–157b4).[64] These physicians of Zalmoxis are said to 'make people immortal' (156d4–6 *οἳ λέγονται καὶ ἀπαθανατίζειν*). Herodotus similarly records that the disciples of Zalmoxis believed that they would not die (4.95.3). Zalmoxis was associated by the Greeks with Pythagoras, who also used incantation and music for therapeutic purposes: 'he used to heal [his disciples] when they were afflicted in their body, and when they were sick in their souls he gave them comfort, as I said, in some cases by incantations (**ἐπῳδαῖς**) and magic arts, in others by music. He had songs which were also capable of healing the diseases of the body; by chanting these he would raise up the sick (**ἃ ἐπᾴδων ἀνίστη τοὺς κάμνοντας**)' (Porphyry, *Life of Pythagoras* 33).[65] Most striking of all is Empedokles, about whom Sicilians thronged desiring to hear 'a healing spell' for their various afflictions (31 B112.10–11 *VS οἱ δ' ἐπὶ νούσων | παντοίων ἐπύθοντο κλυεῖν* **εὐηκέα βάξιν**).[66] Empedokles proposed to instruct Pausanias in 'charms against evils and protection against old age' (31 B111.1–2 *VS* **φάρμακα** *δ' ὅσσα γεγᾶσι κακῶν καὶ* **γήραος ἄλκαρ | πεύσῃ**).[67] Empedokles even claimed the skill to bring the dead back from Hades (31 B111.9 *VS ἄξεις*

[62] Hippocr. *de morb. sacr.* 1 *καθαρμοῖσί τε ἰῶνται καὶ* **ἐπαοιδῇσιν**, 2 *καθαρμοὺς προσφέροντες καὶ* **ἐπαοιδάς**, 4 *καθαρμοῖσί τε χρέονται καὶ* **ἐπαοιδῇσι**.

[63] Plat. *resp.* 364b7. Burkert 1982: 4–5; Parker 1995: 486; Johnston 1999: 111 (also on the use of *ἐπῳδαί* by the *γόης*).

[64] For Sokrates as *ἐπῳδός*, cf. *Phaedo* 78a1.

[65] With this last phrase, compare Asklepios at *P.* 3.51–3 *τοὺς μὲν μαλακαῖς* **ἐπαοιδαῖς** *ἀμφέπων . . .* **ἔστασεν** *ὀρθούς*. Further on the Pythagoreans' use of music, see: Aristoxenus fr. 26 Wehrli; Iambl. *vit. Pyth.* 64, 110–14, 164 (*sc. τοὺς Πυθαγορείους φασὶν*) *χρῆσθαι . . . καὶ ταῖς* **ἐπῳδαῖς** *πρὸς ἔνια τῶν ἀρρωστημάτων*.

[66] 'A well-healing utterance'. But *εὐηκής* is a *ἅπαξ*, and we might consider reading *εὐηχέα βάξιν*: 'a well-sounding utterance (i.e. "a sung charm") against various illnesses'.

[67] Kingsley 1995: 222–3.

δ' ἐξ Ἀΐδαο καταφθιμένου μένος ἀνδρός). True to this claim, Empedokles was reputed to have brought a dead woman back to life.[68] This feat seems to belong in the repertoire of the θεῖος ἀνήρ.[69] The mythical prototype here is Orpheus, especially if in an early form of the myth he succeeded in bringing back Eurydike from the dead.[70] Of historical persons, the first-century BC physician Asklepiades of Bithynia was widely believed to have revived a dead man.[71] Jesus was claimed to have raised several people.[72] The same claim was made of Apollonios of Tyana in the first century AD.[73] The physician Antigonos in Lucian's *Lover of Lies* claims to have had a patient who returned to life twenty days after being buried (26).[74] The ability to raise the dead thus seems to have been an ideal, if rarely realized, goal of healers of the ancient world.[75] More generally, it was the province of the γόης, who, as recent scholarship has emphasized, was a far from marginal figure in late Archaic and Classical Greece.[76]

These beliefs and practices provide the wider cultural context for

[68] D.L. 8.67 = Heracl. Pont. fr. 83 Wehrli ἐδοξάσθη Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἀποστείλας τὴν νεκρὰν ἄνθρωπον ζῶσαν. See Gottschalk 1980: 15–22; Kingsley 1995: 218–27. Cf. D.L. 8.69.

[69] In Jewish tradition: Elijah (1 Kings 17: 17–24; Joseph. *ant. Iud.* 8.325–7); Elisha (2 Kings 4: 18–37). In Christian tradition, see (apart from Jesus, below): Acts 9: 36–42, 20: 7–12.

[70] Cf. Eur. *Alc.* 357–9; Plat. *symp.* 179d2–7. Isoc. 11.8 says, '[Orpheus] led up the dead from Hades' (ἐξ Ἅιδου τοὺς τεθνεῶτας ἀνῆγεν). Virg. *Aen.* 6.119–20 (contrast *Geo.* 4.467–506). It has been supposed that Orpheus originally succeeded in bringing back Eurydike: West 1983: 4–6; Kingsley 1995: 137. Differently, Graf 1987: 81–4. On Orpheus and 'shamanism', see recently Bremmer 2002: 36–7.

[71] Plin. *h.n.* 26.14–15; Celsus *med.* 2.6.15–16; Apul. *flor.* 19.

[72] Mark 5: 21–43; Matthew 9: 18–26; Luke 8: 40–56. Luke 7: 11–17. Lazaros: John 11: 1–44.

[73] Philostr. *vit. Apoll.* 4.45.

[74] For this Antigonos, cf. *RE* i. 2422.25–9.

[75] Edelstein and Edelstein 1945: ii. 45; Cotter 1999: 12, 36–7. For the ἀναβίωσις of a living person, see further Plat. *resp.* 614b2–8 (Er); Proclus *in Platonis rem publicam* 2.113ff. Bremmer 2002: 90–6.

[76] For the connection between γοητεία and raising the dead, see the hostile sketch of practitioners of that art at Plat. *leg.* 909b3–6 'claiming to raise the souls of the dead and undertaking to persuade the gods, purporting to bewitch them with sacrifices and prayers and incantations (ὡς θυσίαις τε καὶ εὐχαῖς καὶ ἐπῳδαῖς γοητεύοντες), they try for the sake of money to destroy utterly individuals and whole houses and cities'. Cf. the definition of Suda γοητεία· . . . γοητεία δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνάγειν νεκρὸν δι' ἐπικλήσεως, ὅθεν εἴρηται ἀπὸ τῶν γόων '*goeteia* [is the name given] to the act of raising a corpse by invocation, which is why the name is derived from lamentations (*gooi*)'. See Johnston 1999: 103–5 esp. 105 'control of the dead was the very essence of *goeteia*'. On the position of the γόης in Archaic and Classical Greece, see Burkert 1962: esp. 48–9; id. 1992*a*: 42–3; Graf 1996*a*: 24–36; Johnston 1999: 82–123 esp. 109 'the *goes* was anything but an outcast, feared and detested by the average Greek of the classical period', 120 'there is little reason to think that the *goes* was despised by the general populace', 122.

the language of 'incantation' which we find in *Pythian* 3. This is the context also for two passages of Aeschylus' *Oresteia*. First, *Agamemnon*: 'who could call up the fatal blood of a man by singing incantations?' (1018–21 *θανάσιμον . . . ἀνδρὸς | . . . αἷμα τίς ἂν | . . . ἀγκαλέσαιτ'* **ἐπαείδων**;). Second, *Eumenides*: 'there is no resurrecting a dead man; my father (Zeus) did not make incantations in these matters' (647–50 *ἀνδρὸς . . . | . . . θανόντος οὔτις ἔστ' ἀνάστασις. | τούτων* **ἐπῳδὰς** *οὐκ ἐποίησεν πατὴρ | οὑμός*). The cultural picture appears to be more two-sided than is often recognized.[77] On the one hand, the fifth century BC could admit, in certain circles at least, the belief that song, when employed by charismatic experts, could cure the sick, ward off old age, and raise and bring back the dead—whether their souls, temporarily (*psychagogia*), or the persons themselves, more permanently. On the other hand, we find such beliefs opposed and the contrary belief, that the dead cannot be resurrected, whether by song or other means, vigorously asserted.[78] The Pindaric and Aeschylean passages should be set in the context of this debate, a debate that was of very long duration.[79] The same Aeschylus who made the chorus of *Agamemnon* sing 'who could call up the fatal blood of a man by singing incantations?' (1018–21 **ἀγκαλέσαιτ'**) could in *Persians* make Atossa command the chorus of Persian elders to 'summon up Dareios' (621 **ἀνακαλεῖσθε**), and these do in fact succeed in raising the dead king with their 'soul-raising lamentations' (687 *ψυχαγωγοῖς . . . γόοις*).[80] Here, again, it is necessary to recognize plurality and even inconsistency in a culture's system of beliefs.[81]

[77] Cf. Dickie 2001: 24–6, who argues that healing by incantation in the fifth century 'was a recognized and respectable procedure not affected by the taint of sorcery' (25).

[78] Cf., in addition to the Aeschylean passages, e.g. Hdt. 3.62.4 *εἰ μέν νυν οἱ τεθνεῶτες ἀνεστᾶσι, προσδέκεό τοι καὶ Ἀστυάγεα τὸν Μήδων ἐπαναστήσεσθαι· εἰ δ' ἔστι ὥσπερ πρὸ τοῦ, οὐ μή τί τοι ἔκ γε ἐκείνου νεώτερον ἀναβλάστῃ*; Call. *ep.* 13.3–4 Pfeiffer; Herodas 1.42–4 (with Headlam ad loc.). Cf. Bremmer 2002: 41 'For Greeks and Romans [resurrection of the body] was an unthinkable idea'; West 1997: 154–5.

[79] e.g. Epictet. *diss.* 1.27. 9 *καὶ ποῦ φύγω τὸν θάνατον; . . . μηνύσατέ* (*sc. μοι τὴν*) *ἐπαοιδήν*, 'where am I to escape death? . . . Reveal to me the incantation'. Cf. Lucian *Philops.* 8; Tib. 1.2.47; Prop. 1.1.23 (reading Morgan's conjecture *manes*); Virg. *Aen.* 4.487–90. For the debate over the efficacy of words and song in healing, cf. Plin. *h.n.* 28.10 'of the remedies from mankind, it is first a subject of great debate, and one which always remained undecided, whether words and the incantations of songs have any effect', 28.29 'there are indeed songs extant to combat various kinds of illnesses and also burns, some even proven by experience, but a great inhibition in such a difference of opinion prevents me from transmitting them. Therefore let each person make up his mind about these as he likes'. The debate is reflected in the Greek medical writings: see Lloyd 1979: 42–3.

[80] Cf. Soph. *El.* 137–9 *ἀλλ' οὔτοι τόν γ' ἐξ Ἅιδα | παγκοίνου λίμνας πατέρ'* **ἀν- | στάσεις** *οὔτε γόοισιν οὐ λιταῖς*.

[81] Cf. Lloyd 1979: 29–32, and see above Ch. 2, p. 39.

The upshot of this for *Pythian* 3 is that we should not dismiss as an evident absurdity what the laudator hopes for in vain in the unreal scenario of *P.* 3.63–5. It may be that we are meant to lay the emphasis on the first-person possessive pronouns at 64–5 *μελιγάρυες ὕμνοι* | **ἁμέτεροι** and 2 **ἁμετέρας** *ἀπὸ γλώσσας*: '*my* honey-voiced song', 'from *my* tongue'.[82] In that case, the faculty of working miracle cures in the manner of Asklepios may be despaired of by the laudator, but not dismissed as an impossibility in itself. Under the guise of *adynaton*, the possibility of a literal antidote to illness and death is raised by the laudator. Verses 1–76 reveal a tension, as yet unresolved, between the desirability and the practicability of this notion. The beginning of a resolution seems to be intimated with the prayer to the Mother (77–9); it is notable that this prayer is another way in which the poet hopes that *words* may be efficacious in securing Hieron a remedy against his illness and mortality. Prayer (*εὐχή*) is not a fundamentally different expedient from incantation (*ἐπῳδή*).[83]

Fire in *Pythian* 3

The image of fire pervades *Pythian* 3.[84] It makes its first appearance in 36 **πῦρ**, an image describing the indiscriminate destruction wreaked by a forest fire. This metaphor leads into the description of Koronis' real funeral pyre in verses 38–44 (note 39–40 **σέλας** *δ' ἀμφέδραμεν* | *λάβρον* **Ἀφαίστου**, 44 **καιομένα** *δ' αὐτῷ διέφαινε* **πυρά**). Subsequently, in verse 50 **πυρί** is used of the 'fever' of some of Asklepios' patients.[85] Thereafter, the thunderbolt which destroys Asklepios is 'a burning thunderbolt' (58 **αἴθων** . . . *κεραυνός*). Lastly, Achilleus at his funeral is 'burned by fire' (102 **πυρὶ καιόμενος**).[86] In these passages the destructive nature of fire is emphasized. Elsewhere in the ode, however, there is a suggestion that life may be preserved from, or even by, fire. The following passages are significant.

(1) Asklepios is 'snatched' by Apollo from Koronis' burning body on the pyre and rescued from death (38–46, especially 43–4 *παῖδ'*

[82] Cf. the use of the first person in *recusatio*: Nisbet and Hubbard 1970: 85.

[83] Plat. *leg.* 909b5 mentions the two side by side. Cf. Pfister 1924: 325; Graf 1996*a*: 193.

[84] Young 1968: 40, 41; Barkhuizen 1970: 139; Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: 76.

[85] An established metaphor: see LSJ s.v. *πῦρ* I.7. Cf. *πυρετοί* 'fever'.

[86] Young 1968: 40, 41, 43, esp. 55; Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: 76.

ἐκ νεκροῦ | ἅρπασε).[87] The obvious parallel for this birth myth of Asklepios is the birth myth of Dionysos: Dionysos too was snatched by Hermes or by Zeus himself from Semele's smouldering body, after she was blasted by Zeus' thunderbolt.[88] The function of this kind of birth myth seems to be to mark out the infant son of a mortal mother who is thus rescued from the fire for future divinity.[89] Myths in which babies (Demophon, Achilleus) are placed on the fire to make them immortal may be comparable (see below in this chapter).

(2) Asklepios is destroyed by Zeus' thunderbolt (verses 57–8). In *Pythian* 3 this is presented as punishment for Asklepios' bringing someone (here left anonymous) back from the dead. However, the belief is well rooted that Asklepios became a hero or god after dying by Zeus' thunderbolt.[90] The belief is explicitly attested in late sources that it was Asklepios' incineration by the thunderbolt that brought about his apotheosis or heroization.[91] It has been held that this was the original meaning of the myth.[92] Certainly, the belief that death by lightning led to heroization or apotheosis seems an old one.[93]

(3) Verses 98–100 allude to Zeus' passion for Semele. These verses are introduced by an adversative particle (98 ἀτάρ), indicating that Semele's fortunes offset the misfortunes experienced by Kadmos' other daughters.[94] According to a myth certainly current in the fifth century BC, Semele became immortal after being struck by Zeus'

[87] Cf. Ov. *met.* 2.628–9. Apollod. *bibl.* 3.10.3 καιομένης δὲ αὐτῆς (*sc.* Κορωνίδος) ἁρπάσας τὸ βρέφος ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς (*sc.* Ἀπόλλων) κτλ. Paus. 2.26.6 ἐξημμένης δὲ ἤδη τῆς πυρᾶς ἁρπάσαι λέγεται τὸν παῖδα Ἑρμῆς ἀπὸ τῆς φλογός.

[88] e.g. Eur. *Ba.* 88–93, 244–5, 288–9, 524–5. Paus. knows a version in which Hermes saved Asklepios from Koronis' burning body (2.26.6). At Eur. *Ba.* 288–9, 524–5 and Apollod. *bibl.* 3.4.3, Zeus himself 'snatches' the baby Dionysos from Semele's burning body.

[89] Furley 1981: 110 'The birth of a god in the cases of Asclepius and Dionysus involves a radical separation of mortal mother from the child: the mother's cremation is the god's delivery'. There is a different version of Asklepios' birth in which he is a foundling discovered by a goatherd on an Epidaurian mountain; here too lightning flashes from him as a declaration of his divinity (θεῖόν τι): Paus. 2.26.5.

[90] Asklepios' death by Zeus' thunderbolt is already in 'Hes'. *cat.* fr. 51 M-W.

[91] Justinus *apol.* 21.2 Ἀσκληπιὸν δὲ . . . κεραυνωθέντα ἀνεληλυθέναι εἰς οὐρανόν; Minucius Felix *Octavius* 22.7; Tertull. *ad nat.* 2.14; cf. Lucian *deor. dial.* 13.1.

[92] Rohde 1925: i. 321–2; cf. Edelstein and Edelstein 1945: ii. 49–51 with 49 n. 94, 75.

[93] Burkert 1961: 211; id. 1985*a*: 295 'death by heavenly fire seemed to announce an extraordinary status in the afterworld'; *RAC* x. 1124–7; Garland 1985: 99–100; Kingsley 1995: 258 n. 24; Seaford 1996: 197. Cf. Kapaneus: Eur. *suppl.* 934–8, 980–3; Semele: *O.* 2.25–6; Amphiaraos: *N.* 9.24–7. Cf. Clearchus fr. 48 Wehrli = Athen. 12 522d; Artemidorus *onir.* 2.9 οὐδεὶς γὰρ κεραυνωθεὶς ἄτιμός ἐστιν, ὅπου γε καὶ ὡς θεὸς τιμᾶται; Plut. *quaest. conv.* 665c–d; *A.P.* 7.49 (Bianor of Bithynia, i BC–AD i).

[94] Contrast Robbins 1990: 314 and n. 35.

thunderbolt.[95] Semele's death by Zeus' thunderbolt and subsequent apotheosis are not narrated in *Pythian* 3; yet they may be presupposed by her appellation as 'Thyone' (99), the name Semele received on becoming immortal.[96] Semele's immortalization after being struck by the thunderbolt would parallel that of Asklepios, which is alluded to earlier in the ode; Semele is, further, parallel to Koronis.[97]

(4) Achilleus' death and cremation are mentioned at 100–3. In these verses, Achilleus' cremation is simply said to 'arouse lamentation from the Danaans'. However, Achilleus' rescue from the pyre by Thetis and his translation to Leuke were narrated in the *Aethiopis*. Proclus' summary of the action of this Archaic epic includes the following episode: 'Thetis snatches up her son from the pyre and takes him to the White Island (Leuke)' (*EGF* p. 47.27–8 *ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς ἡ Θέτις ἀναρπάσασα τὸν παῖδα εἰς τὴν Λευκὴν νῆσον διακομίζει*). This translation to Leuke is tantamount to heroization.[98] Archaic and Classical poetry often puts Achilleus after death in Elysion or on the Isles of the Blessed.[99] By Pindar's time, certainly, Achilleus was well established as a figure of cult.[100] The 'snatching up' (*ἀν***αρπάσασα**, in Proclus) of Achilleus from his funeral pyre by Thetis mirrors the 'snatching' (**ἅρπασε**, *P.* 3.38) of the infant Asklepios from his mother's funeral pyre by Apollo. Dionysos was similarly 'snatched' by Hermes or Zeus from the burning corpse of Semele.[101] The 'snatching' of mortals by gods or goddesses is a frequent motif of heroization or immortalization.[102]

Episodes (1)–(4) exploit related themes, sometimes explicit in the poem, sometimes implicit. In (1) and (4) we find the theme of rescue from the funeral pyre leading to divine status or heroization. In (2) and (3) we find the theme of death by lightning leading to apotheosis.

[95] Hes. *th.* 942; *O.* 2.25–6, cf. *P.* 11.1; Eur. *Ba.* 6–12. Cf. Nonnus *Dion.* 8.413–14 *καὶ καθαρῷ λούσασα νέον δέμας αἴθοπι πυρσῷ | . . . | καὶ βίον ἄφθιτον ἔσχεν Ὀλύμπιον.*

[96] Diod. 4.25.4 *καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον (sc. Διόνυσον) μυθολογοῦσιν ἀναγαγεῖν τὴν μητέρα Σεμέλην ἐξ Ἅιδου, καὶ μεταδόντα τῆς ἀθανασίας Θυώνην μετονομάσαι*; Apollod. *bibl.* 3.5.5; Charax (AD ii) *FGrH* 103 F14. The name Thyone is attested already in *h. Hom.* 1.21.

[97] On Semele and Koronis, cf. Robbins 1990: 314–15; Lyons 1997: 93, 126; Burgess 2001b. Koronis, like Semele, became a figure of cult: in Titane (Paus. 2.11.7) and in Athens (Tert. *ad nat.* 2.14).

[98] Cf. Slatkin 1991: 26 and n. 10. Differently, Nisetich 1988: 16.

[99] Ibycus 291 *PMG*, Sim. 558 *PMG*, Attic skolion 894 *PMG*, *O.* 2.79–80 *Ἀχιλλέα τ' ἔνεικ' (sc. ἐς μακάρων νᾶσον) ἐπεὶ Ζηνὸς ἦτορ | λιταῖς ἔπεισε μάτηρ.* Cf. Men. Rhet. 414.16–19 *πείθομαι τὸν μεταστάντα τὸ Ἠλύσιον πεδίον οἰκεῖν, ὅπου Ῥαδάμανθυς, ὅπου Μενέλεως, ὅπου παῖς ὁ Πηλέως καὶ Θέτιδος, ὅπου Μέμνων.*

[100] *N.* 4.49–50, etc.

[101] Eur. *Ba.* 524–5 *ἥρπασε*; Paus. 2.26.6 *ἁρπάσαι*. Cf. Burgess 2001*b*: 220.

[102] Cf. *O.* 1.40 (Pelops); Theocr. 17.48 (Arsinoe). See Larson 2001: 66–70.

It seems scarcely likely that the two themes are unconnected.[103] A connection is suggested by various considerations. First, lightning may be spoken of as (heavenly) fire.[104] Second, in several (admittedly late) texts, Asklepios' death by Zeus' thunderbolt, leading to his translation to Olympus, is juxtaposed with Herakles' cremation on Oeta, leading to his translation to Olympus.[105] In one version of Herakles' end, his cremation on Oeta is hastened by thunderbolts from heaven.[106] Finally, Asklepios' earthly life begins with burning on the pyre (*P.* 3.44 *καιομένα δ' αὐτῷ διέφαινε πυρά*), and ends with his burning by the thunderbolt.[107] The parallelism between Asklepios' birth and death may be read as implying that his death by lightning effected a kind of 'rebirth' as god or hero. In the mysteries, death by lightning may have been seen as symbolically equivalent to death by fire, and both may have been seen as a kind of 'rebirth': an Orphic verse, inscribed on a gold leaf found at Pelinna, proclaims 'now you died and now you were born, thrice-blessed, on this day' (*νῦν ἔθανες καὶ νῦν ἐγένου, τρισόλβιε, ἄματι τῷδε*).[108]

A theme of immortalization by fire, therefore, seems to permeate *Pythian* 3. It straddles both (unequal) halves of the poem, the supposedly positive second half and the negative first half. The pervasiveness of the theme suggests that it ought to be assigned a central role in our interpretation of the ode.

[103] Cf. Kingsley 1995: 258. Differently, Stinton 1990*c*: 495.

[104] Heracl. 22 B65 *VS* (= Hippol. *ref.* 9.10.7) *κεραυνὸν τὸ πῦρ λέγων τὸ αἰώνιον*; Eur. *Ba.* 523–4 *πυρὸς . . . ἀ-| θανάτου*; Artemidorus *onir.* 2.9 *ὁ κεραυνὸς οὐδέν ἐστιν ἄλλο ἢ πῦρ*. Cf. *A.P.* 7.49 (Bianor of Bithynia, i BC–AD i) *πυρωθεὶς | Ζανὶ κεραυνείῳ*.

[105] Lucian *deor. dial.* 13.1 (Herakles:) *κατὰ τί, ὦ ἐμβρόντητε* (*sc. ἀμείνων εἶμου*)*; ἢ ὅτι σε ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκεραύνωσεν ἃ μὴ θέμις ποιοῦντα, νῦν δὲ κατ' ἔλεον αὖθις ἀθανασίας μετείληφας;* (Asklepios:) *ἐπιλέλησαι γὰρ καὶ σύ, ὦ Ἡράκλεις, ἐν τῇ Οἴτῃ καταφλεγείς, ὅτι μοι ὀνειδίζεις τὸ πῦρ;*. Lucian *de mort. Per.* 4 *ἀλλ' ὅτι διὰ πυρὸς ἐξάγειν τοῦ βίου διέγνωκεν ἑαυτόν* (*sc. Περεγρῖνος*)*, εἰς κενοδοξίαν τινὲς τοῦτο ἀναφέρουσιν; οὐ γὰρ Ἡρακλῆς οὕτως; οὐ γὰρ Ἀσκληπιὸς καὶ Διόνυσος κερανυῷ; οὐ γὰρ τὰ τελευταῖα Ἐμπεδοκλῆς εἰς τοὺς κρατῆρας;*. Minucius Felix *Octavius* 22.7 (AD 150–310) *Aesculapius, ut in deum surgat, fulminatur; Hercules, ut hominem exuat, <Oeta>eis ignibus concrematur.* Tertull. *ad nat.* 2.14 *hunc* (sc. *Herculem*) *vos de pyra in caelum sublevastis, illa facultate qua et alium* (sc. *Aesculapium*) *ignis ex divini vi confectum* (sc. *sublevastis*).

[106] Diod. 4.38.5 *εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ κεραυνῶν ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος πεσόντων, ἡ πυρὰ πᾶσα κατεφλέχθη*.

[107] Cf. Burkert 1985*a*: 214 'There is a remarkable correspondence between the beginning and the end'. Cf. Ov. *met.* 2.628–30 (Asklepios' birth) *Phoebus… | … natum* ***flammis*** *uteroque parentis | eripuit* and 646 (his death) *posse dare hoc iterum* ***flamma*** *prohibebere avita.*

[108] Kingsley 1995: 257–8; cf. Stinton 1990*c*: 505–6. Cf. Semele, *O.* 2.25.

The limits of allusion

The preceding arguments raise a methodological difficulty. Asklepios' apotheosis, Achilleus' translation to Leuke, and Semele's apotheosis are not narrated in *Pythian* 3, so it is unclear whether they may be invoked in the poem's interpretation. It has been posited as a general rule that 'in Homer and the lyric poets, what is not mentioned in an *exemplum* is irrelevant', and this rule has been claimed 'invariably true of Pindar'.[109] Yet it is notoriously difficult to circumscribe the limits of allusion.[110] The situation is complex also in Homer.[111] In the example of Meleagros at *Iliad* 9.527–99, a complex effect seems to be aimed at by Phoinix' omission of elements of the traditional myth which were, probably, known to the audience.[112] It has in fact been argued that Homer often presupposes knowledge on the part of his audience of myths whose details he suppresses.[113] The same goes for the lyric poets: in Alcaeus fr. 42 *PLF* 'it is left to the hearer to make the connection between the product of Thetis' marriage, Achilles, and the destruction of Troy with which he is (anonymously) juxtaposed'.[114] Comparable is the description in Sappho fr. 44 *PLF* of the betrothal of Hektor and Andromache, where the audience is, presumably, to think of the unhappy fates of the couple, although there is no overt suggestion of this.[115] Bacchylides in particular shows a predilection for omitting traditional details from his mythical narratives, where knowledge of these is crucial for the poem's meaning: we see this especially in poems 5 and 18.[116] Similar problems are thrown up by the question of mythical allusion in tragedy.[117] In all these instances, meaning may be regarded

[109] Carey 1980: 241.

[110] In general, cf. Garner 1990: 7 'In allusion, it is the interaction of the two fields, *all* their similarities and differences, and *all* the implications these have for the tenor, which are used by the audience to bridge the gap between the two texts' (italics added). Roberts 1997: 257 'it is often difficult to know whether the aftermath is being suppressed or evoked, or which of several different versions the text implies'.

[111] Cf. Scodel 2002: 14–16.

[112] Rutherford 1996: 6–7, 25 n. 22; Cairns 2001: 50–1; cf. Slatkin 1991: 107–22. Differently, Rengakos 2000: 108 'dieses Verschweigen . . . ist keinesfalls sinnstiftend'.

[113] Cf. Dowden 1996: 53; Cairns 2001: 40–1.

[114] Carey 1999: 27; Rengakos 2000: 110. Cf. Alcae. 44 *PLF*: Rengakos 2000: 109–10.

[115] Roberts 1997: 258; Rengakos 2000: 109.

[116] Carey 1980: 241–2; Roberts 1997: 259–62; Rengakos 2000: *passim*.

[117] Cf. Holt 1989: 70; Fowler 1999: 172–4 on Soph. *Tr.*; Roberts 1997: 259 on Soph. *El.*; Wilson 2000: 102 on Eur. *Tro.* 1055–7. Cf. Burian 1997: 194–5; Stinton 1990*d*; Roberts: 1988. In Antiphanes' *Poiesis*, fr. 189.1–9 *PCG*, the view is expressed—with comic tendentiousness—that in tragedy a mere name (e.g. 'Oidipous') is enough to evoke the rest of the story for the audience. But cf. differently Aristot. *poet.* 1451b25–6.

as something created in the minds of the audience, rather than inhering in the text in isolation.[118] There is no reason why similar open endings should not be found in some of Pindar's mythical narrations.[119]

These considerations have implications for *Pythian* 3. The mention of Achilleus 'being burned by fire' may have been sufficient to recall the fate of Achilleus as recounted in the *Aethiopis* (possibly drawing on a tradition older than the *Iliad*).[120] The name 'Thyone' may have sufficed to evoke Semele's death by thunderbolt and her subsequent apotheosis. Asklepios' apotheosis may have been suggested simply by the narration of his death by the thunderbolt. The various motifs of immortalization by fire (episodes (1)–(4) above) would be mutually reinforcing, enabling the audience to construct the appropriate frame of reference for these myths within this ode.

Salvation from the funeral pyre

The theme of abduction from the pyre by a deity is explicit in the myth of Asklepios' birth from the pyre of his mother (38–45); it is also implicit in the allusion to the mythical tradition of Achilleus' being 'burned by fire' (100–2). The theme is also prominent in Bacchylides' third ode, commissioned, like *Pythian* 3, by Hieron shortly before his death. The parallel between *P.* 3.38–45 and Bacchylides 3.23–62 is striking: both are extended passages in which Apollo saves a life from a funeral pyre.[121] It is to Bacchylides' ode that we now turn.

[118] Cf. Carey 1980: 242 'The final irony in the myth of [Bacchylides'] Ode 5 takes place in the minds of the audience, not in the text of the poem'; id. 1999: 27 'substantial portions of Bacchylides' narrative . . . take place offstage, that is, in the mind of the hearer'; Roberts 1997: 259 'The very audience knowledge that creates problems thus also creates possibilities'; cf. Burian 1997: 179 and n. 4, 194–5. The theoretical position here may be compared to 'literary pragmatics': cf. Sell 1991: esp. pp. xiv, xxi–xxii; Enkvist 1991: 24–5 'To the literary pragmatist . . . value lies, not only in the text as a static object, but in the receptor's cognitive processes as triggered off by the text.'

[119] Rengakos 2000: 110–11 finds an intimation of Patroklos' death in *O.* 9.76–9. (His other Pindaric example, the myth of Ixion at *P.* 2.21–48, seems less convincing.)

[120] For differing views on the antiquity of the traditions in the *Aethiopis*, see West 2003*b* and Currie (forthcoming).

[121] The parallel is noted by Reichel 2000: 151.

Bacchylides Ode 3

Bacchylides' third ode was performed in 468/7 BC.[122] There, the Lydian king Kroisos is taken as an example for Hieron. The ode narrates how, when Sardis was about to fall to the Persians, Kroisos determined to die by burning himself alive with his daughters on a huge pyre, constructed for the purpose. After the pyre was lit, Zeus sent down a rain cloud and extinguished the flames; Apollo then transported Kroisos and his daughters to the land of the Hyperboreans. Bacchylides' narrative on Kroisos utilizes a tradition which was evidently current by the early fifth century BC, at the latest.[123] In Bacchylides' ode, the motif of death on a pyre leading to translation by a god to a blessed afterlife is combined with the motif of rescue from the pyre by a heaven-sent rain cloud.[124] These seem to be mutually independent, and strictly incompatible, motifs; the miraculous rain is actually obsolete in the context of the rescue to another world.[125] The translation to the Hyperboreans is equivalent to heroization.[126] Kroisos, we are told, merited this return from Apollo for his numerous dedications at Delphi. At this point, the parallelism between Hieron and Kroisos becomes clear: Hieron too has made generous dedications at Delphi (17–22, 61–6).[127] The parallelism suggests that Hieron, like Kroisos, merits special favour from

[122] *Terminus post quem*: Hieron's chariot victory at Olympia (468 BC). *Terminus ante quem*: Hieron's death (467 BC).

[123] See below, this chapter.

[124] The miraculous raincloud also appears in Hdt. 1.87.2, after Kroisos has called on Apollo. The raincloud-motif is found in myth with Alkmene: see *LIMC* s.v. 'Alkmene' nos 5–7; cf. Burgess 2001*b*: 220–1. It occurs with Christian saints, e.g. St Romanus of Antioch (see *ex Eusebii Emeseni homilia de resurrectione* 2 = Delehaye 1932: 245–9). A folktale motif?: cf. Thompson 1955–8: ii. 215 D1391.1 'miraculous rain extinguishes fire used at stake'. In general for shared motifs between pagan and Christian hagiography, see Delehaye 1998: 20–5 esp. 24, 143, 147–8. On the miraculous raincloud, see further Burkert 1985*b*: 12 and n. 35; Stinton 1990*c*: 500. The storm which extinguishes Kroisos' pyre comes from a clear sky (Hdt. 1.87.2 ἐκ . . . αἰθρίης τε καὶ νηνεμίης): for such miracles, cf. Nisbet and Hubbard 1970: 376–7.

[125] Cf. Burkert 1985*b*: 11 'die "Rettung" . . . ist nicht von dieser Welt. Niemand steigt vom Scheiterhaufen herab', 12 'Die Wolke des Zeus, die den Scheiterhaufen löscht, ist für die Entrückung an sich überflüssig . . . Die "Rettung" gewinnt eine diesseitige Dimension.' Stinton 1990*c*: 502 seems to take too literal a view ('The deification . . . is . . . a rescue from a pyre which must be extinguished: it is not effected *by* the pyre').

[126] Burkert 1985*b*: 11–12; Stinton 1990*c*: 500 'a form of immortality'. Cf. West 1997: 166–7 for parallels.

[127] Maehler 1982: I.ii.37 'B(akchylides) zieht in diesem Lied die Parallele zwischen dem "laudandus" und der Hauptfigur des Mythos so deutlich wie in keinem anderen Epinikion'; id. 2004: 80; Mann 2000: 34; Reichel 2000: 149–51.

Apollo. The question arises whether that favour is meant to extend to a literal rescue from death for Hieron also.[128]

It is possible to see the parallelism as implying not the prospect of a literal escape from death for Hieron, but merely the prospect of an analogical immortality through Bacchylides' song.[129] However, there are arguments in favour of there being an eschatological aspect to the example of Kroisos in Bacchylides' ode. Suggestive, first, is the presence of Admetos in that ode (76–84): Admetos also evaded death through Apollo's help.[130] Here, too, it can be questioned whether the example of Admetos offers Hieron any hope for literal immortality.[131] But it is interesting to note that the mythical example of Admetos and Alkestis is found on Roman sarcophagi, where it does convey the eschatological hopes of the deceased.[132] This funerary iconography is much later than Bacchylides' ode, and it comes from a Roman, not a Greek, context; yet it shows that the example of Admetos is capable in principle of having eschatological implications for a historical person. It is notable, further, that in Euripides' *Alcestis* it is Admetos' 'piety' which prompts Apollo to rescue him from death (10–11 **ὁσίου** *γὰρ ἀνδρὸς . . . ἐτύγχανον | . . . ὃν θανεῖν ἐρρυσάμην*); and it is likewise 'piety' which is enjoined by the example of Admetos in Bacchylides' ode (83 **ὅσια** *δρῶν εὔφραινε θυμόν*).[133] This *gnome* has an obvious application to Hieron: Hieron's piety, manifested by his generous dedications at Delphi (17–22, 63–6), is a keynote of the ode.[134] It is possible that 'piety' in Bacchylides' ode has mystical overtones.[135] Since, in the cases of both Kroisos and Admetos, piety was rewarded by Apollo with exemption from death, it is tempting to think that this may be implied as the reward for Hieron's piety after his death.

[128] So Jurenka 1900: 313; Robbins 1997: 285; cf. Maehler 1982: I.ii.37 (but contrast ibid. 58–9); id. 2004: 82–3; id. Burkert 1985*b*: 11; Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: 82.

[129] So Oehler 1925: 69; Carey 1977–8: 70; Maehler 1982: I.ii. 58–9 (but contrast 37); Mann 2000: 35 'es handelt sich beim Text des Bakchylides um eine literarische Heroisierung'; Hutchinson 2001: 347, 358 'Croesus' final deliverance does not lead into the straightforwardly encouraging application that we might have expected'.

[130] Cf. Aesch *Eum.* 723–4; Eur. *Alc.* 11–12, 30–4.

[131] Hutchinson 2001: 351 'Any hope which the example might offer Hieron would . . . be muted, as well as mythical, and would be overborne by the explicit advice against thinking to know the future.'

[132] See Cumont 1942: 30 n. 4; Wood 1978; *LIMC* s.v. 'Alkestis' nos 65–7 and pp. 543–4. Most revealing is the joint sarcophagus of the husband and wife C. Iunius Euhodus and Metelia Acte, of *c.* AD 161–70.

[133] This *gnome* may either be part of Apollo's speech and addressed to Admetos, or it may be spoken in the persona of the laudator and addressed to Hieron. Cf. Carey 1999: 20.

[134] Cf. Gentili 1958: 72.

[135] See below, this chapter.

Another way to determine whether the immortality intimated for the laudandus is literal or analogical is to consider the non-literary context in which this poetry was produced. Once again, Hieron's independently-attested ambitions for literal immortality are relevant here (see the beginning of this chapter). Relevant, too, is the fact that the motif of death by fire is found with various other historical persons, whose aspiration to literal immortality seems clear. One such person is Parmenis, whose epitaph is extant.

Parmenis' epitaph

In the late fourth or early third century BC, the following epitaph was engraved in Rhodes for a woman, otherwise unknown, called Parmenis (*CEG* II.693.(i)):[136]

[εἰκὼν Παρμενίδ]ος θυγατρὸς σφετέρας με Δαήμων
[καὶ Κλεινὼ] μάτηρ μνᾶμ' ἐπὶ παιδὶ θέσαν.
[. . .]ου[137] δέ μ' ἔχει τέμενος Διός, ὅρρα τ' Ἀπόλλων
[. . . .]γου[138] ἄμειψεν ἑλὼν ἐκ πυρὸς ἀθάνατον.

Daëmon and mother Kleino set me up, a statue of Parmenis their daughter, to serve as a memorial for their child. But now the precinct of [heavenly?] Zeus holds me, whom Apollo took from the [ravaging?] fire and made immortal.

The last distich of this epitaph provides an intriguing parallel to both *P.* 3.40–4 and Bacchylides 3.28–9, 58–62. In all three cases, a person is taken from a funeral pyre by Apollo and becomes immortal. The translation of the last distich is, however, problematic. In the third verse, the antecedent of the relative ὅρρα (i.e., ὅν ρα) ought to be μ' in the same verse, referring to Parmenis.[139] However, the masculine agreement of the relative is the wrong concord for her. We might assume a stone-cutter's error (ὅρρα for ἅρρα?); or we might suppose that the distich 3–4 of the epitaph employs a formula (otherwise

[136] = *IG* XII.i.142 = *GV* 1964. The epitaph is dated as iv–iii BC by Peek (*GV*) and Hansen (*CEG*); cf. Geffcken 1916: 72 no. 181 'Alexandrinische Zeit'. The supplements in lines 1–2 are guaranteed by a companion epigraph: *CEG* ii. 693.(ii).

[137] [οὐρανί]ου Robert; [ὑψίστ]ου Herweden; etc.

[138] [λητισ]τοῦ, [μάρ]γου Peek.

[139] For the assimilation of the consonants (νρ = ρρ), cf. Buck 1955: § 96.4. Hansen on *CEG* ii. 693.(i) interprets ὅρρα as a neuter, ὅ ῥα (i.e. ὅ ῥα, the rho being doubled for the prosody, cf. *Il.* 16.228, *Od.* 22.327). However, no sense is to be got out of the neuter here; apart from anything else, the object of ἑλών must be the dead person. For the particle combination ὅ ῥά τε, see Ruijgh 1971: § 355, § 768.

unattested), which unvaryingly used the masculine form.[140] The supposition of a formula would explain the awkwardness of δέ (3) as a connection between the two distichs, and also the abrupt change in the reference of the first person from the statue of the deceased (1) to the deceased person himself (or rather, herself!) in the third verse. Despite this difficulty, Parmenis' epitaph makes a crucial point clearly: it shows that the theme of Apollo taking someone from a funeral pyre and making them immortal could be applied to historical persons. This seems to clinch, in principle at least, the applicability of the example of Kroisos to Hieron in Bacchylides' ode; it shows too that it might apply to him in a literal sense.

This conclusion is reinforced by the extraordinary fact that various historical persons in the ancient world were, apparently, believed to have become immortal after ending their lives through fire. This phenomenon deserves detailed attention: it will not only help us gauge the significance that the theme of death by fire had for Hieron, but will shed additional light on the heroization of historical persons in the Classical period. The historical persons to be considered here encompass Greeks and non-Greeks who attracted the attention of the Greek world.

Voluntary death by fire: I. Greek instances

Herakles

Herakles' immortalization by fire seems to have inspired that of several historical persons, so he appropriately heads our list, even if he was not himself a historical person. Herakles' translation to Olympus is attested already in the *Odyssey* and the Hesiodic poems.[141] Whether interpolated or not, those passages go back to at least the Archaic period.[142] The myth of Herakles' self-immolation on Mt Oeta and the corresponding fire ritual on Oeta are of considerable antiquity.[143]

[140] For the latter possibility, compare the comment of Burkert 1985*a*: 294 (on *LSAG* 240 no. 12 and the Orphic gold leaf 1A1 Pugliese Carratelli): 'both the inscription and the Hipponion text use the general, masculine form, but in the tomb of Hipponion a woman was buried'.

[141] *Od.* 11.601–4; Hes. *th.* 950–5; 'Hes.' fr. 25.26–33, cf. fr. 229.

[142] The authenticity of Hes. *th.* 950–5 is defended by Dräger 1997: 9–12. It is regarded as an interpolation of the Archaic period by West 1966: 417, id. 1985: 130; March 1987: 74–5; Stinton 1990*c*: 497.

[143] Stoessl 1945: 14–21; Easterling 1982: 9–10; Burkert 1985*a*: 210; Stinton 1990*c*: 496.

However, there is no early evidence of a causal link between Herakles' death by fire and his apotheosis. It is debatable whether Sophocles' *Women of Trachis* presupposes any such connection.[144] We must wait for the Hellenistic period for unambiguous literary references, although from then on they abound.[145] The pictorial record, however, makes an important contribution here: Attic vase painters seem to presuppose the role of the fire in burning away Herakles' mortality by about 420–380 BC.[146] This would give a *terminus ante quem* of the last quarter of the fifth century for the tradition of Herakles' immortalization by fire.[147] However, a tradition of the immortalization by fire of various historical persons (Timanthes, Empedokles, and the Carthaginian Hamilkar) can be traced back to the fifth century, and it is likely that these were inspired by Herakles (or, in Hamilkar's case, by Melqart). If so, these historical persons provide a slightly higher *terminus ante quem*, of the first half of the fifth century BC.

Timanthes

One of the fifth-century figures who seem to have emulated Herakles' voluntary death by fire is Timanthes. A citizen of Cleonae in the Peloponnese, he won the pankration at Olympia in 456 BC.[148] Pausanias records the tradition that when he lacked the strength to draw his bow as he used to, he committed suicide on a pyre.[149] The bow and the self-immolation on a pyre both recall Herakles.[150] No motive is

[144] See Edsman 1949: 233–49; Etman 1974; Winnington-Ingram 1980: 215 n. 33; Easterling 1982: 9–10, 17–18; Roberts 1988: 183 and n. 14; Holt 1989; Stinton 1990*c*. But note esp., in favour of a connection, Fowler 1999: 167 n. 14 'As both pyre and apotheosis are well attested in Sophocles' day, it is unreasonable to insist on keeping them separate because we have no text explicitly connecting them before *Trach.*'

[145] Call. *h.* 3.159–60; Theocr. 24.83; Cic. *div.* 1.47; Ov. *met.* 9.250–3; Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 1966–8; Lucian *Hermotim.* 7; Quint. Smyrn. 5.644–9.

[146] See Boardman 1986: 129 (cf. Burkert 1966: 438). Representations of Herakles' ascent to Olympus without any connection with the pyre are much older.

[147] Opinions differ as to how far back the tradition goes. (1) Neutrally: Easterling 1982: 18 'We simply cannot be sure from this evidence whether the two stories circulated independently for a long period and only merged at a quite late stage, or had long ago been moulded into a single whole, so that allusion to the pyre naturally carried with it thoughts of the apotheosis and vice versa.' (2) Positively: Kingsley 1995: 253 'there can be little doubt that the theme of [Herakles'] immortalization through fire . . . along with his subsequent ascent into the heavens to join the company of the gods had become part of [Pythagorean] tradition at least by the time of Empedocles'. (3) Negatively: Stinton 1990*c*: 502–3, esp. 502 'the notion that the process of deification was achieved through purification by fire of Heracles' mortal part was not likely to have been already current in the fifth century'.

[148] P. Oxy. 222.ii.4.

[149] Paus. 6.8.4 *πῦρ ἀνακαύσας ἀφίησι ζῶντα ἐς τὴν πυρὰν αὐτόν*. Cf. Suda s.v. *Τιμάνθης*.

[150] Cf. Burckhardt 1998: 175; Burkert 1972: 120 and n. 64.

explicitly ascribed by Pausanias to Timanthes for his self-immolation. However, it is reasonable to suppose that Timanthes was hoping to achieve immortality, as Herakles had done. Pausanias seems to have linked Timanthes' self-immolation with that of Peregrinos in his own day; in the latter case, both the emulation of Herakles and the aspiration to immortality were explicit.[151] Moreover, as was suggested above (Chapter 8), when other fifth-century athletes emulated Herakles, they seem to have been aiming at immortalization or cult. Timanthes very probably had the same aim, yet was unusual in emulating Herakles in his death rather than in his living exploits.[152]

Empedokles

The fifth-century sage Empedokles was rumoured to have died after throwing himself into Mt Etna. This tradition is hard to date exactly, but seems to be older than Heraclides of Pontus in the fourth century BC, if he reacts to it.[153] Probably it goes back to the fifth century.[154] The aim of the tradition was apparently to model Empedokles' death on that of Herakles. In other accounts of Empedokles' exploits, the aim has likewise been detected of modelling Empedokles on Herakles.[155] To die in the flames of a volcano is comparable to dying in a pyre on a mountain top like Herakles on Oeta.[156] Emulation of Herakles is otherwise in evidence in Pythagorean circles in Magna Graeca.[157] According to Diodorus of Ephesus, Empedokles threw himself into Mt Etna in order to confirm the Selinuntines' belief in his divinity (in Diogenes Laertius 8.70; see above, Chapter 9). Empedokles had already laid claim to divine status in his own verses (31 B112.4 *VS*). After Empedokles' death, his disciple Pausanias ordered that cult be instituted for him (Heraclides of Pontus fr. 83 Wehrli, cited by Diogenes Laertius 8.67).

[151] Pausanias linked Timanthes and Peregrinos: Habicht 1998: 11 and n. 56. For Peregrinos, see below.

[152] Emulation of Herakles' death: cf. Simon 1955: 158–9; Kokolakis 1988: 44.

[153] D.L. 8.67–72 esp. 69 = Heracl. Pont. *Περὶ τῆς ἄπνου* frr. 83–4 Wehrli.

[154] See Rohde 1925: ii. 173–4; Kingsley 1995: 233–7. Later allusions to Empedokles' voluntary death by fire include *A.P.* 7.123.1–2 (Diog. Laert.); Hor. *ars poet.* 464–6; Suda s.v. *Ἐμπεδόκλης*.

[155] Kingsley 1995: 252–3, 255 and n. 17, 257, 258 and n. 25, 274–7.

[156] Philoktetes makes the comparison at Soph. *Phil.* 799–803. Lucian *de mort. Per.* 4 lumps together all of Herakles' death on the pyre, Asklepios and Dionysos' deaths by thunderbolt, and Empedokles' death in the volcano.

[157] Cf. esp. Milon (Detienne 1994: 43), and see in general, Detienne 1960; Kingsley 1995: 253 n. 10. For Empedokles and Pythagoras, note esp. 31 B129 *VS*; D.L. 8.54–6.

Lucian associated Empedokles with Peregrinos, just as Pausanias seems to have associated Timanthes with Peregrinos (*The Runaways* 2).

Peregrinos

The voluntary death by fire at Olympia in AD 165 of the Cynic Peregrinos, surnamed Proteus, is much later than the other examples considered here. However, as many sources associate Peregrinos with the others, it is appropriate to consider him too.[158] Peregrinos' emulation of Herakles, in death as in life, is made explicit in our sources.[159] Cynics were in general much given to emulation of Herakles.[160] Given the late date of Peregrinos' self-immolation, it would not be surprising for it to show the influence of notions which postdate the fifth century BC.[161] Peregrinos' self-immolation was supposed to lead to his immortalization or heroization.[162] Apparently, Peregrinos actually did receive a posthumous cult.[163]

Voluntary death by fire: II non-Greek instances

Phoenicia / Carthage

(i) Melqart

As discussion of the Greek cases began with the non-historical Herakles, so the Phoenician evidence must be headed by the non-historical Melqart.[164] Hiram I, king of Tyre 969–935 BC, established for the first

[158] On Peregrinos see esp. Lucian *de mort. Per.* (a contemporary account). Cf. also Euseb. *chron.* Ol. 236.1 (p. 204.24 Helm); Gellius 8.3, 12.11.1; Marc. Amm. 29.1; Philostr. *vit. soph.* 2.13; Tertull. *ad mart.* 4 *PL* 1 (col. 625 Migne). See Pippidi 1984: 89–107; Kokolakis 1988.

[159] Lucian *de mort. Per.* 4–5, 21, 24 *παρὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα . . . ἀπιόντι* (*sc. Περεγρίνῳ*), 29, 33 *χρῆναι γὰρ τὸν Ἡρακλείως βεβιωκότα Ἡρακλείως ἀποθανεῖν.*

[160] Antisthenes (v–iv BC): D.L. 6.2. Diogenes (iv BC): D.L. 6.71. Sostratos / Agathion (AD ii): Lucian *Demon.* 1; Philostr. *vit. soph.* 552. See, in general, Dudley 1937: 180, 182–3.

[161] For the *γύψ* flying to heaven, compare the eagle in the apotheosis of Roman Emperors. For the influence of Neo-Pythagoreanism, see Dudley 1937: 179, 180, 184–5.

[162] Lucian *de mort. Per.* 29 ('Sibyl'), 39–41.

[163] His statue gives oracles in Parium in AD ii: Athenag. *suppl.* 26.4. See Dudley 1937: 181–2.

[164] On Melqart and immortalization by fire, see Frazer 1927: 110–16; West 1997: 465. Differently, Farnell 1921: 16–18; Stinton 1990*c*: 495–6 and n. 22.

[165] Menander of Ephesus *FGrH* 783 F1 (in Josephus *contra Ap.* 1.119 and *ant. Iud.* 8.146) *πρῶτός* [the MSS at *contra Ap.* 1.119 read *πρῶτόν*] *τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἔγερσιν ἐποιήσατο ἐν τῷ Περιτίῳ μηνί* (*sc. Εἵρωμος*). Here, *ἔγερσις* probably means 'resurrection' (LSJ s.v. ib), rather than 'erection' (*sc.* of the walls of the temple) (LSJ s.v. 2). See Farnell 1921: 168; Bauer 1979: s.v.; Bonnet 1988: 36.

time an annual festival of 'Herakles' (i.e. Melqart) at Tyre, a festival which celebrated the god's supposed resurrection.[165] The various stages of the festival may be tentatively reconstructed from depictions on a vase of the fourth century BC found at Sidon: it seems that Melqart was ritually cremated on a pyre and resurrected.[166] Melqart seems also to have been the recipient of a similar ritual at Carthage.[167]

(ii) Elissa

Elissa (Dido), traditionally the founder of Carthage, *c.*813 BC, immolated herself on a pyre to avoid a second marriage. She subsequently received cult in Carthage 'as a goddess'.[168]

(iii) Hamilkar

Faced with defeat at the battle of Himera in 480 BC, the Carthaginian commander Hamilkar threw himself onto the great pyre on which he had been sacrificing animals. Subsequently there was no trace of him, living or dead.[169] In general, such disappearance (*ἀφάνισις*) betokens the translation of the missing person into the world of the gods or heroes.[170] Hamilkar went on to receive cult in all parts of the Phoenician world, especially Carthage.[171]

The self-immolations of Elissa and Hamilkar, which were followed by their cult, may have had some relation to that of Melqart.[172] Elissa's husband, Acherbas, was a priest of Melqart, and the name Hamilkar has been interpreted as 'servant of Melqart'.[173]

[166] On the 'Sidon vase' and the festival at Tyre, see Lipiński 1970; Bonnet 1988: 78–80 with fig. 1; *LIMC* VIII.831 (Supplement) s.v. 'Melqart' no. 2.

[167] For the cremation and resurrection of Melqart at Carthage, cf. Bonnet 1986: 215–16. Clem. *recogn.* 10.24 (= Migne i. 1434). Paus. 10.4.6.

[168] Justin (Trogus) 18.6.6–8 *pyra in ultima parte urbis extructa, velut placatura viri manes inferiasque ante nuptias missura, multas hostias caedit et sumpto gladio pyram conscendit atque ita ad populum respiciens ituram se ad virum, sicut praeceperint, dixit, vitamque gladio finivit. quam diu Karthago invicta fuit, pro dea culta est.* Cf. Timaeus *FGrH* 566 F82. Compare and contrast Virg. *Aen.* 4.642–65.

[169] Similarly in the wake of Herakles' cremation on Oeta: Diod. 4.38.5.

[170] Cf. e.g. Aristeas (Hdt. 4.14–15); Kleomedes (Paus. 6.9.7). See above, Ch. 8.

[171] Hdt. 7.167.1–2 *ἔστι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν Καρχηδονίων ὅδε λόγος λεγόμενος, οἰκότι χρεωμένων, ὡς . . . ὁ . . . Ἀμίλκας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μένων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ [ἐθύετο καὶ] ἐκαλλιερέετο ἐπὶ πυρῆς μεγάλης σώματα ὅλα καταγίζων, ἰδὼν δὲ τροπὴν τῶν ἑωυτοῦ γινομένην, ὡς ἔτυχε ἐπισπένδων τοῖσι ἱροῖσι, ὥσε ἑωυτὸν ἐς τὸ πῦρ· οὕτω δὴ κατακαυθέντα ἀφανισθῆναι. ἀφανισθέντι δὲ Ἀμίλκᾳ τρόπῳ εἴτε τοιούτῳ ὡς Φοίνικες λέγουσι, εἴτε ἑτέρῳ [ὡς Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ Συρηκόσιοι], τοῦτο μέν οἱ θύουσι, τοῦτο δὲ μνήματα ἐποίησαν ἐν πάσῃσι τῇσι πόλισι τῶν ἀποικίδων, ἐν αὐτῇ τε μέγιστον Καρχηδόνι.* Frazer 1927: 115–16.

[172] But cf. differently, Bonnet 1988: 173–4.

[173] Acherbas: Justin 18.4.5 *sacerdoti Herculis.* The name Hamilkar: Aubet 1993: 132.

Lydia (Kroisos)

Bacchylides in his third ode of 468/7 BC narrated how Kroisos immolated himself and his daughters on a pyre when the Lydian capital Sardis fell to Kyros' Persian forces in *c.*547 BC, and how he was subsequently translated to the Hyperboreans (as mentioned above in this chapter).[174] The story of his divine rescue from the pyre and subsequent apotheosis is probably also implied in the Athenian vase-painter Myson's representation of the scene of *c.*490–480 BC.[175] On that red-figure amphora Kroisos is shown seated on the pyre pouring a libation while a named attendant, Euthymos (not the contemporary Locrian boxer!), stoops to light the pyre. The libation seems to characterize Kroisos' suicide as an act of religious sacrifice, a self-dedication to the gods.[176] It is not wholly clear whether Myson already knew of a divine rescue of Kroisos.[177] The fact, however, that Myson took Kroisos' self-immolation as a suitable subject for a vase painting suggests that Kroisos had already acquired a heroic status: when vase painters adopted historical subjects, these seem to have been felt to be on a par with mythical events.[178] This seems also to be the implication of a lost Attic tragedy on Kroisos from the first half of the fifth century, whose existence can be inferred from the fragments of an Athenian red-figure vase of 480–450 BC.[179] The vase evidently illustrated a scene from a contemporary tragedy, in which a dead Oriental king, perhaps Kroisos, rose from a burning pyre.[180] In Herodotus' account of Kroisos' fall (1.86–8), the Lydian king does not voluntarily ascend the pyre, but only under compulsion; Herodotus' version, moreover, does

[174] On the Kroisos legend, see Frazer 1927: 174–6, 182–5; Burkert 1985*b*.

[175] Cf. Gentili 1958: 85. The vase (*ARV* 238 no. 1; now in the Louvre) has been frequently reproduced; see Boardman 1975*a*: plate 171; Denoyelle 1994: 121 (no. 55). On the affinity between Bacchylides' and Myson's versions, see Maehler 1982: 1.ii.34.

[176] Burkert 1985*b*: 8. For self-immolation as a sacrifice, cf. Kalanos: Plut. *Alex.* 69.3 *ἐπευξάμενος καὶ κατασπείσας ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν τριχῶν ἀπαρξάμενος*, ibid. 69.4 *ἐκαλλιέρησεν ἑαυτόν*; cf. Arr. *ana.* 7.3.3–4 (*sc. κομισθῆναί φασι Κάλανον*) *ἐστεφανωμένον τε τῷ Ἰνδῶν νόμῳ καὶ ᾄδοντα τῇ Ἰνδῶν γλώσσῃ· οἱ δὲ Ἰνδοὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι ὕμνοι θεῶν ἦσαν καὶ αὐτῶν ἔπαινοι.* Kroisos in Myson's representation also wears a wreath, suggesting that Kroisos is 'dedicating' himself to the gods (wreaths were worn by both sacrificers and victim: Blech 1982: 303–4).

[177] Burkert 1985*b*: 12 '[Es] ist unwahrscheinlich, dass schon die jenem Vasenbild zugrundeliegende Version von dieser göttlichen Rettung wusste, obgleich die jenseitige Ergänzung von Anfang an möglich war und möglich blieb', 14 'es ist nicht sicher, dass Bakchylides die jenseitige Rettung . . . erfand'.

[178] Boardman 1975*a*: 222. Cf. Gould 1989: 34–5.

[179] On the 'heroic' implications of historical tragedy, cf. Hall 1996: 9–10.

[180] *ARV* 571 no. 74. See Beazley 1955: 308–9, 318–19; Snell 1973: 204; Maehler 1982: 1.ii.35–6; Burkert 1985*b*: 10 and n. 25; Hall 1996: 7–8; Taplin 1997: 71–2.

not entail Kroisos' death, and consequently neither his translation nor the (open) intervention of a deity. However, Herodotus does seem to show knowledge of this tradition.[181] The story of Kroisos' voluntary self-immolation has been assumed to be of Lydian origin.[182]

The story of Kroisos' self-immolation has various points of contact with accounts of the self-immolation of other historical persons in the (Near) East. The 'wooden house' in which Kroisos was to be cremated alive (Bacchylides 3.49 *ξύλινον δόμον*) may be compared with the 'wooden house' in which Kalanos was burned (Strabo 15.1.68 717 *ξύλινον οἶκον*) and with 'the house constructed in the middle of the pyre' for Ashurbanipal (Ktesias *FGrH* 688 F1 *τὸν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πυρᾷ κατεσκευασμένον οἶκον*). (For both of these figures, see below.)

Persia

During Kimon's siege of Eion in 476/5 BC, the Persian noble Boges immolated himself and the members of his household in a manner reminiscent of Kroisos.[183] We are not told that he received any form of immortality or cult. However, Herodotus does tell us that he was 'still praised' in his own day by the Persians: an indication of some kind of regular commemorative ceremony?

India

In India, voluntary death by fire was, according to various Greek sources, an 'ancestral custom' of the Brahmans.[184] The Greek sources record two cases.

[181] NB Hdt. 1.86.2 (*sc. Κῦρος*) *βουλόμενος εἰδέναι εἴ τίς μιν δαιμόνων ῥύσεται τοῦ μὴ ζώντα κατακαυθῆναι*; cf. 1.87.1–2. Hdt. knows of the miraculous raincloud (see above). On the interconnectedness of Hdt.'s version with those of Myson and Bacch., see Burkert 1985*b*: 4, 12–15.

[182] Jebb 1905: 196; Gentili 1958: 89; Maehler 1982: 1.ii.36; Burkert 1985*b*: 14; Reichel 2000: 148 and n. 4. For Lydians in general as a source, cf. Hdt. 1.87.1.

[183] Hdt. 7.107.2 *ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἔτι φορβῆς ἐνῆν ἐν τῷ τείχει, συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην ἔσφαξε τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ ἔπειτα ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν χρυσὸν ἅπαντα τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον ἔσπειρε ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος ἐς τὸν Στρυμόνα. ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἑωυτὸν ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ. οὕτω μὲν οὗτος δικαίως αἰνέεται ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε ὑπὸ Περσέων*. Cf. Plut. *Cim.* 7.2 (*sc. Κίμων*) *εἰς τοσαύτην ἀπορίαν τοὺς πολιορκουμένους κατέστησεν, ὥστε Βόγην τὸν βασιλέως στρατηγὸν ἀπογνόντα τὰ πράγματα τῇ πόλει πῦρ ἐνεῖναι καὶ συνδιαφθεῖραι μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἑαυτόν*.

[184] Plut. *Alex.* 69.4 **τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ** *τῶν ἐκεῖ σοφιστῶν*; Dio Cass. 54.9.10 *κατὰ* **τὸν πάτριον νόμον**; Strab. 15.1.73 719–20 (the epitaph of Zarmanochegas) *κατὰ* **τὰ πάτρια Ἰνδῶν ἔθη**; Strab. 15.1.64 715 (*sc. Ὀνησίκριτός φησι Κάλανον*) *ἀποθανεῖν* **τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ** *τεθέντα ἐπὶ πυρκαϊάν*. Cf. Strab. 15.1.65 716 (= Onesikritos *FGrH* 134 F17) *αἴσχιστον δ' αὐτοῖς* **νομίζεσθαι** *νόσον σωματικήν, τὸν δ' ὑπονοήσαντα καθ' αὑτοῦ τοῦτο, ἐξάγειν ἑαυτὸν διὰ*

(1) The Brahman Kalanos (Karanos) accompanied Alexander the Great on his Indian campaign in 326/5 BC.[185] The 73-year-old Indian, falling ill then for the first time in his life, persuaded Alexander to let him be burned alive with ceremony and honour before the whole army.[186] Kalanos is not said to have received immortality or cult. Cicero, however, has him inspired by the example of Herakles.[187]

(2) The Brahman Zarmanochegas (Zarmaros) had himself initiated in 20 BC into the Eleusinian mysteries, when they were being celebrated out of season for the sake of the Emperor Augustus.[188] He threw himself into the fire in full view of Augustus and the Athenians. His epitaph at Eleusis read: '(Here) lies Zarmanochegas . . . who made himself immortal according to the ancestral customs of the Indians.'[189]

Voluntary death by fire among the Brahmans seems to have been motivated by the hope for a better afterlife.[190] The question of India's influence on the Greek world before the fourth century BC is controversial; even if we grant that there may have been a tradition of self-immolation among Brahmans before Kalanos, it is unclear whether this tradition could have influenced Greeks of the fifth century

πυρὸς νήσαντα πυράν. Note also the generalizing nature of such passages as Lucian *de mort. Per.* 25 *ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ (sc. οἱ Βραχμᾶνες) οὐκ ἐμπηδῶσιν εἰς τὸ πῦρ, ὡς Ὀνησίκριτος (FGrH* 134 F17) *ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου κυβερνήτης ἰδὼν Κάλανον καόμενόν φησιν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν νήσωσι, πλήσιον παραστάντες ἀκίνητοι ἀνέχονται παροπτώμενοι, εἶτ' ἐπιβάντες κατὰ σχῆμα καίονται οὐδ' ὅσον ὀλίγον ἐκτρέψαντες τῆς κατακλίσεως*, ibid. 39 *καὶ γὰρ καὶ τόδε τῇ προτεραίᾳ διεδέδοτο ὡς πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα τὸν ἥλιον ἀσπασάμενος (sc. Πρωτεύς)—ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τοὺς Βραχμᾶνάς φασι ποιεῖν—ἐπιβήσεσθαι τῆς πυρᾶς* and Curtius 8.9.32 *apud hos occupare fati diem pulchrum, et vivos se cremari iubent, quibus aut segnis aetas aut incommoda valetudo est. expectatam mortem pro dedecore vitae habent, nec ullus corporibus, quae senectus solvit, honos redditur: inquinari putant ignem, nisi qui spirantes recipit.* Cf. Pomponius Mela (AD i) *chor.* 3.65 *at ubi senectus aut morbus incessit, procul a ceteris abeunt mortemque in solitudine nihil anxii expectant. prudentiores et quibus ars studiumque sapientiae contingit non expectant eam, sed ingerendo semet ignibus laeti et cum gloria arcessunt.* Megasthenes denied that this was a 'law' among the Brahmans (*FGrH* 715 F42 in Strab. 15.1.68 718 *Μεγασθένης δ' ἐν τοῖς μὲν φιλοσόφοις οὐκ εἶναι δόγμα φησὶν ἑαυτοὺς ἐξάγειν*). See Edsman 1949: 250–82.

[185] Diod. 17.107.1–6. Strab. 15.1.68 717–18. Arr. *ana.* 7.3.1–6. Onesikritos *FGrH* 134 F17 = Strab. 15.1.64 715. Cf. Lucian *de mort. Per.* 25. Plut. *Alex.* 69.

[186] Diod. 17.107.1–6; Strab. 15.1.68 717; Arr. *ana.* 7.3.1–6.

[187] Cic. *de div.* 1.47 *siquidem ad mortem proficiscens Callanus Indus, cum inscenderet in rogum ardentem, 'o praeclarum discessum', inquit, 'e vita, cum, ut Herculi contigit, mortali corpore cremato in lucem animus excesserit!'* Cf. id. *Tusc.* 2.52.

[188] The actual name was probably Zarmanochanes or Zarmanos Chanes: Groskurd 1833: iii. 166.

[189] Dio Cass. 54.9.10; Nikolaos Damascenus *FGrH* 90 F91 = Strab. 15.1.73 719–20. For Zarmaros/Zarmanochegas' tomb, cf. Plut. *Alex.* 69.4. Kerényi 1967: 100–1.

[190] So Hillebrandt 1917: 5, 6. For the role of fire in 'immortalizing' more generally in ancient Indian belief, cf. *Brhadaranyaka Upanishad* 6.2; *Chandogya Upanishad* 5.3–10. Cf. *Rig Veda* 10.16, 10.154. Rohde 1925: i. 31 and n. 1; West 1971: 67 '(*sc.* in the Upanishads) it is the flame of the funeral pyre that sends the soul up to the heavenly fires'.

BC.[191] Nevertheless, the evidence from India shows how widespread was the notion of immortalization by fire.

Assyria

The Assyrian king Ashurbanipal (Greek 'Sardanapallos') was rumoured to have immolated himself, with the members of his household and his riches, when besieged in Nineveh by the Median and Babylonian armies in *c.*612 BC.[192] He thus resembles Kroisos and Boges. But, as with the latter and in contrast with the former, we do not hear of any immortality or cult. Comparable too is the still earlier case of Shamashshumukin, *c.*648 BC.[193]

Phrygia: Broteas

Greek myth knew of a Broteas from Phrygia who threw himself into a fire: the tradition is recorded by Apollodorus that 'Broteas used to say that he could not even be harmed by fire; he went mad and threw himself into the fire' (*Epitome* 2.2 *ἔλεγε δὲ ὡς οὐδ' ⟨ἂν⟩ ὑπὸ πυρός τι πάθοι· ἐμμανὴς οὖν γενόμενος ἔβαλεν εἰς πῦρ ἑαυτόν*). The interpretation of voluntary self-immolation in fire as an act of madness is typical of our sources, whether as a deliberate distortion or a genuine misunderstanding of the true motive. The same tradition seems to have been known to Ovid in the *Ibis*: 'and may you give your limbs to be burned on a lighted pyre, as they say Broteas did in his longing for death' (517–18 *quodque ferunt Brotean fecisse cupidine mortis, | des tua succensae membra cremanda pyrae*). The scholia to the passage give various accounts of this Broteas, and ascribe to him various motives for his voluntary death on the pyre.[194] Notably, one scholion attributes to him a failed attempt at immortality: 'he had his name because he was not able to

[191] Indian influence on Greek belief in metempsychosis is maintained by West 1971: 202; Burkert 1972. The influence of India on Greece is contested by Kahn 1979: 297–302 (who nevertheless accepts historical diffusion in the case of metempsychosis, 298; but cf. 298–9); Stinton 1990*c*: 505 'Brahmanism does not impinge on the Greek world till the time of Alexander.' See further Parker 1995: 502; Bremmer 2002: 24.

[192] Ktesias *FGrH* 688 F1 (pp. 447–8 Jacoby; = Diod. 2.27.2) *ἵνα δὲ μὴ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑποχείριος γένηται, πυρὰν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις κατεσκεύασεν ὑπερμεγέθη καὶ τόν τε χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον ἅπαντα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐσθῆτα πᾶσαν ἐπὶ ταύτην ἐσώρευσε, τὰς δὲ παλλακίδας καὶ τοὺς εὐνούχους συγκλείσας εἰς τὸν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πυρᾷ κατεσκευασμένον οἶκον ἅμα τούτοις ἅπασιν ἑαυτόν τε καὶ τὰ βασίλεια κατέκαυσεν*. Cf. Athen. 12.38 529b–d; Justin 1.3.5.

[193] Frazer 1927: 173–4; Burkert 1985*b*: 9.

[194] Σ Ov. *Ibis* 517–18; one motif (*quia malebat cito mori quam languere, cum femina sua dedisset venenum ad bibendum*) approximates Broteas to Herakles.

acquire immortality' (*nomen habuit quare inmortalitatem assequi non potuit*), connecting *Βροτέας* with *βρότε(ι)ος* 'mortal'. Many modern handbooks distinguish the Broteas of Apollodorus from that of Ovid and the Ovid scholia, but the two should probably be identified.[195]

Hittite kings and Roman Emperors

Two further cases may be mentioned to complete the survey: the Hittite kings and the Roman Emperors. While in the cases already considered, apotheosis, where attested, follows a voluntary self-immolation by a living person, in these cases apotheosis follows the cremation of the dead person. It has been claimed that 'the Hittite kings . . . were made gods by extravagant cremation'.[196] Hittite texts of the fourteenth to thirteenth centuries BC use the expression 'become a god' of their kings and queens as a synonym for 'die', where 'become a god' was evidently meant literally.[197] However, while the royal funerals involved cremation, the extant texts do not make it explicit that fire was an agent in their 'becoming gods'. Thus a link between fire and immortality is not explicit for the Hittite kings. It is, however, clear that the funeral fire was the instrument of apotheosis in the case of the Roman Emperors.[198] The flight of an eagle from the pyre into the sky was taken to signify the ascension of the dead Emperor's soul to heaven.[199] This sign both indicated that the Emperor had become immortal and paved the way for his cult on earth.[200] Herakles was, again, the model for the Roman Emperors who were thus immortalized by fire.[201]

[195] So Frazer 1921: II.156 n. 1; La Penna 1957: 136; Delcourt 1965: 69. Differently, e.g. *Der Neue Pauly*, s.v. 'Broteas'.

[196] Burkert 1985*a*: 210; cf. Stinton 1990*c*: 496.

[197] Otten 1958: 12, 16, 106. Cf. Christmann-Franck 1971.

[198] See Price 1987.

[199] Dio Cass. 56.42.3 (of Augustus' funeral, AD 14) *ἀετὸς δέ τις ἐξ αὐτῆς* (*sc. τῆς πυρᾶς*) *ἀφεθεὶς ἀνέπτατο ὡς καὶ δὴ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναφέρων*. Dio Cass. 75.5.5 (Pertinax, AD 193) *οἱ ὕπατοι πῦρ ἐς αὐτὴν* (*sc. τὴν πυράν*) *ἐνέβαλον. γενομένου δὲ τούτου ἀετός τις ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀνέπτατο*. Hdn. 4.2.11 (Septimius Severus, AD 211) *ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τελευταίου καὶ βραχυτάτου κατασκευάσματος, ὥσπερ ἀπό τινος ἐπάλξεως, ἀετὸς ἀφίεται σὺν τῷ πυρὶ ἀνελευσόμενος ἐς τὸν αἰθέρα, ὃς φέρειν ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς οὐρανὸν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ψυχὴν πιστεύεται ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων*.

[200] Dio Cass. 75.5.5 *καὶ ὁ μὲν Περτίναξ οὕτως* **ἠθανατίσθη**. Hdn. 4.2.1 *ἔθος γάρ ἐστι Ῥωμαίοις* **ἐκθειάζειν** *βασιλέων τοὺς ἐπὶ παισὶ* [*ἢ*] *διαδόχοις τελευτήσαντας· τήν τε τοιαύτην τιμὴν* **ἀποθέωσιν** *καλοῦσι*, 4.2.11 *καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου* **μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν θεῶν θρησκεύεται**. Justinus *apol.* 21.3 *καὶ τί γὰρ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοκράτορας, ἀεὶ* **ἀπαθανατίζεσθαι** *ἀξιοῦντες καὶ ὀμνύντα τινὰ προάγετε ἑωρακέναι ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς ἀνερχόμενον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὸν κατακαέντα Καίσαρα;*.

[201] Price 1987: 74–6. The cremation of Claudius Drusus Nero (9 BC), though not himself an Emperor and not deified, is compared with that of Hercules on Oeta: Anon. *consolatio*

Voluntary death by fire: synthesis

In many of the cases just considered, voluntary death by fire leads to immortalization or cult. Herakles' fiery death on Mt Oeta led to his translation to Olympus and his cult on earth as a god or hero. Elissa's self-immolation was followed by cult in Carthage 'as a goddess'. Kroisos' attempted suicide on the pyre led, in the (Lydian?) version followed by Bacchylides and perhaps assumed by Myson, to divine rescue and translation to the Hyperboreans. Hamilkar's self-immolation was followed by the institution of cult 'in all (Phoenician) cities and especially Carthage'. No cult is attested for Timanthes, but it seems likely that his emulation of Herakles was a bid for immortality or hero cult. Empedokles jumped into Etna, we are told, to bolster people's belief in his divinity. Zarmaros/Zarmanochegas 'made himself immortal' by diving into the fire at Eleusis. Peregrinos' public self-immolation at Olympia seemed to many onlookers (not, of course, to Lucian) to culminate in his ascension to Olympus, and he received cult in some cities.

The decision to burn oneself alive is so drastic that a powerful motive is needed to explain it. The frequency with which voluntary death by fire led to immortalization or cult suggests that it was motivated by the hope of immortality or cult.[202] The underlying idea seems to be that fire can (for certain persons who, presumably, had already shown themselves above the rest of mankind) strip away their mortality and leave them ready to join the gods or heroes. The idea seems to be fairly ancient, both in Greece and elsewhere.[203] The attitudes expressed in

ad Liviam (AD i?) 257–8 (*sc. flamma,*) *qualis in Herculeae colluxit collibus Oetae,* | *quom sunt imposito membra cremata deo.*

[202] Cf. Frazer 1927: 179–80 'There must have been a special reason for electing to die by fire. The legendary death of Hercules, the historical death of Hamilcar, and the picture of Croesus enthroned in state on the pyre and pouring a libation, all combine to indicate that to be burnt alive was regarded as a solemn sacrifice, nay, more than that, as an apotheosis which raised the victim to the rank of a god.'

[203] The immortalizing role of fire is explicit in later Greek texts. Note esp. gravestones: *CEG* ii. 693.(i).4 *ἑλὼν ἐκ πυρὸς ἀθάνατον* (Rhodes, iv–iii BC: Parmenis' epitaph, see above); *GV* 1971 *ἐνθάδε Διάλογος καθαρῷ πυρὶ γυῖα καθήρας . . . ὤχετ' ἐς ἀθανάτους* (Attica, AD ii; but 'offenbar nach älterem Vorbild', Rohde 1925: ii. 101 n. 2). Cf. the neo-Platonist Iambl. *de myst.* 5.12 *ἡμᾶς . . . ἀπολύει* (*sc. τὸ πῦρ*) *τῶν τῆς γενέσεως δεσμῶν καὶ ἀφομοιοῖ τοῖς θεοῖς.* Plaut. *rud.* 766–7. Burkert 1985*b*: 8 'Die merkwürdige Ambivalenz des Feuertodes hat oft Aufmerksamkeit erregt: Vernichtung scheint umzuschlagen in Vergottung'; id. 1983: 280 and n. 30; Kingsley 1995: 252 'by Empedocles' time we find throughout the classical world the idea that in one way or another fire is able not just to purify but to immortalize as well

our sources to voluntary death by fire are significant. Greek sources frequently distance themselves from it, condemning it as an act of madness.[204] In India, too, it aroused controversy.[205] However, it could also be admired.[206] In viewing such voluntary death by fire as a typically un-Greek act, modern scholars show a similar tendency to marginalize it as we see in the ancient sources.[207]

The cases we have considered of voluntary death by fire seem to encompass both genuinely historical and unhistorical cases: we may wonder about the possibility of discriminating between the two.[208] We are compelled to take a sceptical attitude to the historicity of the self-immolation when alternative traditions are recorded, as with Kroisos, Hamilkar, and Empedokles.[209] The self-immolations of Herakles and Broteas (and Elissa?) seem straightforwardly 'mythical'. However, those of Kalanos, Zarmaros/Zarmanochegas, and Peregrinos have a

by stripping away everything transient and corrupt'; cf. Rohde 1925: i. 31 nn. 1–2, ii. 101–2 n. 2; Delcourt 1965: 68–72; Stinton 1990*c*: 502–3. Also in India: Hillebrandt 1917: 5–6. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.724–51. The idea, of course, continued to be important. In Christianity, cf. the medieval 'ignis purgatorius' and purgatory: Bremmer 2002: 64–9. Cf. already, perhaps, 1 Corinthians 3: 15 *αὐτὸς δὲ σωθήσεται, οὕτω δὲ ὡς διὰ πυρός*. For rejuvenating fire in fairy tales, cf. Grimms' *Märchen* no. 147 ('Das junggeglühte Männlein'); Thompson 1955–8: ii. D1886.

[204] On Broteas: Apollod. *ep.* 2.2 *ἐμμανὴς οὖν γενόμενος*. On Kalanos: Megasthenes *apud* Strab. 15.1.68 718; Diod. 17.107.5 *οἱ μὲν μανίαν αὐτοῦ κατέγνωσαν, οἱ δὲ κενοδοξίαν ἐπὶ καρτερίᾳ*. On Empedokles: Lucian *fugit.* 2 *μελαγχολίαν τινὰ δεινὴν λέγεις*. Generalized: Paus. 6.8.4 *μανία μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνδρία νομίζοιτο ἂν κατά γε ἐμὴν γνώμην*; Lucian *de mort. Per.*, *passim*, e.g. 25 *ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐνὸν εἶναί τινας καὶ ἐν Ἰνδοῖς μωροὺς καὶ κενοδόξους ἀνθρώπους*, cf. 4 *κενοδοξίαν*. Note too the perplexity as to the motive of Dio Cass. 54.9.10 *εἴτε δὴ τοῦ τῶν σοφιστῶν γένους ὤν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας, εἴτε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρως κατὰ τὸν πάτριον νόμον, εἴτε καὶ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ τε Αὐγούστου καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων*.

[205] Hillebrandt 1917: 5.

[206] Arr. *ana.* 7.3.6 *ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα ὑπὲρ Καλάνου τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἱκανοὶ ἀναγεγράφασιν, οὐκ ἀχρεῖα πάντα ἐς ἀνθρώπους, ὅτῳ γνῶναι ἐπιμελές*, [*ὅτι*] *ὡς καρτερόν τέ ἐστι καὶ ἀνίκητον γνώμη ἀνθρωπίνη ὅ τι περ ἐθέλοι ἐξεργάσασθαι*; Diod. 17.107.5 *τινὲς δὲ τὴν εὐψυχίαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ θανάτου καταφρόνησιν ἐθαύμασαν*.

[207] An un-Greek act: cf. Farnell 1921: 172 'deliberately to burn oneself alive on a funeral pyre was not in accord with Greek temperament either in historic or . . . in prehistoric times; the Greek world was doubtless astonished when Hamilcar in despair resorted to this mode of suicide'; Hutchinson 2001: 340 'To create a pyre to perish on is not, in historical times, normal Greek behaviour; it is the sort of action Greeks and Romans readily associated with foreigners'; cf. Burkert 1985*a*: 210 (on Herakles) 'The complex of immolation and apotheosis recalls Near Eastern tradition'. For the scholarly tendancy to regard deviant behaviour as foreign, cf. Parker 1995: 502 'The mythological mind often treats what is abnormal as being literally "alien", of foreign origin. So too does the scholarly mind . . .'.

[208] Cf. Burkert 1985*b*: 9 'Fakten und Legenden [sind] nicht immer leicht zu trennen'.

[209] Alternative end for Kroisos: Hdt. 1.87.2; Burkert 1985*b*. For Hamilkar: Hdt. 7.167.2 *ἀφανισθέντι δὲ Ἀμίλκᾳ τρόπῳ εἴτε τοιούτῳ ὡς Φοίνικες λέγουσι, εἴτε ἑτέρῳ*; cf. Diod. 11.22.1 (where Hamilkar is killed by the Greeks). For Empedokles: D.L. 8.71–2.

good claim to historicity: they occurred before a crowd of onlookers who were, wittingly or unwittingly, assembled for the purpose. Our suspicions are aroused by the fact that the traditions concerning Ashurbanipal, Kroisos, Hamilkar, and Boges all conform to a type: all are Oriental rulers or nobles who incinerate themselves along with their *οἶκος* (material and human) once they are about to fall into enemy hands.[210] A revisionist intention in these cases is easy to guess: Assyrians, Lydians, Carthaginians, and Persians all had a vested interest in having a national leader or general evade an ignominious captivity and, as with Kroisos and Hamilkar, transported to a higher plane of existence. In the case of Empedokles, too, there was an interested party who would have had a motive to extol their 'hero': Pausanias and the other *φίλοι* of Empedokles (Diogenes Laertius 8.67–8). But even where the historicity of the self-immolation is in question, the legend itself constitutes a historical datum, attesting to the reality of the *belief* that voluntary death by fire could lead to immortality or cult. Where the self-immolations are historical, that belief was strong enough to motivate certain people to take their own lives by fire. Where they are not, the existence of the legend implies a public prepared to believe that a person's death by fire fitted him for immortality or cult.

Hieron and death by fire

We can now return to the question of the possible significance of the theme of death by fire for Hieron. We saw that *Pythian* 3 is pervaded by the imagery of fire and contains hints of the theme of rebirth or immortalization after death by fire—most extensively in the description of Asklepios' rescue by Apollo from Koronis' funeral pyre. This motif is paralleled in Bacchylides 3, also composed for Hieron, where Kroisos is rescued from the pyre by Apollo and taken to the Hyperboreans. A third ode for Hieron, *Pythian* 1, suggests that the example of Kroisos (verse 94) may have had a particular interest for Hieron.[211]

We must ask how significant the self-immolations of the persons just surveyed are likely to have been for Hieron. It is important that

[210] On this type, Burkert 1985*b*: 9–10. Another possible instance of the type is Nikokreon, king of Salamis and his family (311 BC): Diod. 20.21; Polyaen. 8.48. Karageorghis 1969: 151–64; Burkert 1985*b*: 10.

[211] Cf. Maehler 1982: I.ii.37 n. 14; Robbins 1997: 284; Mann 2000: 37; Reichel 2000: 148. *P.* 1 was performed for a victory in the 29th Pythian festival (474 or 470 BC).

the self-immolation and immortalization of Hamilkar occurred perhaps six years before *Pythian* 3, if that ode was commissioned in 474 BC, and if the Carthaginian tradition recorded by Herodotus goes back to the immediate aftermath of the battle. More suggestively still, Hamilkar's reputed self-immolation took place on Sicilian soil, at the battle of Himera, a battle in which Hieron was proud to have participated ('Simonides' *FGE* 34; Pindar *P.* 1.79). Boges' self-immolation of 476 BC is extremely close in date, if not in place, to *Pythian* 3.[212] Finally, Empedokles' reported suicide by fire postdates Hieron's death by a couple of decades, but takes us back to Sicily (and, incidentally, to Hieron's own heartland: Etna). Sicily and the fifth century BC thus emerge as favourite settings for the theme of voluntary death by fire.

None of this is to suggest that Hieron was thinking of actually immolating himself on a pyre. Self-immolation was the most drastic way in which a belief in the immortalizing role of fire could be expressed. Fire could also apparently be believed to immortalize when the person cremated was dead: so with Achilleus, Parmenis, the Hittite kings (?), and the Roman Emperors. The gap between voluntary self-immolation and posthumous cremation might be bridged by the pretence (attested, for instance, for the Roman Emperors) that the deceased had only just died when placed on the pyre: 'ritual death' might be more important than biological death.[213] *Pythian* 3 presents the theme of immortalization by fire in different forms: by the funeral pyre and by the thunderbolt. It is possible for literal immortality to have been meant without a literal death by fire being intended. In the same way, we do not need to assume that all Orphic initiates had actually died by lightning, when the golden lamellae placed beside them in their graves proclaim: 'fate subdued me and the thunderer with his thunderbolt'.[214]

[212] The relevance of the 'historical' self-immolations of Hamilkar and Boges to Bacch. 3.23–62 is argued by Lefkowitz 1976: 131, 161 n. 25.

[213] On the moment of death for Roman Emperors, see Price 1987: 75–6. On ritual death vs. physical death, see Graf 1993*b*: 248–9.

[214] IIB1.4, IIA1–2.5 Pugliese Carratelli *ἀλλά με μοῖρ' ἐδάμασσε καὶ ἀστεροπῆτα κεραυνῷ* (for the readings, see Zuntz 1971: 314–15; Pugliese Carratelli reads *κεραυνῶν*). See Kingsley 1995: 258; Seaford 1996: 197.

Babies in the fire

More generally, the role of immortalizing fire in Greek tradition is seen in various myths in which infants are placed in the fire to make them immortal.[215] Most famously, Demeter in the Archaic *Hymn to Demeter* attempted to make Demophon immortal by placing him in the fire at night.[216] This Eleusinian myth apparently had an Egyptian forerunner, in which Isis was the protagonist.[217] According to a tradition not attested before the Hellenistic period, but which could be Archaic, Thetis tried in like manner to make Achilleus immortal.[218] It may be that, in one tradition, Ino put Melikertes on the fire rather than in a cauldron of boiling water.[219] The fiery births of Dionysos and Asklepios may also be related, for these infants were helped to immortality by the fire which attended their delivery into the world.[220]

The attempts of Demeter and Thetis to immortalize Demophon and Achilleus are unsuccessful: in the end both had to die. Hence it has been argued that 'The meaning that is shared by the Demophon and Achilles myths is that human beings cannot acquire immortality'.[221] However, Demophon and Achilleus (as well as Melikertes) ultimately receive hero cult: one kind of 'immortality', albeit one which presupposes death.[222] Furthermore, it is relevant that Demophon in

[215] Frazer 1921: ii. 311–17; Edsman 1949: 224–9; Furley 1981: 65–113; Parisinou 2000: 49–51. Cf., perhaps, the folktale motif, 'mother throws children into fire': Thompson 1955–8: S12.2.2.

[216] *H. Hom.* 2.235–42. Cf. Apollod. *bibl.* 1.5.1.

[217] Cf. Plut. *Isis* 16 357a. Burkert 1987*a*: 21 'some Egyptian influence on the Eleusinian cult or at least on Eleusinian mythology right at the beginning of the sixth century'.

[218] A.R. 4.869–72; Apollod. *bibl.* 3.13.6; cf. Hsch. *Πυρραίη· Θέτιδος ἐπώνυμον*; Σ Lyc. *Alex.* 178. Frazer 1921: ii. 69 n. 4. On the antiquity of this myth, cf. Richardson 1974: 237–8; Mackie 1998: 337–8.

[219] Cf. Pind. fr. 128d.(a).2–3, but the text is very lacunose. Burning in fire is an alternative motif to boiling in a cauldron: cf. Σ A.R. 4.816 *ὁ τὸν Αἰγίμιον ποιήσας ἐν β'* (Hes. fr. 300 M-W) *φησὶν ὅτι ἡ Θέτις εἰς λέβητα ὕδατος ἔβαλλεν τοὺς ἐκ Πηλέως γεννωμένους, γνῶναι βουλομένη εἰ θνητοί εἰσιν, ἕτεροι δὲ εἰς πῦρ, ὡς Ἀπολλώνιός φησι* (4.869–72)*· καὶ δὴ πολλῶν διαφθαρέντων ἀγανακτῆσαι τὸν Πηλέα καὶ κωλῦσαι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ἐμβληθῆναι εἰς λέβητα*. See Richardson 1974: 247; Cannatà Fera 1990: 119; Buxton 1994: 74 and n. 23.

[220] Dionysos' birth is described as a 'baptism' of fire by Nonnus *Dion.* 8.405–6 *καὶ βρέφος ἡμιτέλεστον ἑῷ γενετῆρι λοχεῦσαι* | **οὐρανίῳ πυρὶ γυῖα λελουμένον** *ἤγαγεν Ἑρμῆς*.

[221] Stinton 1990*c*: 504. Cf. Clay 1989: 244 'In the context of the hymn the case of Demophon and his failed apotheosis guarantees for all time that no man can become immortal; henceforward, mankind cannot hope to escape its mortality'.

[222] See Kearns 1989: 128 'In this tradition, . . . immortality is the clear preserve of the gods; heroic honours, as a substitute for this state, are also a negation of it'; Richardson 1974: 234 'myths of their death alternate with stories of immortalization, partial or complete'. More

the *Hymn to Demeter* may serve as a 'prototype' of the Eleusinian initiate.[223] The immortalization of Demophon by Demeter by means of fire fails because of Metaneira's intervention; Demophon's human mother shares the condition of all mortals who are (in the words of the angry Demeter to Metaneira) 'ignorant and senseless, unable to foresee the lot either of good or of evil which is to come' (*Hymn to Demeter* 256–7 *νήϊδες ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἀφράδμονες, οὔτ' ἀγαθοῖο | αἶσαν ἐπερχομένου προγνώμεναι οὔτε κακοῖο*). In these two verses, we seem to have an allusion to two fundamental aims of the mysteries: to give the initiate *knowledge* of the afterlife (on which see below in this chapter) and to reveal 'that death is not only not something bad for mortals, but something good', as it is put in an epitaph of an Eleusinian hierophant from the second–third century AD (*IG* II/III².3661.5–6 *οὐ μόνον εἶναι | τὸν θάνατον θνητοῖς οὐ κακὸν ἀλλ' ἀγαθόν*): a formulation which bears a striking resemblance to verses 256–7 of the *Hymn*. In the *Hymn*, then, Demeter aborts her immortalization of Demophon infuriated by Metaneira's limited knowledge, while Metaneira (understandably enough for a human without the benefit of initiation into mysteries which had not yet been instituted) had seen Demeter's burning of her son as 'something bad', when it was in fact 'something good'.[224] In the mysteries, initiates came to 'know' that death is not 'something bad'. Given that Eleusinian ritual may have hinted at an 'apotheosis by fire' (see the following section), it may specifically have been death by fire that the initiate was not to fear.[225]

It has been questioned whether the theme of placing a baby in the fire to make it immortal and self-immolation on a pyre leading to heroization or apotheosis are comparable motifs.[226] A thematic connection, however, seems likely.[227] It is notable that both themes may be

generally: Burkert 1983: 295, cf. 39 'apotheosis is always preceded by death'. On dying to be reborn, cf. Kingsley 1995: 251–2. (A different explanation of the failure of Demophon's immortalization by fire is offered by Burkert 1966: 438 'Die Feuerweihe von Eleusis war doch wohl nur im exoterischen Mythos ein Fehlschlag, verursacht vom Einbruch der Unberufenen, Ungeweihten'.)

[223] Cf. Richardson 1974: 233–6; Foley 1994: 48–50. That Demophon is a prototype of the initiate is denied by Clay 1989: 243–4 (cf. Parker 1991: 9–10).

[224] This theme of men's ignorance over whether death is something good or bad is taken up by 'Sokrates' in Plato's *Apology*, a speech which draws on the teachings of the mysteries (= *τὰ λεγόμενα*: 40b7, 40e5–6, 41c7, cf. 41a3 *λέγονται*): *ap.* 29a6–b1 *οἵδε μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς τὸν θάνατον οὐδ' εἰ τυγχάνει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ πάντων μέγιστον ὂν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, δεδίασι δ' ὡς εὖ εἰδότες ὅτι μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν ἐστι*, cf. 37b6–7, 40b8–c1.

[225] Again, we ought to think in terms of 'ritual death', rather than biological death: see above.

[226] Stinton 1990*c*: 495.

[227] Clay 1989: 239; Seaford 1996: 197.

attached to the same figure, at the start and end of his life: this is what we find with Asklepios and Achilleus.[228]

Fire and mysteries

Fire played a prominent role in the mysteries. We are naturally best informed about Eleusis. There, in a nocturnal ceremony, initiates progressed into the *ἀνάκτορον*, where a bright light flashed out from the darkness.[229] Fire plays elsewhere an important role in Eleusinian ritual, myth, and iconography. Its symbolism in this complex is not, of course, wholly clear; but on one plausible view, 'apotheosis by fire seems to be indicated'.[230]

Several of the individuals considered above who attained immortality after burning by fire are associated with mysteries. The story of Demophon's attempted immortalization by fire is related in the *Hymn to Demeter*, which has a close, if complex, relation to the mysteries of Eleusis.[231] The Indian Zarmaros/Zarmanochegas immolated himself on a fire after being initiated at Eleusis.[232] Herakles has a connection with Eleusis: from the Archaic period he was made into an Eleusinian initiate.[233] In the context of Orphic mysteries we find the theme of immortalization by fire or by lightning.[234] Empedokles, who reputedly became immortal after jumping into Etna's craters, also has mystical connections. For Pythagoras, an initiatory purification by the 'lightning stone' and an immortalization by lightning are attested.[235]

[228] Cf. Mackie 1998: 332–4.

[229] Hippol. *ref.* 5.8.40 *ὁ ἱεροφάντης . . . νυκτὸς ἐν ⟨Ἐ⟩λευσῖνι* **ὑπὸ πολλῷ πυρὶ** *τελῶν τὰ μεγάλα καὶ ἄρρητα μυστήρια*; Plut. *in virt. profectus* 81d–e **μέγα φῶς** *ἰδών*; id. fr. 178 **φῶς τι θαυμάσιον** *ἀπήντησεν*; Dio Chrys. 12.33 *σκότους τε καὶ* **φωτὸς** *ἐναλλὰξ αὐτῷ φαινομένων*. See Burkert 1983: 276 n. 7; Parisinou 2000: 60–72.

[230] Burkert 1985*a*: 288; cf. id. 1983: 276 n. 7, esp. 277 with n. 15, 280–2. Cf. Kerényi 1967: 91–4, 100–2; Richardson 1974: 26 and n. 2, 233; Kingsley 1995: 252 and n. 8.

[231] Richardson 1974: 231–4; Burkert 1983: 280–2; Foley 1994: 172–4.

[232] Dio Cass. 54.9.10.

[233] Herakles and the mysteries: Pind. fr. 346b; Boardman 1989*a*: figs 372, 392; Krummen 1990: 261 n. 17; Kingsley 1995: 252–3; Parker 1996: 99–100.

[234] Gold leaves from Thurii: IIB1.4, IIA1–2.5 Pugliese Carratelli; Burkert 1985*a*: 295; Kingsley 1995: 257–8. Derveni papyrus: Laks and Most 1997: 5–6.

[235] Porph. *vit. Pyth.* 17 *Κρήτης δ' ἐπιβὰς τοῖς Μόργου μύσταις προσῄει ἑνὸς τῶν Ἰδαίων Δακτύλων, ὑφ' ὧν καὶ ἐκαθάρθη* **τῇ κεραυνίᾳ λίθῳ**. Cf. Burkert 1972: 151–2, 376–7. Lucian *Alex.* 40 *καί μιν (sc. Πυθαγόρου ψυχὴν) ἔπεμψε πατὴρ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπαρωγόν· | καὶ πάλιν ἐς Διὸς εἶσι Διὸς* **βληθεῖσα κεραυνῷ**. Kingsley 1995: 255 n. 17; cf. Rohde 1925: ii. 101 for the role of purifying fire within 'cathartic' circles.

Possible mystical elements in Bacchylides 3

The theme of immortalization by fire thus seems to be associated with the mysteries in Greece; when we recall that Hieron was ἱεροφάντης in the mysteries of Demeter and Kore at Gela-Syracuse, it becomes reasonable to inquire whether *Pythian* 3 and Bacchylides 3 show any other possible connection with the mysteries. We will consider Bacchylides' ode first.

Since Bacchylides' ode opens (1–2) with an invocation of Demeter and Kore, a conceivable performance context for the ode would be the festival of Demeter and Kore at Syracuse.[236] We know that Hieron officiated at this festival (*O.* 6.93–5 Ἱέρων . . . | . . . φοινικόπεζαν | ἀμφέπει Δάματρα λευκίππου τε θυγατρὸς ἑορτάν, 'Hieron . . . attends to ruddy-footed Demeter and the festival of her daughter of the white horses').[237] In this case, the 'temples' (15 ἱερά) might be those of Demeter and Kore, which we know Gelon began to construct after the battle of Himera in 480 BC (Diodorus 11.26.7).[238] We may see the lavish sacrifices and hospitality depicted in 15–16 not just as a generalized description of Syracuse, but as a reference to the actual occasion at which the ode was being performed; other epinician occurrences of the adjective φιλοξενίας (16) in particular suggest this.[239] The throngs of people depicted in 15–16 will then be the Syracusans and foreign guests present at this victory celebration, which will have coincided with the celebration of the public festival.[240] (For epinicians performed at public festivals, see above, Chapter 1.) In its performance context, then, Bacchylides' third ode may have been associated with the deities to whom the mysteries were sacred; in addition, some of the ode's language, too, has been related to the mysteries. Suggestive is the reference to (esoteric) 'knowledge' (85 φρονέοντι συνετὰ γαρύω) and to 'piety' (61 εὐσέβειαν, 82 ὅσια δρῶν),

[236] Cf. (though sceptically) Gentili 1958: 70.

[237] Bacch. 3.15 ἑορταῖς would then denote the same 'festival' as *O.* 6.95 ἑορτάν.

[238] The temples were in the quarter Neapolis, according to Cic. *in Ver.* 4.53.119; cf. Diod. 14.63.1, associating them, consistently with this, with the suburb Achradine. (They were not on the Ortygian acropolis, *pace* Cole 2000: 153.)

[239] So Bundy 1962: 89 and n. 122. Compare Krummen 1990: 226 on *O.* 3.1 φιλοξείνοις and *N.* 1.20 φιλοξείνου, arguing the latter 'bezieht sich . . . eindeutig auf die (aktuelle) Siegesfeier'. Differently, Hutchinson 2001: 335 'βρύει, βρύουσι are emphatically present, and depict as continuous a repeated situation (note βουθύτοις ἑορταῖς)'.

[240] Similarly, Maehler 1982: 1.ii.38 understanding the crowds in 15–16 to be 'das Volk von Syrakus und die Gäste des Siegesfestes, für das das Lied bestimmt war'. However, Maehler ibid. 39 takes the 'Siegesfest' in question to be a festival of Olympian Zeus in Syracuse, not of Demeter and Kore, on the grounds that Hieron had won at Olympia.

both of which were central concepts in the mysteries.[241] None of this proves, of course, that Bacchylides' third ode is deeply coloured by the mysteries in which Hieron was hierophant; but it becomes possible to see the theme of immortalization from the pyre, so prominent in the narration of Kroisos, in the wider context of the mysteries.

Possible mystical elements in *Pythian* 3: the prayer to the Mother

For *Pythian* 3, on the other hand, a mystical dimension may be suggested by the prayer to the Mother (77–9). This prayer, one of the interpretative cruces of the poem, needs to be considered in detail.

The poem makes a new beginning in 77, with *ἀλλ'*: the conjunction which frequently marks a transition to the laudator's professed 'real business' in an ode.[242] The new start is also signalled by ring composition, *ἐπεύξασθαι* picking up 2 *εὔξασθαι* and *ἐθέλω* picking up 1 *ἤθελον . . . κε*.

The laudator's persona in 68, 73, and 76 is that of someone separated from Syracuse by the sea; this is inconsistent with members of a Syracusan chorus, but consistent with the Theban Pindar. The *Ματρί* of 78 is probably the *Μήτηρ μεγάλη* (otherwise known as *Μήτηρ θεῶν*, *Μήτηρ ὀρεία*, *Μήτηρ Δινδυμήνη*, *Κυβέλη*, or *Ῥέα*).[243] This 'Mother of the Gods' was apparently receiving cult in Thebes in the fifth century BC (see *I.* 7.3–4).[244] It has been speculated, with more plausibility than usual, that Pindar had a personal association with this

[241] See Krummen 1990: 258 and n. 8. For esoteric knowledge in the mysteries, see below. For the 'piety' (*εὐσέβεια*) and 'justice' (*δικαιοσύνη*) of mystic initiates, cf. Ar. *ran.* 456–9 *ὅσοι μεμυήμεθ'* **εὐ-** | **σεβῆ** *τε διήγομεν* | *τρόπον περὶ τοὺς ξένους* | *καὶ τοὺς ἰδιώτας*; Aristophon fr. 12.3–5 *PCG μόνοισι γὰρ* | *τούτοισι* (*sc. τοῖς Πυθαγορισταῖς τῶν νεκρῶν*) *τὸν Πλούτωνα συσσιτεῖν ἔφη* | *δι'* **εὐσέβειαν**. Specifically on Samothrace: Diod. 5.49.6 *γίνεσθαι δέ φασι καὶ* **εὐσεβεστέρους** *καὶ* **δικαιοτέρους** *καὶ κατὰ πᾶν βελτίονας ἑαυτῶν τοὺς τῶν μυστηρίων κοινωνήσαντας*; *SIG*[3] 1052, 1053 *μύσται* (*ἐπόπται*) *εὐσεβεῖς*. Pind. fr. 129 describes the condition of *τῶν* **εὐσεβῶν** *ἐν Ἅιδου* ('Plut.' *consol. ad Apoll.* 35 120c). Cf. Plat. *resp.* 363c4–5 *τοῖς* **δικαίοις**, *τῶν* **ὁσίων**; Σ Ar. *pax* 278 *δοκοῦσι γὰρ οἱ μεμυημένοι ταῦτα* (*sc. τὰ μυστήρια τῶν Καβείρων*) **δίκαιοι** *. . . εἶναι*; Eur. fr. 479.9–10 Nauck (*Cretans*) **ἁγνὸν** *δὲ βίον τείνομεν ἐξ οὗ* | *Διὸς Ἰδαίου μύστης γενόμην*, *ibid.* 15 *βάκχος ἐκλήθην* **ὁσιωθείς**. Cf. Burkert 1985*a*: 301.

[242] Cf. Bundy 1962: 36–9.

[243] Lehnus 1979: 16 points out that *Μήτηρ* on its own refers consistently to the Mother of the Gods, and that Demeter is only *Μήτηρ* when paired with *Κόρη*. Differently, Slater 1971: 145–6.

[244] See Henrichs 1976: 256–7; Schachter 1981–94: ii. 138–41. For this association of the Mother and Pan (*P.* 3.78–9), cf. fr. 95.

goddess.[245] Taken together, these considerations make it likely that the persona of the first person in 77–8 is, substantially, that of the historical Pindar, and that the nocturnal rite of the Mother referred to takes place at Thebes.[246]

Then we must inquire into the function of the poet-laudator's prayer to the Mother. It is striking that the prayer's content is not disclosed, and this reticence itself needs explaining. In D. Young's view, the prayer's content is not disclosed because its content is unimportant; important, rather, is the contribution which the prayer makes to a central theme of *Pythian* 3: the contrasting of the 'near' (or 'possible') with the 'far' (or 'impossible').[247] Thus Cheiron, who was the object of the laudator's unachievable wish-fantasy, is spatially and temporally remote: he is now 'departed' (3), lived 'once upon a time' (5), and dwelled in the 'glades of Pelion' (4), in a 'cave' (63).[248] The Mother, on the other hand, who is the object of the poet's prayer, receives a continuing cult (78 *μέλπονται θαμά*), enacted 'by my [i.e., the poet's] door' (78 *παρ' ἐμὸν πρόθυρον*).[249]

The contrast between the 'near' and the 'far' is surely a significant theme in *Pythian* 3; however, an interpretation which disregards the prayer's content in favour of its form cannot be fully satisfactory.[250] Alternatives need to be considered: one explanation of the prayer's reticence is that its content does not need to be spelled out because it is already obvious.[251] This would be the case if the prayer aimed to procure Hieron's health.[252] This would not need to be spelled out because Hieron's health and longevity are a standing concern in *Pythian* 3, and

[245] Pindar and the Mother: cf. fr. 95.3, Σ *P.* 3.137b; Paus. 9.25.3. See Bowra 1964: 50–1; Haldane 1968: *passim*; Lehnus 1979: 3–55; Lefkowitz 1981: 60–1; Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: 77 n. 2.

[246] So Carey 1981: 16 n. 37; d'Alessio 1994: 138–9. Differently, Slater 1971: 145–6, Lehnus 1979: 16 and n. 43, who argue that the setting of 77–8 is Syracuse. Stehle 1997: 16–17 argues that no first persons in Pindar's epinicians denote Pindar to the exclusion of the local chorus, but see above, Ch. 1.

[247] Young 1968: 47–9. Cf. Lehnus 1979: 11–12.

[248] *P.* 3.3 *ἀποιχόμενον*, lit. 'departed', means 'dead'. Cf. esp. *P.* 1.93 *ἀποιχομένων ἀνδρῶν*. Differently, Kurke 1991: 44–5 and n. 20. To the examples discounted by Kurke op. cit., one might add (e.g.) Aesch. *Pers.* 916, 1002–3; Soph. *Aj.* 974, 999, 1128, *OR* 959, *Tr.* 85; Eur. *Alc.* 392, 394, 414, 516.

[249] Bowra 1964: 50 n. 4 relates *P.* 3.78–9 to 'the institution of the rite rather than some annual or recurrent festival'. In so doing he overlooks 78 *θαμά*, 'often'.

[250] Cf. Pelliccia 1987: 56.

[251] Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: 82 n. 1 'Abilmente Pindaro non formula l'oggetto della sua preghiera alla dea, ma questo è implicito in essa.'

[252] So Σ *P.* 3.137a *φησὶν οὖν ὅτι· κατεύξομαι τὴν Ῥέαν, παρόσον δοκεῖ τῶν νόσων αὐξητικὴ καὶ μειωτικὴ εἶναι· κατεύξομαι οὖν αὐτὴν, φησὶν, εὐμενῆ εἶναι τῷ Ἱέρωνι*. Differently, Young 1968: 47 and nn. 1–2; Arrighetti 1987: 133.

because prayers to the Mother for a person's health were common (they are attested from the fifth century BC on).[253]

There may, though, be a further point to the prayer's reticence. We should probably pair the two clauses 77 *ἐπεύξασθαι μὲν ἐγὼν ἐθέλω* and 80 *εἰ δὲ λόγων συνέμεν κορυφάν, Ἱέρων, ὀρθὰν ἐπίστᾳ*: '*I* wish to pray' is picked up in 'If, *Hieron*, you know how to understand the true gist of my words'.[254] Here, the correlating *μέν* and *δέ* clauses oppose the two participants in the speech act, the laudator who utters the prayer, and the laudandus who is to hear and understand it. In 80, *λόγων . . . κορυφάν* most naturally denotes the 'gist' of the speech act just effected, that is, the prayer to the Mother.[255] In that case, a prayer from the poet which does not disclose its object (77–9) would be paired with a pointed reference to Hieron's ability to understand the 'true import of the utterance' (80). Such a combination of secrecy on the part of the speaker with correct understanding on the part of the addressee is typical of mystical contexts, where the initiate possesses the 'knowledge' (having once 'seen' the sacred rites) to penetrate the cryptic language, while the uninitiated remain in the dark.[256] Parallels for *P.* 3.80 *εἰ δὲ λόγων* **συνέμεν** *κορυφάν, Ἱέρων, ὀρθὰν ἐπίστᾳ* are then to be found in the following:

(i) Pindar *O.* 2.83–5 *βέλη . . . φωνάεντα* **συνετοῖσιν**, 'arrows which speak to those with understanding'. The second *Olympian* ode is strongly influenced by Orphic imagery and language.

(ii) Bacchylides 3.85 *φρονέοντι* **συνετὰ** *γαρύω*, 'I speak things that may be understood by one with intelligence'. The possible connections of this ode to the mysteries was suggested above.

(iii) Pindar fr. 105a.1–3 **σύνες** *ὅ τοι λέγω,* | *ζαθέων ἱερῶν ἐπώνυμε* |

[253] In V BC, cf. Hdt. 4.76.3 'Anacharsis prayed to the Mother (*εὔξατο τῇ Μητρί*), if he came back safe and healthy (*ὑγιής*) . . .'. After V BC, see Sfameni Gasparro 1985: 86–8; Burkert 1987*a*: 15.

[254] Denniston 1959: 378 takes rather the *ἀλλ' . . . μέν* of 77 as contrasting with the preceding verses (63–76).

[255] Compare the use of *λόγων κορυφά* (*κορυφαί*) at *O.* 7.68, *pae.* 8a.13 and *P.* 4.116 (*κεφάλαια λόγων*), in each case referring to a speech act immediately preceding or following. The view of commentators that *P.* 3.80 *λόγων κορυφάν* means 'the gist of (proverbial) sayings', and looks forward to a Homeric *sententia* in 81–2, will be discussed below.

[256] For 'knowing' and 'seeing' in mysteries, see *h. Hom.* 2.480; Pind. *O.* 2.56, fr. 137; Soph. fr. 837; Ar. *ran.* 354–5; 'Eur.' *Rhes.* 973; P. Derv. xx. 2, 6, 7, 8 *bis*, 11; Call. *aet.* fr. 75.6 Pfeiffer; Theocr. 26.14. Cf. Parm. 28 B1.3 *VS εἰδότα φῶτα*; Emped. 31 B129.1 *VS ἀνὴρ περιώσια εἰδώς*. See Richardson 1974: 28 and n. 3; Seaford 1996: *ad* Eur. *Ba.* 73; Sfameni Gasparro 1985: 13 and n. 30. This language seems to be taken over by the gospels: cf. Matthew 13:9 *ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκουέτω*, 13:11 *ὑμῖν δέδοται γνῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἐκείνοις δὲ οὐ δέδοται*, 13:13 *διὰ τοῦτο ἐν παραβολαῖς αὐτοῖς λαλῶ, ὅτι βλέποντες οὐ βλέπουσι καὶ ἀκούοντες*

πάτερ, 'you understand what I say to you, father who take your name from very holy rites'. These verses are the beginning of a *Hyporchema* for Hieron; they allude in ζαθέων ἱερῶν to Hieron's role as hierophant (ἱεροφάντης) of Demeter and Persephone.[257]

(iv) The verse ἀείσω **ξυνετοῖσι**· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι, 'I speak to those with understanding; shut the doors [on your ears], you who are profane'. This is the beginning of an early Orphic *Theogony*.[258]

(v) The beginning of Heraclitus' book: 22 B1 *VS* τοῦ δὲ λόγου τοῦδ' ἐόντος ἀεὶ **ἀξύνετοι** γίνονται ἄνθρωποι κτλ., 'despite the presence of this account men always prove to be without understanding'. Similarly, 22 B34 *VS* **ἀξύνετοι** ἀκούσαντες κωφοῖσιν ἐοίκασι, 'those without understanding after they have heard are like the deaf'. Heraclitus seems indebted to the mysteries, in both the form and the content of his thought.[259]

Several scholars have seen references to the laudandus' 'correct understanding' as a peculiarly epinician topos.[260] But it is tempting in the light of the parallels adduced to relate them to the language of the mysteries.[261] *P.* 3.80 may thus be translated: 'If, Hieron, you are able to understand correctly the gist of my speech (i.e. the prayer to the Mother) you have your knowledge through learning from former men'. But before we can build on this interpretation, we must consider an alternative. From antiquity on, commentators have taken 80 προτέρων

[257] The ζαθέων **ἱερῶν** of fr. 105a.2 can be equated with Hdt. 7.153.3 **ἱρὰ** τούτων τῶν θεῶν and **ἱροφάνται** (of Telines and his descendants). The word ἱερά here means both 'sacred objects' and 'rites' (for the latter meaning, cf., e.g., *h. Hom.* 2.476; Hdt. 8.65.2 τῶν ἱρῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι γινομένων; Xen. *hell.* 6.3.6 τὰ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἄρρητα ἱερά). Differently, Race 1997: ii. 337 (taking fr. 105a.2 ἱερῶν as 'temples') and Dougherty 1993: 97 (seeing fr. 105a.2 ἱερῶν, strangely, as the 'heroic honors' which Hieron was to receive at Aitna).

[258] *OF* 245. A variant to ἀείσω ξυνετοῖσι is φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί: see Tsantsanoglou 1997: 124–6. For its provenance from an early *Theogony*, see P. Derv. vii.9–10; Parker 1995: 489.

[259] See West 1983: 110 n. 82; Seaford 1986: 14–21; Burkert 2003: 91.

[260] Cf. *N.* 4.30–1 ἀπειρομάχας ἐών κε φανείη | λόγον ὁ μὴ **συνιείς**; *P.* 5.107 ἄνδρα κεῖνον ἐπαινέοντι **συνετοί**; cf. Bacch. 5.3–5. See Maehler 1982: I.ii.58, 87 'Diese Dichtung, die auf das Rare, Besondere hinauswill, ist nicht für den Durchschnitt bestimmt, sondern für den *συνετός*, den Kenner, der ihre oft scheinbar "dunkle" Metaphern- und Bildersprache richtig zu deuten versteht'. Similarly, Bundy 1962: 25–6; Most 1986*b*: 313. Cf. Eustath. *prooem.* 9 (Drachmann iii. 289.2–4). It would be perfectly possible for the poet to appropriate the language of the mysteries to his own role as poet, as Horace does (*carm.* 3.1.1–4); cf. Ar. *ran.* 354–71.

[261] A mystical dimension is accepted for *O.* 2.83–5 by Lloyd-Jones 1990*c*: 88; Willcock 1995: 161. A mystical dimension is accepted for Bacch. 3.85 by Krummen 1990: 258 n. 8; cf. Hutchinson 2001: 352–3.

to mean the laudator's 'poetic predecessors', and have seen in 81–2 *ἓν παρ' ἐσλὸν πήματα σύνδυο δαίονται βροτοῖς | ἀθάνατοι* ('the immortals apportion to mortals two woes together for one blessing') a paraphrase of Achilleus' image of Zeus' jars of good and evil in the *Iliad* (24.527–8 *δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακείαται ἐν Διὸς οὔδει | δώρων οἷα δίδωσι κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ ἑάων*). On this view, *P.* 3.80 *προτέρων* will intend, specifically, Homer.[262] The first exegetical task is to elucidate the logical structure of 77–82: either (a) verse 80 forms a close logical unity with 77–9 and 81–2 begin a new train of thought; or (b) verse 80 coheres closely with 81–2 and 77–9 are relatively self-contained. In favour of (a) are, first, the correlation of 77 *μέν* with 80 *δέ* and, second, the fact that Pindaric usage supports the interpretation of 80 *λόγων . . . κορυφάν* as 'the gist of what I have just said' (rather than 'the gist of [memorable] sayings'). It is not a problem on interpretation (a) that the sentence beginning in verse 81 lacks a connecting particle, for *gnomai* are frequently introduced in asyndeton.[263] On (b), however, the lack of any connection between verses 80 and 81 is problematic: the syntax offers no indication that 81 is a citation.[264] More awkward still is the discrepancy in content between *P.* 3.81–2 and its supposed intertext.[265] The image of the jars, most striking in the Homeric passage, is absent from Pindar.[266] Moreover, where Achilleus speaks of one jar of blessings and one jar of evils, Pindar apportions two evils to one blessing. To sidestep this difficulty, scholars have since antiquity supposed that Pindar either misinterpreted or deliberately reinterpreted Homer's text; but it may

[262] For this sense of *πρότεροι*, cf. *O.* 1.36, *N.* 3.52; cf. *N.* 6.53 *παλαιότεροι*. So Race 1997: i. 243 'Pindar reminds Hieron of what former poets (i.e. Homer) have taught'; cf. id. 1986: 58; Young 1968: 50–1; Cannatà Fera 1986: 86 n. 7; Robbins 1990: 313; Sotiriou 1998: 109–11. Cf. Σ *P.* 3.141a, b, 145; Σ A *Il.* 24.528.

[263] Hummel 1993: § 471.

[264] Pindaric citations are commonly signalled by an accusative and infinitive, explicitly introduced by a verb of saying (or equivalent). Thus *P.* 4.277–8 *ἄγγελον ἐσλὸν ἔφα* (*sc.* *Ὅμηρος*) *τιμὰν . . . φέρειν*, *P.* 6.20–7 *φαντὶ . . . Φιλύρας υἱὸν* (*sc.* *Χίρωνα*) *. . . παραινεῖν . . . Κρονίδαν σέβεσθαι*, *P.* 9.94–6 *κεῖνος* (*sc.* *ἅλιος γέρων*) *αἰνεῖν καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν . . . ἔννεπεν*, *N.* 9.6–7 *ἔστι δέ τις λόγος ἀνθρώπων τετελεσμένον ἐσλόν | μὴ χαμαὶ σιγᾷ καλύψαι*. Cf. Sim. 542.11–13 *PMG*. Instead of the accusative and infinitive, we may find direct quotation: *I.* 2.9–11 ⟨*τὸ*⟩ *τὠργείου . . . ῥῆμ' . . .*, '*χρήματα χρήματ' ἀνήρ*' *ὃς φᾷ*—but here citation is made clear by (the postponed) *ὃς φᾷ*. Cf. Sim. 8.1–2 *IEG*. Somewhat different is *I.* 6.66–7 *Λάμπων δὲ* **μελέταν | ἔργοις** *ὀπάζων Ἡσιόδου μάλα τιμᾷ τοῦτ' ἔπος*, which *alludes* to, but does not *cite*, Hes. *op.* 412 **μελέτη** *δέ τοι* **ἔργον** *ὀφέλλει*.

[265] With the freedom claimed for Pindaric citations by Cannatà Fera 1986: 86, contrast Braswell 1988: 378.

[266] Cf. Massa Positano 1946: 360 'la menzione degli orci è così caratteristica che difficilmente Pindaro l'avrebbe sacrificata per sostituirle un concetto alquanto diverso e soprattutto generico'.

well be better to abandon the supposed allusion altogether.[267] We may punctuate with a full stop after 80, and regard 81–2 as introducing a new *gnome* in asyndeton; this *gnome* will be a traditional proverb, rather than a specific literary allusion.[268]

If we reject the allusion to Homer, we are left in 80 *μανθάνων οἶσθα προτέρων* with a vague reference to 'learning' and 'knowing', and to 'earlier people' as the source of that knowledge. This language might be explained in the context of the mysteries: in the mysteries, esoteric knowledge was typically handed down either orally or with the aid of books from generation to generation, within a 'family' of religious 'craftsmen'.[269] The Deinomenidai, we have seen, were a family of hierophants. Orpheus, Musaios, and Eumolpos were frequently claimed as the source of mystical writings: any of these or a different, anonymous, authority could be intended as one of 'the earlier men' (*P.* 3.80 *προτέρων*). On this view, the conspicuous reticence of the prayer to the Mother and the emphasis on Hieron's 'correct understanding' would highlight the mystical dimension to the prayer: the speaker of

[267] The Iliadic verse 24.528 (*sc.* *δοιοὶ πίθοι*) *δώρων οἷα δίδωσι κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ ἑάων* has been found genuinely ambiguous by some scholars, e.g. Σ A *Il.* 24.528. Other scholars (e.g. Young 1968: 51 and nn. 1–2) have maintained that the correct interpretation of the verse is in fact, 'two jars of evil, one of good'—as Pindar is argued to have taken it. But the right interpretation of the verse is surely 'one jar of evil, another of good': see Richardson 1993: 330–1. One may wonder whether any pre-Alexandrian Greek would ever have thought of taking it otherwise. Although Pindar does anticipate the Alexandrian poet-scholars in some respects (see, in general, Richardson 1985*b*), one should resist the view that Pindar is at *P.* 3.81–2 already displaying 'l'attenzione a quell'esegesi dei poemi omerici, che, nel quinto secolo, era già avviata da tempo' (Cannatà-Fera 1986: 89). Nor need we 'charge Pindar with an inability to read Greek' (Young 1968: 51) if, as is argued here, *P.* 3.81–2 is in fact no allusion to Homer.

[268] This is the conclusion of Gildersleeve 1890: 276; Massa Positano 1946: 360; Bowra 1964: 192. Cf., in general, Fowler 1987: 8 'There are certainly some imitations of Homer in the lyric poets, yet many of these supposed instances are commonplaces, while others offer traditional sentiments from the store of Greek ethical wisdom, and still others express views in language which is purely natural or purely conventional in the given context'; cf. 21–2.

[269] See Burkert 1982: 6–8; id. 1987*a*: 31, 69–70; id. 1992*a*: 43–4. For the role of books in mystical 'learning' (cf. *P.* 3.80 **μανθάνων**), see Isoc. 19.5 on the seer Polemainetos of the mid-V BC: *ἀποθνήσκων ἐκεῖνος τὰς . . . βίβλους τὰς περὶ τῆς μαντικῆς αὐτῷ κατέλιπεν*, 'on his death [Polemainetos] left the books about the prophetic craft to [Thrasyllos]', ibid. 45 *τὴν τέχνην* **ἔμαθεν** *παρὰ Πολεμαινέτου τοῦ μάντεως*, '[Thrasyllos] learned the craft from the seer Polemainetos'. Compare too Pythagoras' 'learning' from (unidentified) 'writings': Heracl. 22 B129 *VS Πυθαγόρης Μνησάρχου . . . ἐκλεξάμενος ταύτας τὰς συγγραφὰς ἐποιήσατο ἑαυτοῦ σοφίην, πολυ***μαθ***ίην, κακοτεχνίην*, 'Pythagoras son of Mnesarchos . . . made a selection from these writings and manufactured his very own science, much-learning, a craft of evil'; cf. further Heracl. 22 B40 *VS* for Pythagoras' *πολυ***μαθ***ίην*. For Orphic books in V BC, cf. Hippias *FGrH* 6 F4; Eur. *Hipp.* 953–4; Plat. *resp.* 364e3. Magical knowledge was similarly transmitted within families: cf. Prop. 4.1B.77–80; Graf 1996*a*: 94 and 235 n. 62. So was medical knowledge: cf. the Hippocratic *Oath*.

77–80 ('Pindar', in something close to his historical person) would be hinting at more than he says. The nature of the benefit that Hieron could hope for from the Mother would be known to Hieron, but not to non-initiates.[270]

The benefit in question, it was suggested above, was Hieron's good health: the ode is preoccupied with Hieron's illness and the Mother's role in procuring good health is well attested. However, the ode is no less preoccupied with Hieron's mortality (see above). The question arises, therefore, whether the prayer to the Mother has an eschatological dimension. Many mystery religions addressed the concerns of initiates in both this life and the next; however, not every mystery religion had an eschatological aspect, and caution is required before imputing one to the Mother's mysteries, especially at so early a date.[271] Unambiguous textual evidence bearing on the question is too late to be relevant.[272] But the Mother's cult was readily conflated in the fifth century BC with the cults of Eleusinian Demeter and Dionysos, in both of which the eschatological dimension is clear. The ease with which the Mother was associated with these cults might have facilitated the acquisition of an eschatological dimension by her mysteries, even if it was not native to them.[273] A contribution to this question is made by

[270] It is sometimes asserted that secrecy did not pertain to the benefits promised by a mystery cult. So, e.g. Nock 1972: i. 297 'secrecy pertained not to the promise of a mystery [*sc.* for the afterlife] but to the way in which that promise was mediated and guaranteed, to the sacramental acts and passwords and to certain liturgical details of the sacred drama'; Sfameni Gasparro 1985: 24 'The benefit obtained by the initiation was not subject to the esoteric prohibition of being divulged.' The opposite is suggested by the exchange between Pentheus and Dionysos at Eur. *Ba.* 471–4: *ΠΕ.*: *τὰ δ' ὄργι' ἐστὶ τίν' ἰδέαν ἔχοντά σοι;* | *ΔΙ.*: *ἄρρητ' ἀβακχεύτοισιν εἰδέναι βροτῶν.* | *ΠΕ.*: *ἔχει δ' ὄνησιν τοῖσι θύουσιν τίνα;* | *ΔΙ.*: *οὐ θέμις ἀκοῦσαί σ', ἔστι δ' ἄξι' εἰδέναι.* In general on the Eleusinian 'secret', see Burkert 1983: 251–3; Albinus 2000: 155–6.

[271] Walton and Scheid in *OCD* p. 416 'A belief in immortality was perhaps part of the cult [of the Mother] from early times'. More cautiously, Sfameni Gasparro 1985: 18, 23–5, 89–106, 122–5 esp. 123 'while no source attributes a specific guarantee of immortal bliss to the initiate, those prospects are not completely absent from the cult of Cybele'. Sceptically, Burkert 1987*a*: 25, 28 'A redirection of religion toward otherwordly concerns, contrary to what is often assumed, is not to be found with the "Oriental" gods and their mysteries', 29 'There was no dogmatic faith in overcoming death in mysteries.'

[272] Damascius *vita Isidori* (AD v) in Photius *bibl.* 242.345a.4–8 *τότε τῇ Ἱεραπόλει ἐγκαθευδήσας ἐδόκουν ὄναρ ὁ Ἄττης γενέσθαι, καί μοι ἐπιτελεῖσθαι παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν τὴν τῶν Ἱλαρίων καλουμένων ἑορτήν· ὅπερ ἐδήλου* **τὴν ἐξ Ἅιδου γεγονυῖαν ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν**, 'then I fell asleep in Hierapolis and dreamt that Attis came and performed for me the festival of the so-called Hilaria from the Mother of the gods; and this demonstrated the salvation which comes about for us from Hades'. See Burkert 1987*a*: 25. (Attis is a late-comer in the cult of the Mother: Roller 1999: 177.)

[273] For the eschatological component in the Eleusinian and the Dionysiac mysteries, see Burkert 1987*a*: 21–2.

a funerary relief from Lebadeia in Boeotia of the second half of the fourth century BC.[274] The relief is open to various interpretations.[275] The main interpretative difficulty is to explain the significance of two motifs on the relief and the relationship between them. The two motifs are: (1) a *Totenmahl* motif, in which small-scale human worshippers are shown placing offerings on an offering table (offerings presumably meant for the deceased); and (2) a procession of the Olympian gods, with a veiled figure foremost (presumably the deceased), who is being presented to the Mother as an initiate in her mysteries. The natural interpretation is that the deceased is being shown simultaneously as an initiate into the mysteries of the Mother and as one of the heroized dead.[276] We find comparable equations of mystic initiates with heroes in other mystical contexts.[277] In that case an eschatological component would be attested in the cult of the Mother cult at least by the end of the Classical period.

Returning to *Pythian* 3, it is necessary to face another problem. Insisting on the subordination of all parts of an ode to its encomiastic purpose, Bundy attacked in principle the assumption of 'personal, religious, political, philosophical and historical references that might interest the poet but do nothing to enhance the glory of a given patron'.[278] Subsequently, scholars have questioned how at *P.* 3.77–9 a prayer directed by the poet Pindar to the Mother as she was worshipped 'by his house' can be relevant to the concerns of Hieron.[279] On the interpretation suggested here, the problem may seem even more acute: how could the mystical 'knowledge' of Hieron, derived from his role as a hierophant in the Syracusan cult of Demeter and Persephone, help him to 'understand' a prayer addressed by the poet Pindar to the

[274] *LIMC* VIII.i, s.v. 'Kybele' no. 125, p. 763 (dating the relief to 350–330 BC); Roller 1999: 225–7 with Fig. 61 (dating it to iv–iii BC); Schachter 1981–94: ii. 129–30.

[275] Sfameni Gasparro 1985: 22–3 (following Nilsson) regards it as 'the transposition on a divine level of an initiatory ritual'. Cf. Mitropoulou 1996: 139–40 K7.

[276] For this interpretation of the relief, cf. Roller 1999: 227 'The relief vividly illustrates Meter's prominence in funerary cult and implies that initiation into her mysteries offers the deceased passage to a better life in the next world'; cf. Schachter 1981–94: ii. 130 'a dead —heroized—mystes being presented to Meter on the occasion of a theoxenia organized by his family'. The Mother also appears in a *Heroenmahl* relief of ii BC, found in Pietrasanta (Tuscany), but of Greek workmanship: Sfameni Gasparro 1985: 92 and nn. 33–6 (Gasparro, however, interprets this relief with reference to the Mother's role as protectress of the dead).

[277] Cf. Pind. *O.* 2.78–80; Orphic gold leaf IA2.11 Pugliese Carratelli; and compare Hes. *op.* 167–173 along with the interpolated ('Orphic') verses 173a–c (see Carrière 1991: 93–7). For equation of heroes and initiates in iv–BC Athenian vase illustrations, see Boardman 1989*a*: 221.

[278] Bundy 1962: 35.

[279] Slater 1971: 144; Lehnus 1979: 12–13.

Mother who is worshipped 'by his door', at Thebes? And why should this Theban Mother of the gods be moved to succour Hieron? The involvement of poet and patron each in disparate esoteric cults may seem more a divisive than a unifying element between laudator and laudandus. However, it is important that the Mother was frequently identified with Demeter throughout the Greek world in the fifth century BC: there is evidence of a syncretism of the two deities in Sicily, Thebes, and Attica.[280]

(1) An iconographical association of Demeter with the Mother on Sicilian soil has been claimed for the late sixth century BC.[281] The evidence in question, a Kybele votive dedicated in a Demeter sanctuary, cannot be counted as decisive proof of a syncretism of the two goddesses.[282] Yet it is tantalizing that this evidence (if such it is) comes from Gela, the very city where Telines established a hereditary *ἱεροφαντία* for the Deinomenidai (see above).

(2) Pindar himself seems to reflect a syncretism of Demeter and the Mother at Thebes in the fifth century BC in *Isthmian* 7: '[*sc.* did you, Theba, rejoice the most] when you brought forth Dionysos with the wide-streaming hair, consort of bronze-clashing Demeter?' (3–5 *ἦρα χαλκοκρότου πάρεδρον | Δαμάτερος ἀνίκ' εὐρυχαίταν | ἄντειλας Διόνυσον;*). Here *χαλκοκρότου*, 'bronze-clashing', evokes the *κύμβαλα*, *τύμπανα*, and *κρόταλα* of the Mother's cult, and hence approximates Demeter to the Mother.[283]

(3) A sustained assimilation of the Mother to Demeter is effected in a choral ode of Euripides' *Helen*, first performed at Athens in 412 BC.[284] In this ode, the Mother is made to search for Kore, thus taking on the most distinctive mythical role of Demeter.[285]

(4) There are further explicit equations of Demeter and the Mother in the fifth century BC. The two are equated by the Melian dithyrambic poet Melanippides (764 *PMG* *Μελανιπ[πί]δης δὲ Δήμητρ[α καὶ]*

[280] See Kannicht 1969: 328–33; Lehnus 1979: 14–16; Parker 1996: 188–9 esp. n. 134; Roller 1999: 174–6.

[281] Roller 1999: 174. Slater 1971: 146 argued independently for an early V-BC 'conflation . . . between the Sicilian mother goddess and the Demeter Thesmophoros cult'.

[282] Cf. Parker 1996: 189 n. 134 'The presence of Cybele votives in sanctuaries of Demeter is indecisive.'

[283] Moreux 1970: esp. 7; Schachter 1981–94: ii. 139 and n. 1. For the association of the Mother and Dionysos, cf. Roller 1999: 176 and n. 134.

[284] *Hel.* 1301–68.

[285] *Hel.* 1306–7. For this quest of the Mother for Kore, cf. Σ Ar. *Plut.* 431; the Epidaurian hymn, Maas 1933: no. 3.

Μητέρα θεῶν φ[η]σιν μίαν ὑπάρχ[ειν]). The Lydian historian Xanthos mentions a Phrygian sanctuary of the 'Mountain *Demeter*' (*FGrH* 765 F28 *Ὀρείας Δήμητρος*[286]), whereas the 'Mountain Mother' was a title for the Mother. The Derveni commentator equates all of Ge, the Mother, Rhea, and Hera (P. Derv. xviii.8 *Γῆ δὲ καὶ Μήτηρ καὶ Ῥέα καὶ Ἥρη ἡ αὐτή . . . ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ὕμνοις εἰ[ρη]μένον· | Δημήτηρ [Ρ]έα Γῆ Μή[τ]ηρ Ἑστία Δηιώι*).[287]

It seems particularly significant that the Mother and Demeter are associated in the context of the Eleusinian mysteries.[288] This suggests that the goddesses might be associated precisely in their mystical aspects.[289] It might thus be possible for Pindar, with his prayer to the Mother who was worshipped 'by [his] door', to put Hieron in mind of the cult of the Syracusan Demeter in which *he* was hierophant. This facility in associating cults assumes the kind of religious 'openness' which is in fact typical of mystery religions: 'A *mystes* initiated to a particular god is not in any way prevented from turning to another god in addition . . . It is quite common for one person to accumulate different priesthoods . . . The theoretical justification for all this was not only that the gods are free of envy . . . but in particular that the main gods most probably are identical'.[290] In this case, the poet's prayer to the Mother at 77–9 may have been capable of recalling the promise that the mysteries of Demeter at Syracuse held for Hieron as hierophant in that cult.

The prayer to the Mother at 77–9 is offered by the laudator as a more immediate, and more practicable, alternative to the wish-fantasy of verses 1–76 (see above). If indeed the prayer to the Mother has an eschatological dimension, then the laudator-poet offers an alternative to those forms of literal immortality (Asklepios' miracle cures and raising of the dead) which is not just a metaphorical form of immortality—in the poet's song—but a different and more viable form of literal immortality. Koronis and Asklepios acted in defiance of the gods. The prayer to the Mother, on the other hand, makes Hieron's health and mortality the concern of the goddess whom Hieron piously serves—or rather, of a congener of hers, with whom Pindar is himself

[286] The reading of the MSS.

[287] See Parker 1995: 493–4. Cf. Julian *or.* 5.1 159a (making the Mother identical with Deo and Rhea and Demeter).

[288] Parker 1996: 188; Roller 1999: 175; cf. Burkert 1983: 283, cf. 255–6; id. 1987*a*: 81.

[289] Schachter 1981–94: ii. 138–9 suggests that *P.* 3.79 *σεμνάν* suggests a rapprochement between the two goddesses (cf. *σεμνή* of Demeter: *h. Hom.* 2.1, 478, 486).

[290] Burkert 1987*a*: 49. For an identification of Dionysos and Hades, cf. Heracl. 22 B15 *VS*.

associated. This pious prayer to the Mother contrasts with the impious and immoral behaviour of Koronis, a contrast which is highlighted by the fact that the night-time singing of girls in the worship of the Mother (78–9) echoes the singing of girls in the evening at weddings such as Koronis missed out on (17–19).[291]

The consolation offered to Hieron in 77–9 is given by Pindar not so much *qua* poet, claiming to immortalize his laudandus in song, as by Pindar *qua* adept of the Theban Mother, possessed of that knowledge of the afterlife which the goddess imparts to her initiates.[292] This knowledge could be comparable to that possessed by Hieron as hierophant of Demeter at Gela-Syracuse. On this reading, the prayer to the Mother will be one of those rare occasions on which selective details of the poet's life could be put to the service of praising the patron—or rather, here, of consoling him.[293] Their common participation in mystery cults of Demeter and the Mother would constitute a bond between laudator and laudandus; in other odes, a comparable bond is created by mythological or personal ties.[294]

More mythical examples: verses 84–106

The prayer to the Mother is followed by *gnomai*, and then by the mythical examples of Kadmos, Peleus, and their respective offspring (81–6, 86–106). It is necessary to consider how this section may make sense on the assumption that the prayer to the Mother has an eschatological dimension.

The *gnome* that 'the immortals apportion to the mortals two woes for one blessing' (81–2) is followed by the claim that Hieron has a 'share in blessedness' (84–6). But, the laudator continues, neither Peleus nor Kadmos, who are said to have attained the greatest felicity among men, enjoyed undisturbed good fortune (86). These examples imply

[291] Cf. Lefkowitz 1976: 151.

[292] The poet's stance at *O.* 2.56, 85 is likewise that of one 'in the know': i.e. of an initiate.

[293] On the scarcity of first persons in Pindar's odes referring to the historical individual Pindar, see Bremer 1990: 49–50. See above, Ch. 1. Cf. d'Alessio 1994: 138–9, esp. 139 'Why should his audience, or his patrons, be interested in Pindar's religious life? . . . [B]ecause they really believed in his closeness to the gods. And for this same reason they felt honoured, and paid him, when he praised them'; Carey 1995: 93.

[294] Mythological: cf. e.g. in *I.* 8.15b–16a (Theba ~ Aigina); *N.* 4.19–24 (*φιλία* between Thebes and Aegina); *O.* 6.84–6 (Metopa ~ Theba). 'Personal': cf. e.g. *P.* 4.299 (Damophilos' entertainment in Thebes).

an *a fortiori* argument: what Peleus and Kadmos were not able to enjoy Hieron cannot hope for either. The careers of Peleus and Kadmos illustrate the fluctuation of fortune which was the point of the *gnome* at 81–2. Both suffered 'early toils' (96 *προτέρων . . . καμάτων*), but later enjoyed extraordinary good fortune: table fellowship with the gods and marriage to a goddess. Each of these is frequently associated with heroization or immortalization.[295] The ode makes no mention of the posthumous fates of Peleus and Kadmos, yet a tradition that was certainly current by the fifth century BC put them on the Isles of the Blessed.[296] The theme of fluctuating fortune is further exemplified by their children. Kadmos' daughters suffered 'sharp misfortunes' (97 *ὀξείαισι . . .* **πάθαις**: compare *O.* 2.23 *Κάδμοιο κούραις,* **ἔπαθον** *αἳ μεγάλα*), 'but' (98 *ἀτάρ*) Semele was loved by Zeus (98–9). The adversative particle *ἀτάρ* (98) shows that this fate of Semele somehow alleviates the earlier misfortune of Kadmos' daughters; what the ode does not relate, but was well known by the fifth century, is that Semele became immortal after dying by the thunderbolt, and her name 'Thyone' (99) probably presupposes this transformation (see above, this chapter). As for Peleus, his only son Achilleus lost his life at Troy (100–3), but tradition put him too on the Isles of the Blessed (or on the White Island).[297] It is striking that all these figures—Kadmos, Peleus, Kadmos' daughters, and Achilleus—appear in *Olympian* 2. Despite the alternation of good and bad fortune in the careers of all these figures, the ultimate disaster of death is in each case redeemed by heroization or apotheosis. The examples of Kadmos, Peleus, Kadmos' daughters, and Achilleus are able to offer real comfort for the afterlife: this was their function in *Olympian* 2. They might be allowed a similar function in *Pythian* 3: Kadmos and Peleus would be positive examples corresponding to the negative example of Koronis. Their weddings to goddesses in the presence of the gods (89–95) recall the wedding which Koronis defaulted on (17–19).[298]

On this view, the examples of verses 84–106 convey positive hope for the afterlife. However, it is a widely held view that 'The lengthy account of the lives of Peleus and Kadmos provides what was to become

[295] For table fellowship with the gods, cf. *O.* 1.37–9; Hes. fr. 204.102–4, cf. *th.* 535; Emped. 31 B146.4–5 *VS.* Cf. Bremmer 2002: 6 and n. 54. For marriage with a goddess, cf. Herakles–Hebe (Hes. *th.* 950–5); Menelaos–Helene (*Od.* 4. 561–9). For table fellowship with gods and union with a goddess combined, cf. *N.* 1.71–2.

[296] Kadmos and Peleus: *O.* 2.78. Kadmos alone: Eur. *Ba.* 1338–9; Apollod. *bibl.* 3.5.4.

[297] *Aethiopis* p. 47.28 *EGF. O.* 2.79.

[298] Buongiovanni 1985: 333.

a standard topic of consolation: if greater men than you have died, then you can accept your own death'.[299] On this view, death holds no comfort: one must simply face it resolutely. However, the examples of verses 84–106 are ambiguous. Their ambiguity may be paralleled in the use of Herakles as an example in epitaphs of the early Christian era:

> *θάρσει·*[300] *οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος·*
> *καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἀπέθανε.*

Be of good heart. No-one is immortal. Even Herakles died.

Here, too, the view of death may be seen as resigned: 'death is lightened because it is inevitable, and all must suffer'.[301] On another interpretation, however, the view of death is optimistic: just as Herakles' death was the precursor to his translation to Olympus, so the addressee is comforted by the thought that blessedness may await him after death. This consolatory interpretation is supported by the occurrence of the formula both in conjunction with iconography of the Dioskouroi (another example of immortality attained after death) and on Christian as well as pagan tombs.[302] Our interpretation of the example of both Herakles in this epitaph and of Kadmos and Peleus in *Pythian* 3 will depend, then, on what eschatological assumptions we make about the context.

The examples of 86–103 are concluded with a *gnome* whose interpretation is also difficult (103–4):

> *εἰ δὲ νόῳ τις ἔχει θνατῶν ἀλαθείας ὁδόν, χρὴ πρὸς μακάρων*
> *τυγχάνοντ' εὖ πασχέμεν.*

The interpretation of these verses depends on the sense given to *εὖ πασχέμεν* and on whether *εὖ* is taken in common with *τυγχάνοντ'* and *πασχέμεν*.[303] We have a three-way choice:

[299] Race 1986: 59. So Men. Rhet. 414.4–6 gives as a topos of the consolatory speech: *ὅτι πέρας ἐστὶν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις τοῦ βίου ὁ θάνατος, καὶ ὅτι ἥρωες καὶ θεῶν παῖδες οὐ διέφυγον.* Cf. Lucr. 3.1024–52. Cf. Achilleus at *Il.* 18.117 *οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδὲ βίη Ἡρακλῆος φύγε κῆρα* and 21.106–13; cf. Griffin 1980: 190 'The only comfort for death is that all must die.'

[300] Other epitaphs vary with *εὐψύχει, εὐθύμει, εὐφρόνει.*

[301] Lattimore 1962: 331.

[302] On this interpretation, see Simon 1936: 196; id. 1955: 158–9; Cumont 1942: 76; Joly 1955: 165. Plato repeatedly uses *θαρρεῖν* of (the virtuous philosopher's) optimism for the afterlife: *Phaedo* 63e9–64a2, 114d8, 115e7, *Gorg.* 527c8, *Euthyd.* 307c3. The same verb expresses confidence at 'Pythag.' *carm. aur.* 63 *ἀλλὰ σὺ* **θάρσει**, *ἐπεὶ θεῖον γένος ἐστὶ βροτοῖσιν*, which is connected to hopes for the afterlife: 70–1 *ἣν δ' ἀπολείψας σῶμα ἐς αἰθέρ' ἐλεύθερον ἔλθῃς,* | *ἔσσεαι ἀθάνατος θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητός.*

[303] For the *schema apo koinou* in Pindar, see Hummel 1993: 438–9.

(1) 'If a mortal keeps in mind the way of truth, he must *enjoy himself* (*εὖ πασχέμεν*) when he receives good things from the gods'. Here, *εὖ* is taken in common with both *τυγχάνοντ'* and *πασχέμεν*.[304] *εὖ πάσχειν* will be a synonym of *ἀπολαύειν*, and its meaning will approach that of *εὐπαθεῖν*, 'enjoy oneself, make merry'.[305] The *gnome* then counsels that, since human fortunes fluctuate, one should enjoy good fortune when it is present. This is a form of the *carpe diem* motif: given the limitations imposed on men by the gods, one should enjoy oneself as and when one can.[306]

(2) 'If a mortal keeps in mind the way of truth, he must *bear well* (*εὖ πασχέμεν*) what he receives from the gods'. Here *εὖ* is not taken in common.[307] *εὖ πάσχειν* will be a synonym of *καρτερεῖν* or *ἀνέχεσθαι*, 'tolerate, bear up'.[308] *πάσχειν* expresses a subjective state of mind.[309] The gist of this *gnome* will then resemble 81–2, especially 82 *κόσμῳ φέρειν*, 'to bear with good grace'.[310] There are many parallels for the view that the gods assign both good and bad fortune to men, and that men must endure their lot with fortitude.[311]

(3) 'If a mortal keeps in mind the way of truth, he must *prosper* (*εὖ πασχέμεν*) by virtue of the gods' dispensation' (literally, 'by receiving from' the gods). This interpretation takes *εὖ πάσχειν* to mean 'to fare well, succeed, prosper'; this will be an objective state. *εὖ πάσχειν* carries this meaning elsewhere in Pindar.[312] *εὖ πασχέμεν* would then have a comparable meaning to 84 *εὐδαιμονίας* and 89 *ὄλβον*.[313] Here, the view taken of the gods is optimistic, and the *gnome* will state that one's 'blessedness' or 'prosperity' depends on the gods' grace.

Thus not just the examples of 86–103, but also the *gnome* of 103–4, are capable of either an optimistic or a pessimistic reading. How are we to decide? In favour of the optimistic reading of the *gnome* is the

[304] Σ *P.* 3.182a; Gildersleeve 1890: 276–7; Farnell 1930–2: ii. ad loc.; Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: 423; Race 1997: i. 257.

[305] LSJ s.v. *εὐπαθέω*. *P.* 3.104 *εὖ πασχέμεν* is glossed as *ἀπολαύειν* by Σ *P.* 3.182b. For *εὖ πάσχειν* as 'enjoy', compare its use with the genitive at 'Theogn.' 1009 *τῶν αὐτοῦ κτεάνων εὖ πασχέμεν*; *N.* 1.32 *ἐόντων εὖ . . . παθεῖν*.

[306] For the motif, cf. Alcae. 38A *PLF*; 'Theogn.' 1007–12. See Wehrli 1931: 20–5.

[307] Young 1968: 56 and n. 1.

[308] Lefkowitz 1976: 154 translates: 'must bear well what he gets from the gods'.

[309] For *πάσχειν* of a state of mind, cf. LSJ s.v. *πάσχω* ii. 2 .

[310] Cf. Young 1968: 56; Buongiovanni 1985: 332.

[311] e.g. *Il.* 24.522–33; *Od.* 6.188–90, 18.134–5; Archil., fr. 13.5–10 *IEG*; *h. Hom.* 2.147–8 (= 216–17). See Richardson 1974: 192–3 for further parallels.

[312] *P.* 1.99 *εὖ παθεῖν*, *I.* 5.13 *εὖ πάσχων*. Cf. Rumpel 1883: 363 s.v.: 'prospera fortuna uti'. Cf. Soph. *Phil.* 503, *Tr.* 946, fr. 434.2 *TrGF* (*εὖ παθόντα* codd., *εὐπαθοῦντα* Meineke).

[313] Cf. de Strycker and Slings 1994: 77 n. 55 (on the equivalence of *τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν*, *τὸ εὖ ζῆν*, *τὸ εὖ πράττειν*).

fact that divine intervention is mentioned twice within the mythical examples, and twice there repairs a person's fortunes: 95 *Διὸς δὲ χάριν* . . . 'and by the grace of Zeus [Peleus and Kadmos] escaped from their earlier toils', 99 *ἀτὰρ . . . Ζεὺς πατήρ | ἦλθεν* . . . 'but father Zeus came into the lovely bed of Thyone'. Here the propitious intervention of Zeus contrasts with the catastrophic intervention of the gods (Artemis, Zeus) in the cases of Koronis and Asklepios (32–6, 56–7). The theme of fluctuation of fortune (*P.* 3.104–5 **ἄλλοτε δ' ἀλλοῖαι πνοαί** . . . | *ὑψιπετᾶν ἀνέμων*) occurs, moreover, in *Olympian* 2 in connection with the daughters of Kadmos (*O.* 2.33–4 **ῥοαὶ δ' ἄλλοτ' ἄλλαι** | *εὐθυμιᾶν τε μέτα καὶ πόνων ἐς ἄνδρας ἔβαν*). In the second *Olympian* ode, the positive point of view prevails: good fortune succeeds bad.[314] The examples of Kadmos and Peleus, Semele and Achilleus at *P.* 3.86–104 can also be accommodated to a positive point of view.

The notion that human prosperity or well being depends on the gods, interpretation (3) above, is a commonplace one.[315] Its corollary is the principle that one must cultivate the gods at all times.[316] There is evidence for a view of the gods as providentially minded, seeing to the prosperity of the good either in this life or in the next.[317] The concomitant trust in the gods, confidence that justice and piety will ultimately find their reward from above, can be so complete as to make the ups and downs of this world appear unimportant.[318] In this light, it

[314] *O.* 2.19–22, 35–7.

[315] Aristot. *EN* 1099^{b}9–18 mentions the view that *εὐδαιμονία* is a 'gift of gods to men'. Cf. Sim. 542.19–20 *PMG*. Fränkel 1975: 533–4.

[316] *I.* 3.5 *ζώει δὲ μάσσων ὄλβος ὀπιζομένων*, *N.* 8.17 *σὺν θεῷ γάρ τοι φυτευθεὶς | ὄλβος ἀνθρώποισι παρμονώτερος*, *O.* 8.13–14 *πολλαὶ δ' ὁδοὶ | σὺν θεοῖς εὐπραγίας*, *O.* 2.21–2, 36 *θεόρτῳ σὺν ὄλβῳ*. Bacch. 1.163–5 *ὁ δ' εὖ ἔρδων θεοὺς | ἐλπίδι κυδροτέρᾳ | σαίνει κέαρ*. Cf. Hes. *th.* 416–19, *op.* 335–41; Eur. *IA* 1034–5; Thuc. 7.77.2–3 (Nikias); Xen. *symp.* 4.47–8 (Hermogenes), *hipparch.* 9.9. For the need to cultivate the gods, cf. Xen. *mem.* 4.3.17 *χρὴ οὖν μηδὲν ἐλλείποντα κατὰ δύναμιν τιμᾶν τοὺς θεοὺς θαρρεῖν τε καὶ ἐλπίζειν τὰ μέγιστα ἀγαθά· οὐ γὰρ παρ' ἄλλων γ' ἄν τις μείζω ἐλπίζων σωφρονοίη ἢ παρὰ τῶν τὰ μέγιστα ὠφελεῖν δυναμένων*. The *ἐλπίς* here (and cf. Bacch. 1.164) is related to the *ἀγαθὴ ἐλπίς* of the Eleusinian initiate by Joly 1955: 169. In general on '(good) hope', cf. Plat. *resp.* 331a1–9 (quoting Pind. fr. 214), *apol.* 40c4, 41c8–9, *Phaedo* 114c8, cf. 67c1, 68a1–8, 70a8; 'Plut.' *consol. ad Apoll.* 120c. Cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 1104–6; Antiph. 6.5. See Cannatà Fera 1990: 214–17; de Strycker and Slings 1994: 217 n. 36.

[317] Eur. fr. 446.3–6 (*Hipp. calypt.*) *οὔποτε θνητοῖς | ἀρετῆς ἄλλη δύναμις μείζων· | ἦλθε γὰρ ἢ πρόσθ' ἢ μετόπισθεν | τῆς εὐσεβίας χάρις ἐσθλή*, 'nothing has any greater power for mortals than virtue, for a good return for piety comes either sooner or later' (probably spoken by a deity *ἐκ μηχανῆς*).

[318] Sokrates at Plat. *apol.* 41c8–d2 *ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς χρή, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, εὐέλπιδας εἶναι πρὸς τὸν θάνατον, καὶ ἕν τι τοῦτο διανοεῖσθαι ἀληθές, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ κακὸν οὐδὲν οὔτε ζῶντι οὔτε τελευτήσαντι, οὐδὲ ἀμελεῖται ὑπὸ θεῶν τὰ τούτου πράγματα*, 'you too, gentlemen of the jury, must be confident in the face of death and think this one thing true, that nothing is bad for a good man, either while he lives or when he is dead, and that the gods are not indifferent to his fate'. Cf. *resp.* 613a4–b1, *Phaedo* 58e5–7. See de Strycker and Slings 1994: 232–5, esp. 234–5. For confidence in divine justice, see Dover 1974: 258–9.

may also be possible to suggest an optimistic variation on interpretation (2) above: rather than taking εὖ πάσχειν as denoting a state of mind akin to καρτερεῖν ('endure with fortitude'), it might be taken as denoting a state of mind akin to εὐέλπιδα εἶναι ('be optimistic'). We might then translate, 'if a mortal keeps in mind the way of truth, he must remain optimistic whatever he receives from the gods'.

This optimistic, providential view of the gods is found in *Olympian* 2 and in Bacchylides' third ode. In the latter the view is expressed through the *gnome* θεὸν θ[εό]ν τις | ἀγλαϊζέτω· ὁ γὰρ ἄριστος [ὄ]λβων, 'it is the gods, the gods whom a person should glorify: that is the best form of prosperity' (21–2). The example of Kroisos elucidates the *gnome*: ἐπεί ποτε . . . Κροῖσον . . . φύλαξ' Ἀπόλλων, 'since, once upon a time, . . . Apollo . . . watched over Kroisos' (23–9). Kroisos, when his fortunes were at their lowest ebb, in fact called the *gnome* into question, by finding fault with his return from the gods: 37–9 ὑπέρ[βι]ϵ δαῖ- | μον, [πο]ῦ θεῶν ἐστι[ν] χάρις; | [πο]ῦ δὲ Λατοίδ[ας] ἄναξ;, 'overweening *daimon*, where is the return of the gods, and where is lord Apollo?' In the end, though, Apollo rescues Kroisos, and takes him, 'on account of his piety' (61), to the Hyperboreans. The *gnome* of 21–2, 'the gods are the best form of prosperity', is thus upheld.[319] Moreover, the 'prosperity' (ὄλβος) which the gods bestow is now shown to pertain to the afterlife.[320] *P.* 3.86–104 are more oblique than Bacchylides' ode, but lend themselves to a similar reading.[321] With the prayer to the Mother, the poet makes Hieron's fate the concern of the goddess. With the subsequent examples (86–103), he suggests that mortals may attain 'felicity' (89 ὄλβον, 104 εὖ πασχέμεν), above all in the afterlife, when the gods bestir themselves on mortals' behalf. The fact that one's fortunes may fluctuate in one's

[319] Cf. Burkert 1985*b*: 11 'Der Gott von Delphi sorgt, dass Frömmigkeit ihren Lohn findet.' (Similarly in Hdt.'s version: cf. Harrison 2000: 80–1.)

[320] For ὄλβος applied to the afterlife, cf. fr. 129.7, *I.* 4.58; Hes. *th.* 954. 'Wealth' in the context of mystery religions often means material prosperity in this world and blessedness in the other: *h. Hom.* 2.480–9; Richardson 1974: 310–11, 314, 316.

[321] Contrast Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: 82 '[*sc.* la preghiera della Grande Madre è] [u]n confortevole quanto vano auspicio, la cui sola funzione è quella di alleviare l'idea della ineluttabilità del destino mortale. Ben diverso l'atteggiamento di Bacchilide nell'*Epinicio* 3 . . . dove il racconto della leggenda storica di Creso, salvato sul rogo dall'intervento provvidenziale di Apollo che lo conduce nel paese dei beati Iperborei, poteva dare al sovrano il miraggio di una insperata, miracolosa salvezza in un regno paradisiaco, che nessun altro mortale, tranne il re di Lidia, aveva potuto raggiungere. Sono assenti nella *Pitica* 3 quell'effimera arte dell'illusione e quella grazia serenatrice che avvolgono il carme bacchilideo.'

lifetime (105–6 *ὄλβος οὐκ ἐς μακρὸν ἀνδρῶν ἔρχεται | σάος*) does not undermine the faith in an ultimate reward for the deserving.[322]

Conclusion: models of immortality in Pythian 3

It is possible to see *Pythian* 3 as concerned throughout with 'real' immortality for Hieron, rather than just immortality in song. The opposition between the two 'halves' of the poem (1–76, 77–115) should not be overstressed.[323] In particular, the first 'half' of the poem is not a *recusatio*, by means of which the poet dismisses the prospect of Hieron finding a remedy for his illness and his mortality by any other means than the poet's song. Rather than presenting an antithesis between literal immortality and immortality in song, the poem presents an antithesis between different types of literal immortality. While the first half, 1–76, explores the theme of raising the dead by song or incantation, the second half, 77–106 (opening with the prayer to the Mother), explores the eschatological possibilities offered by the mysteries. There are, in fact, close affinities between these two themes, the raising of the dead by an expert in such matters (*γόης*) and the otherworldly promise of the mysteries.[324] The image of life being preserved from fire, which runs throughout the poem (Asklepios, Semele, Achilleus), seems to allude to the belief, widely attested in the ancient (Greek and non-Greek) world, that death by fire may lead to immortality. More to the point, this belief is attested for historical Greeks of the fifth century BC; and there is reason to think it may have interested Hieron in particular, and to have had a connection with the mysteries of Demeter. The combination of a more negative half (1–76) with a more positive one (77–115) in *Pythian* 3 enables the possibilities of a literal immortality

[322] Cf. 'Pythag.' *carmen aureum* 16–20:

> *χρήματα δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν κτᾶσθαι φιλεῖ, ἄλλοτ' ὀλέσθαι.*
> *ὅσσα δὲ δαιμονίαισι τύχαις βροτοὶ ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν,*
> *ἣν ἄν μοῖραν ἔχῃς, ταύτην φέρε μὴ δ' ἀγανάκτει.*
> *ἰᾶσθαι δὲ πρέπει καθ' ὅσον δύνῃ, ὦδε δὲ φράζευ·*
> *οὐ πάνυ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τούτων πολὺ Μοῖρα δίδωσιν.*

Material goods are apt now to be obtained, now to be lost. But of all the pains that mortals have through divine fortune, bear whatever share you have and don't complain. It is fitting to heal them to the best of your ability, and to think as follows: fate does not give very many of these to the good.

[323] Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: 81–2 'due distinte sezioni: la prima (vv. 1–76), più cupa . . . La seconda (vv. 77–115), più consolatoria e parenetica'.

[324] See Burkert 1962: 40; Johnston 1999: 105–11.

to be explored. The positive examples of 86–103 (Peleus, Kadmos, Semele, Achilleus) emphasize the role of human piety and the reliance on divine favour, whereas the negative examples of 7–76 (Koronis and Asklepios) emphasized the danger of transgressing human limits and of provoking divine retribution.

The poem closes on the theme of immortality in song (110–15), as does Bacchylides' third ode (90–8). In neither poem, however, is the model of immortality in song an exclusive model, displacing all hopes of a literal form of immortality. Rather, the model of immortality proposed in both poems is the inclusive one (see above, Chapter 6), combining the prospect of literal immortality with a parallel prospect of immortality in song. Having sufficiently suggested the possibility of literal immortality in the rest of the poem, both *Pythian* 3 and Bacchylides 3 end on a quiet note. Hieron is comforted *also* by the prospect of having the memory of his *ἀρετά* (*P.* 3.114; Bacchylides 3.90) preserved in the poet's song. Despite the poet's self-consciousness of his own role in these closing verses, the poet has already intimated that the greatest benefits come not from him, but from the gods (*P.* 3.77–9, 103–4; Bacchylides 3.21–2). It is clear that these greatest benefits go beyond the present poem, and are not in the gift of the poet.

Pythian 3 expounds several *gnomai* insisting on human limitations and mortality; especially striking is 'don't, my heart, strive for an immortal life' (61–2 *μή, φίλα ψυχά, βίον ἀθάνατον | σπεῦδε*). Consequently, the inevitability of human mortality has been assumed to be the lesson of the poem.[325] But recognition of inevitable mortality is only part of the story. Death may be the precursor to a glorious afterlife, and the insistence on mortality is quite compatible with both a belief in heroization and in the mysteries. Heroes typically die before they receive cult, and the benefits enjoyed by the initiate in the afterlife of course follow death. The addressee of the Pythagorean *Golden Verses* is instructed near the beginning of the poem, 'know that it has been allotted to all to die', but is still promised at the end of the poem, 'you will be a deathless immortal god, no longer mortal' (15 *ἀλλὰ γνῶθι μὲν ὡς θανέειν πέπρωται ἅπασιν* and 71 *ἔσσεαι ἀθάνατος θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητός*).

The reading of *Pythian* 3 offered here sees that poem as preeminently concerned with literal immortality. The poem has been interpreted

[325] Burton 1962: 78 'Running through the poem . . . is a single theme . . . the duty of mortal man to confine his aspirations within the limits of his mortality'; cf. Wilamowitz 1922: 282; Arrighetti 1987: 131.

with reference to Hieron's attested role as hierophant in mysteries of Demeter and Persephone at Gela-Syracuse, and has also been compared with two other epinician odes in which literal immortality seems to be intimated for the laudandus: Bacchylides' third ode, for Hieron himself; and Pindar's *Olympian* 2, for Theron (whose circumstances are suggestively akin to Hieron's: see the beginning of this chapter). While the usual interpretation of *Pythian* 3 sees the consolation offered to the ailing ruler as unflinchingly austere, this interpretation suggests how a more substantial consolation can be on offer.[326]

Finally, it will be noted that this interpretation ascribes considerable indirectness to Pindar's poetry. The audience is left to make leaps, to draw conclusions from the hints of the poetry. This is not to tell against the interpretation; in the century after Pindar, an ancient rhetorician would dilate on the advantages of such indirectness.[327] By being implicated in the construction of meaning, the listener is made complicit in that meaning; he is not so much confronted with the adulation of an encomiast as left to intuit a profound truth for himself (or herself). We will return to the issue of indirectness in the next chapter.

[326] Contrast e.g. Buongiovanni 1985: 334–5; Gentili in Gentili et al. 1995: 145.

[327] Theophrastus fr. 696 (ed. Fortenbaugh et al.) 'One should not give a long and precise exposition of everything, but should leave some things out for the listener to grasp and deduce on his own. For, by grasping what has been left deficient by you, he becomes not just a listener but also a witness to you and at the same time more kindly disposed; for he thinks that he understands because of your providing him with the starting point for understanding. But to say everything as if to a fool makes one seem as if one takes a dim view of the listener.' Cf. Quint. *inst. or.* 8.2.21. (Both these passages are quoted by Pfeijffer 1999*a*: 25; the passage of Quintilian is quoted by Most 1985*a*: 24.)

15

Epilogue

An important set of conclusions of this book concerns the extent of heroization: we should take seriously the possibility that in the Classical period heroization, particularly of the war dead and of athletes, was more widespread than has often been supposed. One consequence will be that the proliferation of heroizations in the Hellenistic period comes less suddenly than it is generally held to do. More radically though, this book has argued a need to rethink the workings of heroization in the Classical period: the critical possibility here is that a person's posthumous cult might be anticipated in his lifetime. The phrase 'might be anticipated' is ambiguous, but the ambiguity is a helpful one. On the one hand, it conveys the possibility that a posthumous cult might be looked forward to while the person was still alive: the subjective aspect of hero cult. On the other hand, it conveys the possibility that a person's posthumous cult might be realized ahead of its time, in a partial or a full sense: that a person might receive religious attentions in his own lifetime which fell short of a cult; or that he might, exceptionally, receive a full cult, heroic or divine, while still alive.

This is not the orthodox understanding of heroization and it is worth considering the reasons why not. Responsible in part seems to be a lingering classicism which has traditionally informed the orthodox view of the cult of the living: the cult of the living has been seen as a degenerate trend in Greek religion, consigned to the Hellenistic period and dissociated from the 'Classical' period.[1] So value-laden a partitioning of Greek culture into 'Classical' and 'Hellenistic' is questionable (see above, Chapter 1). This book has pointed to various foreshadowings in Classical (and even Archaic) times of features regarded as characteristic of the Hellenistic cult of the living.[2] In general, the orthodox view can be seen to operate with sharp oppositions: the Classical period

[1] See e.g. Farnell 1920: 152–4; id. 1921: 368; Nilsson 1925: 288. For a critique, see Price 1984: 14–15. In general on 'classicism', see Hardie in *OCD* 336.

[2] See too e.g. Hornblower 1983: 'Index' s.v. 'Hellenistic age foreshadowed'; Shipley 2000: 153, 158–9, 175–6.

is set against the Hellenistic period, hero cult is set against the cult of the living, and secular honours are set against cult honours. There is, certainly, evidence to support these contrasts; but their sharpness is preserved only by discounting evidence which blurs the categories. It is this liminal evidence with which we have been especially concerned in this book. Thus, the sharp opposition between the Classical and the Hellenistic periods is blurred by the evidence for cult for living persons in the Classical period: for instance, for Euthymos, Hagnon, Lysandros, Agesilaos, and Dion. Further, the dichotomy between heroes and the living is undermined by indications of *heroic* cult being paid to living persons, as for Euthymos (?), Hagnon, and Dion; and by the fact that posthumous hero cult often appears as the culmination of treatment that a person received in his lifetime (see Chapter 9). Finally, a neat antithesis of secular and cultic honours is disturbed by various forms of treatment which are not easily accommodated to either category: key terms here are *θεῖος ἀνήρ* and *ὡς θεός*, often used to characterize a person as a recipient of a treatment which is neither a cult nor a secular treatment (see Chapter 9). None of this evidence is new, but on the orthodox view of hero cult it has not been allowed to speak with a clear voice.

In this book, we have seen epinician poetry as another piece of liminal evidence where the oppositions: secular honour versus cult, dead hero versus living person, Classical versus Hellenistic are all open to question. We are prompted to ask: where, between a secular honour and cult, are we to situate the victory ode—especially if its addressee is being cast in the mould of the *θεῖος ἀνήρ*? Secondly, how close a relationship should be seen as obtaining between the dead hero who is described in several odes as receiving cult and the ode's living laudandus? In particular, can the latter be considered a hero in the making? Thirdly, is there more of a contrast or a comparison operating between this encomiastic poetry of the early Classical period and that of the Hellenistic and Roman periods? That is, if Pindar's evocation of an existing hero's cult intimates the prospect of a hero cult for his living laudandus, how far is this from Theocritus' use of mythical heroes and deified parents to intimate the apotheosis of his living laudandus Ptolemaios (*Idyll* 17: see Chapter 6) or from Virgil's use of Aeneas' apotheosis to intimate the apotheosis of the still-living Augustus (e.g. *Aeneid* 1.259–60 and 289–90)?

The new understanding of heroization urged by this book modifies the interpretative framework within which Pindar's odes may be seen.

We began, in Chapter 1 of this book, with the tentative intuition, apropos of *Olympian* 2 and Bacchylides 3, that epinicians performed in the patron's lifetime might anticipate his posthumous heroization. This intuition has been borne out by the view of heroization that emerged in Part II of the book: the pairing found in several epinicians of a living laudandus with a dead hero can now be seen in the context of a wider cultural pattern, according to which the exceptional treatment persons received in their lifetime is correlated with their posthumous cult. The initial project of the book was to consider epinician as one element in a social system (see Chapter 1, p. 15); it is possible now to see epinician as one of several ways in which a person's posthumous cult could be anticipated in his lifetime.

Again, the ambiguous phrase 'could be anticipated' suggests two possible, and mutually compatible, accounts of epinician. On the one hand, epinician poetry could raise in advance of the patron's death the possibility of his posthumous hero cult: this would be, once again, evidence of the subjective aspect of hero cult. On the other hand, epinician poetry would anticipate a posthumous cult of the laudandus in another sense if a victory ode itself amounted to a religious honour. This was the possibility raised by Pfister, in calling the victory ode 'an ideal cult that was being offered to the laudandus' (see Chapter 1). The question of the religious status of epinician is a crucially important one, although it is begged by the Alexandrian definition, followed by some modern scholars, of epinician as a genre composed *εἰς ἀνθρώπους* not *εἰς θεούς* (see Chapter 1). It may be that epinician has its roots in religious songs (hymns to Herakles and to the Dioskouroi, perhaps), and that this religious origin has left its traces in certain features of epinician language.[3] As chorally performed poetry, moreover, epinician may be granted an intrinsically religious dimension (see p. 149). Then we could not rule out either sense in which epinician might anticipate a posthumous cult of the laudandus.

A central issue of the book needs further consideration: the nature of the comparison in epinician between laudandus and hero. In Part III, we identified a recurring pattern in four epinicians: *Isthmian* 7, *Pythian* 5, *Pythian* 2, and *Nemean* 7. In each of these, there was a passage which alluded to the hero cult of a dead person and an associated passage which dwelled on the laudandus (nor is this pattern confined to the

[3] See e.g. Fränkel 1975: 435; Robbins 1997: 244. Race 1986: 24 calls epinician a 'secularization of the hymn to gods'.

four odes discussed).[4] The association between the two passages is, in many cases, signalled by verbal echoes. This association amounts to a tacit analogy between the laudandus and the hero of cult, comparable to the explicit analogy effected by simile—where, again, verbal echoes may reinforce the link between vehicle and tenor.[5] By such means, then, epinician presents the laudandus as being 'like' the hero who receives cult. Yet similes may throw up differences which may be as pertinent as the similarities between the objects compared.[6] This book has argued for a close convergence between the laudandus and the cult hero. Usually, however, a divergence has been emphasized: although the laudandus and the hero are both to become in some sense immortal, the immortality of the former is taken to depend on the poet's song, that of the latter to consist in cult. It has thus been denied that the correspondence between the laudandus and the hero admits of a 'literal interpretation', and their relationship has rather been called analogical or ideological.[7]

In this book we have tried to resolve the indeterminacy which is intrinsic to the analogical mode by considering how far the equation between living persons and heroes could be pressed in real life. Athletes' emulation of heroes and hero cults of living persons fundamentally affect the picture. Relevant, too, is Pindar fr. 133, implying that precisely those categories of people from which Pindar's patrons were recruited (kings and athletes) could anticipate becoming heroes after their death. But there are also great disparities in the individual circumstances of Pindar's patrons, which we may briefly try to take stock of now.

Hieron and Arkesilas come at one end of the spectrum. They are,

[4] For other odes exhibiting this pattern, cf. *O.* 1 (compare 90–4, on the hero cult of Pelops, with 14–24, on Hieron); *O.* 7 (compare 77–81, on the hero cult of Tlapolemos, with 13–17, on Diagoras); *I.* 4 (cf. 60–71, on the cults of the Alkaidai and of Herakles, with 16–24, on the Kleonymidai and Melissos).

[5] Verbal echoes in similes: Edwards 1991: 27–9, 31 (in Homer); Carey 1981: 11–12 (in epic and lyric).

[6] See e.g. Feeney 1992: 35–7. Cf. Hutchinson 2001: 347 'Myths are examples, but are also different'.

[7] Nisetich 1988: 15 'correspondences between [Pindar's patrons] and the heroes of myth abound in the epinician odes. It would be rash to press a literal interpretation in each case', 16 '[Pindar] would not use his poetry to predict Theron's future status as a hero. He would promise Theron, as he promises others in the epinician odes, the deathless fame conferred by song', cf. 18–19. Pòrtulas 1985: 211, 214, 218, 239; Steiner 1986: 134. Nagy 1990*a*: 140: athletes and heroes are 'ideologically equated'; cf. Boedeker 1998: 234 'ideological resemblance'. Dougherty 1993: 111 'a poetic version of the immortality enjoyed by the heroic figure', 116–17.

in the language of Pindar fr. 133, 'haughty kings' (3 *βασιλῆες ἀγαυοί*). Both were eventually victorious in the most prestigious of all athletic contests: the Olympic chariot race. Both were among the most powerful Greeks of their day.[8] Both, moreover, had recent family precedents for heroization: Hieron in his brother Gelon, Arkesilas in his seven forefathers, going back to Battos I. Finally, both could feel assured of their posthumous hero cults: Hieron as founder of Aitna and Arkesilas as Battiad king. The desire ascribed by Diodorus to Hieron for posthumous heroic honours (11.49.2) can reasonably be detected in various epinicians which were commissioned within a decade of Hieron's death: *Olympian* 1, *Pythian* 3, and Bacchylides 3. In these odes, as in *Pythian* 5 for Arkesilas and *Olympian* 2 for Theron, the independently known circumstances of the laudandus create a strong case for taking the analogy between laudandus and cult hero literally.

Strepsiades and Sogenes come at the other end of the spectrum: they are not kings, but men 'swift in strength' (Pindar fr. 133.4 *σθένει κραιπνοί*). They were private individuals, though surely aristocrats, and of some standing in their cities.[9] Each is known only to have won one victory and only in the lesser two of the four Panhellenic games. No posthumous hero cult is attested for either, and we may assume that none was ever established. Sogenes, moreover, is celebrated only as a boy in *Nemean* 7. Sogenes' circumstances thus present the greatest contrast with Hieron's, and *Nemean* 7 may accordingly seem to offer the weakest case for taking the analogy between laudandus and hero literally.

A difficulty, however, with taking a different approach with Sogenes in *Nemean* 7 and Hieron in *Olympian* 1 is that the same technique is found to be employed in each case. In both odes, verbal echoes associate the laudandus with a hero whose posthumous cult is described at length. It would be awkward to posit a different basis for the same technique, so that Pelops' cult prefigures a cult of Hieron, but Neoptolemos' cult prefigures only an analogical (metaphorical) immortality for Sogenes in the poet's song. It seems preferable to assume that the prospect of an actual hero cult is the issue in both cases, but to allow that whereas this can be raised for Hieron in the manner of a confident prediction, it is raised for Sogenes rather in the spirit of wishful thinking or a far-off dream. This argument presupposes only that an elite of fifth-century Greeks (those mentioned in Pindar, fr. 133.3–4) saw heroization

[8] See Hdt. 3.125.2 and 7.145.2 on the Sicilian tyrants.

[9] For the hereditary proxeny of Sogenes' family, see Appendix to Ch. 13.

as the highest achievable goal. This is no more than what is entailed by recognition of the subjective aspect of hero cult. It is likely, moreover, that more people aspired to hero cult than actually attained it (compare the remarks above on the heroization of athletes, pp. 152–7). The failure of a cult to materialize does not argue the absence of the *aspiration* to a cult in the person's lifetime. It would be natural for the encomiastic poetry commissioned by this elite to measure the laudandus' achievements, both past and prospective, with reference to the ideal standard represented by hero cult. More rhetoric is required, of course, to put the achievements of Sogenes in relation to this standard than those of Hieron: in arguing for a literal interpretation of the analogy between laudandus and hero, we are not denying the rhetorical element.[10] What is being denied is that the equation of the laudandus with a hero is just an encomiastic motif, one of several topoi to be juggled within a closed system of epinician poetry.[11] The equation of laudandus and hero, according to the argument of this book, derives its point precisely from its potential to be realized. The rhetoric, that is, needs to be related to real-life, or at least potentially real-life, practices.

Another major question that must be addressed is how universal the concern for posthumous heroic honours may have been in epinician poetry. If that concern surfaces in poems for patrons as diverse as Hieron and Sogenes, this suggests universalizability. Yet epinician is a very miscellaneous genre (see Chapter 1); it would be rash to impose a rigid interpretative schema across the board. This book has focused on four odes which allude more or less explicitly to hero cult; the fifth ode considered, *Pythian* 3, engaged with various themes of literal immortality. Such odes raise most urgently the issue of the laudandus' own fitness for hero cult. With other odes in the corpus the question of the laudandus' heroization can hardly be said to arise at all. Most obviously this goes for those very short epinicians which lack even a mythical component (*Olympians* 4, 5, 11, 14, *Pythian* 7, *Nemean* 2). Such poems could only be said to anticipate a cult of the patron if epinician poetry is allowed an intrinsically religious dimension. But other odes might be fitted between these extremes. In some of the longer odes without any allusion to hero cult, the myth might suffice on its own to

[10] The rhetorical element of epinician is emphasized by Bundy 1962 (see index under 'rhetoric', 'rhetorical') and Race 1990: 1–2, 5–6, 59.

[11] The phrase 'enkomiastisches Motiv' is used of the equation of laudandus and hero by Krummen 1990: 149 n. 3 (whose general view of epinician, however, is not at all that of a closed system).

raise the question of the laudandus' posthumous status. This argument might be made in connection with the myth of Herakles in *Nemean* 1 or the Dioskouroi in *Nemean* 10. The heroizing theme, then, might hover in the background of epinician poetry, and might be brought into the foreground to a greater or lesser extent according to the exigencies of the commission. We should not assume that hero cult was an equally pressing preoccupation for all Pindar's patrons; its incorporation into an ode would presumably have been a matter for consultation between poet and patron.

This book has made much of Pindar's use of verbal echoes. They have been taken to be 'serious indicators of meaning' and have been found in several odes to have a consistent and central function, in pointing up the crucial analogy between the laudandus and the hero.[12] On the one hand, then, this book offers a defence of the role of verbal echoes in interpreting Pindar. On the other hand, the importance attached by this book to the analogy between laudandus and hero can itself be held to receive some support from its articulation through verbal echoes, for one would expect the central themes of a poem to be highlighted by such means.

Here we have a preliminary response to the question why, if the intimation of the prospect of hero cult for the laudandus is a central concern of epinician, it is handled so indirectly in that poetry. The indirectness of verbal echoes is consistent with, and may even be an argument for, the centrality of the theme in epinician. Inexplicitness is, besides, a hallmark of Pindaric epinician. The eschewing of overt connections between the various parts of an ode has been seen as an indication of the poet's self-conscious mastery of his medium and of his audience's capacity to understand.[13] It may be revealing also to consider what epinician might have been like if it had broached the subject of the laudandus' heroization directly. There may in fact have been a contemporary medium which did just that: the athlete legends.[14] These legends (so far as we can tell) seem to have narrated the athlete's divine birth, his heroic exploits, his extraordinary death, and his posthumous cult in a straightforward, hagiographic manner. Such an

[12] For the phrase 'serious indicators of meaning', see Race 1990: 2.

[13] Fränkel 1975: 428 'The difficulties of his language arise . . . from his speaking as supreme master, at the very end of his epoch, knowing and believing, to others who understood and believed, in a comprehensive and abbreviating art-form which did not deal in description and explanations, but in allusions and reminiscences.' Similarly, Carey 1981: 9 speaks of 'the delicate, mature artistry of a poet with a strong tradition behind him.'

[14] On the date of the legends, see Ch. 8.

approach is obviously far removed from what epinician gives us. Not that epinician was produced in a bubble, isolated from the real concerns of athletes which surface in the athlete legends; on the contrary, this book has argued precisely that epinician did not exist in such a bubble. Rather, epinician was produced to different aesthetic standards and with a different social end in view than the athlete legends. The legends were oral narratives, lacked literary pretensions, and presumably had only an informal local circulation.[15] Epinician poetry was by contrast official and public, and addressed itself to the whole citizen body (note, for example, *I.* 8.8 δαμωσόμεθα, 'let us sing before the people').[16] It was conscious, too, of reaching a wide international audience (*N.* 5.2–3, *O.* 9.21–6) and of stemming from a major, international poet (*P.* 4.298–9, *I.* 6.74–5). As choral lyric, epinician paraded exquisite musical, choreographic, and poetic artistry: another stark contrast to the athlete legends. It was imperative for epinician, as high poetry, to transcend both the style and content of the subliterary athlete legends.[17] The same need to transcend the prosaic reality of athletics underlies epinician's fastidiousness about the actual competition and its preference for elaborate poetic periphrases—*kenningar*—for its prizes (e.g. *N.* 10.35–6). While 'the Rhodians' had a story (which may have been current in Pindar's time) that Diagoras was a son of Hermes (Σ *O.* 7 Inscr. a), there is no hint of this in Pindar's ode. But although the divine birth of a laudandus does not feature in any epinician, the divine births of mythical heroes do.[18] Likewise, epinician poetry does not narrate any extraordinary, superhuman, exploits of the laudandus; but it does narrate those of mythical heroes. It is in keeping with this that the hero cults mentioned in epinician are not attached to the laudandus, but to mythical heroes (or, in the case of *Pythian* 5 and *Isthmian* 7, to heroized relatives of the laudandus). Such indirectness enabled epinician, artistically speaking, to have its cake and eat it. While shunning bald comparisons of the laudandus to a hero—these remained the preserve of athletes themselves and of the hacks of encomium (see

[15] One possible means of transmission would have been the λέσχη, on which see Buxton 1994: 40–4, esp. 40 '*Lesche* . . . means both a public place where people could sit and converse, and the conversation which occurred there.'

[16] Cf. Currie 2004: 63.

[17] For epinician as 'high poetry', cf. Lesky 1966: 186; Fränkel 1975: 425; 'high art': Kurke 1993: 131. For the subliterary character of the athlete legends, note their use of folktale motifs (the roving anecdote): above, Ch. 8.

[18] Of Iamos, *O.* 6.35–47; Asklepios, *P.* 3.38–46; Aristaios, *P.* 9.59–65; Herakles, *N.* 1.35–58, *N.* 10.15–17; Polydeukes, *N.* 10.80–2.

pp. 134, 318–20)—the poet contrived nevertheless to put such issues in the audience's mind.

These are aesthetic reasons for the indirectness of the intimation of heroic honours to the laudandus. Others might be sought in the social domain. Epinician has been attractively described as a negotiation between the aristocratic athlete and his civic community.[19] The view of heroization argued for in this book as a process that could be begun in a person's lifetime encourages us to see heroization as a negotiation between different interest groups in the city (see pp. 154–5 and 194–9). Epinician could be seen as a part specifically of this negotiation. The indirect style of epinician could allow a laudator to tread the fine line between those well disposed and those hostile to the laudandus (compare the balancing act acknowledged by 'Perikles' in the Thucydidean funeral oration, 2.35.2). Epinician was poised in another way too: it fell somewhere between the informal exaltation that an assembled populace might offer a victorious athlete at his homecoming (pelting with leaves and binding with ribbons) and the formal decree of a public cult (a step taken, apparently, by the Western Locrians for the still-living Euthymos). Epinician was more official than the former (if its performance could be integrated into a public festival) and less official than the latter (if its public performance did not depend on a decision of the body politic).[20] In this way epinician could be seen as providing a locus for the exploration of the athlete's religious status where the contending social forces were held in a kind of equilibrium.

[19] Kurke 1991: 258 'the poet negotiates with the community on behalf of the returning victor'; cf. ead. 2000: 65.

[20] For the tension between the readiness of the general populace to extend religious attentions to a living person unofficially (*ἰδίᾳ*) and the reluctance of the body politic to do so officially (*δημοσίᾳ*), see p. 194. It would be good to know more about the process by a which an epinician came to be included in a civic festival programme.

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